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**INTRAFAMILIAL SKIN COLOR SOCIALIZATION, RACIAL
IDENTITY ATTITUDE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING IN
AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN**

**By
CHARLENE V. DRAPER**

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, The City University of New York**

1999

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Clinical Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

INTRAFAMILIAL SKIN COLOR SOCIALIZATION, RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING IN AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN

by
Charlene V. Draper

Advisor: Professor Anderson J. Franklin

The study, *Intrafamilial Skin Color Socialization, Racial Identity Attitude and Psychological Well-Being in African American Women*, investigated the relationships between positive and negative statements by the family and significant family members about the subject's skin color, racial identity attitude, and psychological well being. To test the hypotheses the author constructed a scale called The Color Relationship Index, Parts I and II. To obtain family member skin colors, the genogram was used. A third scale, the Racial Identity Attitude Scale of Parham and Helms was used to assess the subject's racial identity attitude. This scale was adapted for use to assess the family's racial identity attitude. The final measure used in this study was the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Scale. The data was analyzed using Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance, Paired Samples T-Tests, Independent Samples T-Tests, and Bivariate Correlations.

The sample consisted of 100 African American women between the ages of 20 and 77 years. There were an equal number of light, medium, and dark skin

women in the study. The women were obtained from the Northeastern area of the United States.

The results of the study indicate that the subjects perceived differences in family members' treatment of and attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin persons. However, many family members held neutral attitudes toward skin color. Medium skin color family members were remembered as being more powerful than either light or dark skin family members. Light skin family members were seen as more beautiful or better looking. Dark skin family members were remembered as being treated more negatively than light or medium skin color family members.

The majority of the subjects' Racial Identity Attitude scores placed them in the Internalization stage. There were no Preencounter or Immersion/Emersions stage subjects in the study. The results indicated that Racial identity attitudes and aspects of psychological well being were impacted by the subject's skin color. Preencounter, Encounter, and Immersion/Emersion stage families were seen as significantly more positive toward light skin persons than were Internalization stage families, but more negative toward medium and dark skin persons. Psychological well-being was often, but not always, related to specific skin color and family member's attitude toward the skin color.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Overview

This paper investigated theoretical, empirical, and clinical concepts applicable to well being in Black/African-American females. This investigation was conceptualized in three major components. The components were family skin color socialization, attitudes toward group/racial identity, and psychological well being. The influential nature of societal values was viewed in relation to its possible influence on family socialization. Although family socialization is multifaceted and multidimensional, this paper examines only two aspects of family socialization. One aspect relates to skin color differences in the family. The other focus was on family racial identity attitudes as they were remembered by the subject and the subjects' current racial identity attitude. This paper explored skin color issues for messages received from the family intergenerationally and intragenerationally. As skin color is an aspect contributing to how African-Americans are defined, this paper explored possible connections between the transmission of racial identity attitudes and skin color attitudes. The final conceptualization focused on the contribution of skin color and racial identity attitudes, obtained from the family, to the psychological well being of African American females.

Family socialization is a multifaceted denominator in the development of an individual. Theoretically, families influence and transmit values to its individual members (Bowen, 1978). As such, there is the possibility that values around skin color, racial identity, and mental health may be directly related to structure and relational patterns within the family.

Relevance of Study

Over half a century has passed since researchers expressed concern over the possibility that being Black in America has a detrimental impact on the psychological health of Blacks (Clark & Clark, 1939, 1940 & 1950).

Studies conducted in the late 1930's and 1940's initiated a long-lasting debate on the impact of skin color on African-Americans. The results of these studies inferred the internalization of the self as a particular shade of black and the acknowledgment of a value attached to different skin shades. The studies also suggested the incorporation of negative values for darker skin color of and by the child subjects, and by extension, their adult models.

There were implications derived from these child studies (Clark, 1939, 1940, & 1950) and later replications that fed the confusion around group or racial identity attitudes.

It was therefore assumed that Black children and their adult counterparts suffered from racial self-hatred and low self-esteem. Subsequent studies have failed to consistently support such assumptions. There has been an inability to consistently obtain results that indicate low self-esteem in Blacks. This inability to obtain results has been an enigma to those who directly associate societal

views towards Blacks with personal esteem levels (Hughes & Demo, 1989; Calhoun, Connley, & Bolton, 1984; Jensen, White & Galliher, 1982; Simmons, 1978). Societal and community views differ in their understanding of the important dimensions that affect mental health in the lives of Black individuals.

The relationship between self-esteem and the different skin tones, and related variables such as parental skin shades merits further investigation.

Grace (1988) and Hughes & Demo (1989) suggest that the family acts as a buffer between society and the individual and can consequently negate some of the negative societal racial misperceptions leveled at the individual. They conclude that if the family nurtures the members' racial esteem, self-esteem will develop sufficiently to assist in the achievement of one's goals and psychological health.

African-American women, in the pattern of women regardless of culture, ethnicity or race, are also concerned with physical appearance. One factor in physical appearance is skin color. Much of the research on physical appearance and its importance has focused on White women. Little research has investigated the Black female and the factors that contribute to her feelings around beauty and self-acceptance. (Smith, Burlew, & Lundgren, 1991).

Herbert's (1990) paper discussed Black male adult development and its relationship to racial issues. In the paper states that: "Race can be seen as a variable which is always salient, even when (and perhaps especially when) there are no strong differences in the racial make-up of individuals in an interaction, and even when an individual does not feel in conflict with any other race. It is

likely that the seeds of cross racial as well as intra-racial perceptions and behavior are sown in intra-racial settings" (P.433). The relationship between inter and intra-racial racism remains unrecognized in much of the literature. Because of interracial racism, the focus of racial socialization is often posited as a function of the larger society, rather than as a function of society and of the family in which the individual lives. The child's self-image is seen and understood as imposed by the dominant society. It is a perspective that fails to view the development of this image as part of an interactional and circular process between family and society. Intra-racial perspectives are hypothesized to derive from interracial interactions and racist attitudes. These attitudes have been adopted and adapted to varying degrees by the family from the dominant culture.

Summary

The family is not just the inculcator of values and beliefs, but also the buffer that mitigates the impact of racism on the individual. Yet, the family itself may unwittingly pass on values around skin color that reflect the negative attitudes of the larger society. This author's premise is that skin color attitudes are adopted, communicated, and passed on as part of family socialization practices. These practices have been obtained from, and reinforced by, societal values. These values imply an inherent superiority in lighter skin color found in individuals of the White race. This has led to the concern that being dark of skin color places African American individuals in psychological danger of developing poor mental health (Clark & Clark, 1939).

Chapter II

Review of the literature

The first section of the literature review focuses on the context of interracial dynamics in America that set the foundation for colorism. In colorism one skin shade is valued over another skin shade by Blacks/African-Americans. Included in this section are racialization and the impact of the increase in the number of non-Black, non-White immigrants who do not self-define as Black or White.

Race and Dichotomization in America

The definition of racial group membership derives from Isaacs (1974). He states that "... basic group identity consists of the ready-made set of endowments and identifications which every individual shares with others from the moment of birth by the chance of the family into which he is born at that given time in that given place" (P.26). For African-Americans, skin color is one physical characteristic that constitutes part of this "ready-made set of endowments."

Black racial group membership (i.e., Black racial identity) refers to a prescribed categorization of persons of African descent based on physical characteristics and geographical descent. It is a prescribed identity because all African Americans do not willing self-designate as belonging to the Black race. African-American refers to Black racial group members and their offspring, who identify with the historical experiences of the Black race in America. The terms,

Black and African-American, are used interchangeably in this paper although there are different connotations for the two terms.

Race, as a hierarchical structural variable in society, is a function of societal dominance over families and individuals (Webster, 1992). Stable and entrenched negative racial perceptions of Blacks derive from this dominance. This structure may suggest a linear relationship among the three systems (society, family, and individual) in the inculcation of values. The author maintains that three systems have a circular interactional relationship.

Racialization (Webster, 1992) with an emphasis on the dichotomization of individuals into Black and White races, suggests an underlying emphasis on physical features as a basis for the delegation of rights and privileges. The polarization of individuals has focused attention on skin color as an issue that contributes to the division of individuals in America. This polarization has traditionally divided to a Black and White racial dichotomy that denied or conferred privileges depending on whether one's skin was black or white (Grier & Cobbs, 1980; McIntosh, 1990; Cose, 1995;). The Black-White racial (i.e., skin color) dichotomy is significant in the interplay of all areas of life for African-Americans (Hacker, 1992).

Webster, (1992) states that, "The creation and manipulation of 'blacks' and 'whites' are long-standing practices." (p. 4) The division into these two categories was purposive and began with the government's collection of "occupational data by race in 1890 coincided with the imposition of Jim Crowism" (p. 4). Racism and racist attitudes, based on the darkness or fairness of one's

body surface, have been noted extensively in history (Isaacs, 1974; Berry, 1988). To define individuals in this manner has created a source of confusion and arbitrariness for those who view themselves as neither Black nor White (Norment, 1995). Yet, these two mutually exclusive skin color categories constitute the only “real” choices for many societal purposes. This dichotomy persists despite several trends that affect the way non-Black, non-White, and some Black and some White individuals perceive themselves.

One is “the browning” of America (through immigration) through the increase in ethnic group members who do not derive from the Caucasian or Negroid races. There are also those, such as biracial persons and others of African descent, who do not identify as either Black or White who constitute another factor that threatens the stability of this dichotomy. Despite the emergence of the above-mentioned threats to the Black-White dichotomy, there is no rationale to suggest that skin color discrimination against African-Americans will cease. One need merely explore the fruits of racialization to concur with this assessment. The power and privilege coincident with white skin color cannot be given up when those with the white skin deny the existence of the power and privilege (McIntosh, 1990; Feagin, 1997). A similar process may be in effect intraracially. If lighter skin Blacks receive(d) privileges based on light skin color, why acknowledge the systematic processes on which these privileges are based.

Feagin notes that there is little justification for Whites to give up racism because the harm (other than riots) is deflected to other groups, (i.e., Blacks).

Given the implementation of extended racial categories, (i.e., biracial) or even the elimination of racial categorization, skin color will likely remain a factor in bias against Blacks, especially darker-skinned Blacks for this reason. Racialization will likely remain intact as Blacks are relegated the position at the end opposite the ideal standard, not only for beauty, but for the model of humanness. That places them in a position to be the ideal target for innate and contrived aggressive impulses and projections. High differential visibility and imputed negative qualities to darker skin contribute to the entrenchment of racialization. Racialization in American society sets the precedence for skin color bias in Black families and communities.

Racism is a political, social, and economic weapon (Davis, 1983). But more than that, it is also a psychological weapon. Racism and the association between Blackness and generalized inferiority confer immense power to skin color (Webster, 1992). Little of the literature examines skin color with its fullest psychological ramifications. Skin color is one feature that has been used in the attempted dehumanization of Blacks. Skin color is not just a beauty issue. It first confers acceptability as a person, a fellow human being. Simple as the statement may sound, being a fellow human being confers visibility, audibility, sensitivity, understanding, empathy, connectedness, credibility, validation, acceptance, etc. etc. on the individual level, and acceptance, nurturance and protection on the societal level.

Summary

Racialism and its dichotomization of individuals into Black and White, has created a system that attempts to undermine the economic, political, social, and psychological foundations of African-American functioning. The interaction of racism with the individual, family, and societal values perpetuates racism and dichotomization even in the face of the "browning of America." Racialization perpetuates negative views of Blacks that are communicated to Black families, and other ethnic groups in America.

Family Socialization

Introduction

Family constitutes the most influential system affecting an individual (McGoldrick & Gerson, 1985). How families handle personal and reference group ideology will have import for the development of identity of its members (Grace, 1988). The family structures with its varied contexts organize the individual's perceptions and influence its behavior.

There are various aspects and complexities to socialization within all families. This section is an overview of the literature that details the perspectives from which the African-American family has been researched, structured, and defined. The review continues with the effects of racism on the family's values and the effects of these values on its members.

African-American Families

African-American families have often been studied from two opposite perspectives (Wilson, 1984). The first interpretation of family life revolved

around views of the family as a disorganized version of White family patterns. This analysis of Black family life is evident in the now infamous Moynihan report of 1965 that based its perception of Black family life on such theorists as Frazier (1939, 1948). Attempts to understand the family from a position of strength and resilience followed the Black cultural and Civil Rights Movements of the 1960's. According to Wilson (1984), researchers studying the Black family within the family's own cultural context depict a more accurate account of family life. Black families were seen less as a reflection of White structure gone awry, but more as a viable, stable, legitimate cultural entity (Nobles, 1978).

Structurally, the Black family can consist of any one of a number of alternative possibilities. "There is no Black family" (Boyd-Franklin, 1989) is a statement that refers to an underlying flexibility of roles and orientations, composition, culture, and identity in African-American families. The African American family devolved from "...the African legacy, the history of slavery, racism and discrimination, and the victim system." (p. 7) It is about family structure and family process and the diversity encountered within both the structure and processes for Black families (Boyd-Franklin, 1989).

Traditionally, many African-Americans have been socialized in an extended family milieu that consisted of blood and fictive kin. Williams & Wright (1992) quote Billingsley (1990) as defining the African-American family as:

"An intimate association of persons of African descent living in America who are related to each other by a variety of means including blood, marriage, formal adoption, informal adoption, or by appropriation; sustained by a history of

common residence; and are deeply imbedded in a network of social structure both internal and external to themselves." (p. 28)

Diverse family structures within the African American communities create the opportunity for more direct and consistent promulgation of values and beliefs to succeeding generations (Taylor, et al., 1993). In their study in which the grandmother lived with her daughter, one conclusion was that grandparents and parents interacted more frequently with family members than did members of the younger generation. Wilson (1984) concluded that Black grandparents in the household took an active role in the rearing of children. Thompson (1994) concludes that "racial socialization messages from adult family members other than parents were more numerous and in this study had a stronger impact on racial identification than did parental messages" (p. 185). Because of the family structure there are a greater number of family individuals in constant contact, over an extended period of time. Because of this contact, there is the possibility of a greater refinement of what it means to be a family, and a family member, within one's particular family context.

The African-American family, however, is not based solely on the interactions of the various individual members. The "Black or African-American family" structure, and "the Black/African American," is a socio-cultural creation and phenomenon (Guttman, 1976; Nobles 1978). It is a creation from and interaction of the African and the American influences (Guttman, 1976; Nobles, 1978; Hale-Benson, 1982). Both groups through time, geographic and cultural impact, ideological factors, and fortuitous and non-fortuitous circumstances

define the family. Parham (1990) writes of the need to recognize "the role of social forces and public policies" when attempting to understand Black families. According to Webster (1992), "...social scientists, legislators, entrepreneurs, and publicists use racial classification to generate a racial ethos that is then claimed to be the basis of their practices." (p.21) He points out that "No social issue can be raised without its racial qualification and compartmentalization" (p.9). Viewed from Webster's (1992) theory of racialization, Black families, are constantly subject to being "sieved" through racial perspectives that impact on their existence.

Black families, while dealing with the stressors of racism have also developed a number of strengthening attributes that have helped them to survive. Hale-Benson (1986) cites Hill (1972) as identifying five areas of strength in African-American families: "strong kinship bonds, strong achievement orientation, adaptability of family roles, strong religious orientation, and strong work orientation" (p. 47).

Black families and its members are generally impacted by racism, and/or viewed in a racialized context that is pervasive in all aspects of life in America (Webster, 1992). Assessment of social and cultural forces becomes imperative as a venue for examining the psychology of families and their socio-cultural histories because of and in relation to this racialization. One position formulated from this framework is that society has interacted with the family in such a way as to reproduce itself partially within the family in "microform." The partial replication of the micro from the macro can be accomplished, theoretically, by

influencing the family's view of its individual members in accordance with society's views.

Summary

The structure of the African-American family makes it particularly available as a source of family socialization. It can be more consistent and effective as a transmitter of family values because of the closer proximity of family members. As more family members live together, they are in a position to inculcate their values intergenerationally and intragenerationally.

In Lightfoot & Foster (1970), more important than their assessment of political influences on identity, is their presumption that the beginning of learning about Blackness occurs in the home and community. They contend that parents are the racial socializers of their children and models of identification for them. If parents, or family members, behave in ways suggestive of preferences, beliefs, or exhibit a consistent norm, then, in their identification with the parents, so may the offspring.

Africans-American women, while raised in a social milieu similar to that of African-American men, differ in their experience of, and reactions to, socialization. Societal expectations of females are different from expectations for males, and those differences are communicated to each gender via the family. Men are socialized to be intelligent, strong, aggressive, and economically successful. Women are to be beautiful. American beauty standards apply, in a more personal way, to African-American women in that they are expected to

present as objects of beauty. Men, on the other hand, seek out the object of beauty.

As families are the major vehicles of socialization, it is to the family that one should look to understand the part familial socialization contributes to the female's attitudes and her functioning. There is a dearth of research on how the female is taught to view her own skin color in a nation that places a higher value on light skin shades, where female identity is bound to standards of beauty, and beauty is bound to skin color.

Gender and African-American Females

Status of African-American Females

Gender and race are personal and genetic attributes, as well as group affiliations. They are two of the broadest defining characteristics individuals hold. Both gender and race are components of one's identity and indicators of status in America. Consequently, the focus of this part of the paper will focus on race, gender, and skin color themes in the functioning of African American women.

Women, in general, are devalued in relation to men, especially in relation to White men. Difference in treatment between men and women leads to experiences that impact on the overall well being of women (Pyant & Yanico, 1991). Reviewing the literature for their study, they report that women in general recount more psychological distress than men recount. Indigent and minority women, because of psychological distress, experience more mental health problems. Because of pressures, women experience more "personal negative

life events." As caretakers they experience more stressors from the stresses of significant people in their lives, and stressors associated with daily exposure to discrimination. Women also report more depression than men report. Chronic stressors may have greater potential for damage than major life events. If skin color dissatisfaction is a chronic stress, there is a basis for psychological trauma.

The literature depicts many instances of injustices perpetrated on African-Americans due to their darker skin color. Most of this literature refers to issues between Black and White groups. For instance, in her review of literature, Napholtz (1994) states that according to Wilson (1987), Black women have more than twice the poverty rate of White women. Black women have lower incomes and obtain less education than White women, and are overrepresented in low-status occupations compared to White women. These circumstances predispose them to suffering that result from inadequate health services, poor housing conditions and sometimes homelessness, and inadequacies in clothing and food supplies.

How women interpret their circumstances in relation to others can be a significant factor in adaptive handling of their situations. Pyant & Yanico (1991) evoking the theory of Lazarus & Folkman (1984) conclude that individual ways of defining a situation depend on attitudes, beliefs, and other cognitive factors. They point out that attitudes and beliefs can be viewed as "coping resources" (p.315). This would be so if the attitudes and beliefs support the person in obtaining a better sense of self. They conclude from the theory that the

psychological well being of Black women will be affected by cognitive factors such as their beliefs and attitudes towards themselves as women and as Blacks.

The broadest differentiating group, gender, has seemed, at times in the past, to be politically more important than race (Davis, 1983). In the overall social and economic context however, race bestows the most power and privilege in America. It is undisputed that the Black female generally occupies the lowest rung in all aspects of privilege and power.

Summary

Black women experience more physical, financial and psychological hardships than Black or White males or White females. They are targets of discrimination and oppression based on gender and race. This places Black women in double jeopardy for greater stresses in life (Davis, 1983). How women perceive themselves and the attitudes they hold about themselves as Blacks and females have been found to affect their coping capacity and psychological well being.

Family Input to Racial Socialization

Introduction

Racial socialization is "...the tasks Black parents share with all parents-providing for and raising children...but include the responsibility of raising physically and emotionally healthy children who are Black in a society in which being Black has negative connotations" (Peters, 1985 cited by Stevenson, 1994). This socialization has been variously termed (cultural transmission, race-related messages, parental values transmission, cultural parenting, ethnic

socialization, racial socialization, etc.) and is generally considered an important buffer to racism (Grace, 1988; Demo & Hughes, 1990). Not only are there different terms to denote racial socialization, there are also different facets of socialization from which to assess the construct (racial barriers, racial self-evaluation, cultural values, etc.)

The different perspectives encountered in the literature suggest the complexity of racial socialization. The review of literature below focuses on the perceived necessity of racial socialization. The section also includes: the definition of racial socialization, measurement of racial socialization, the manner in which the topic is handled, the mechanisms that transmit the socialization, and a contrast between the ideology of male and female racial socialization.

Family therapy clinician and theorist, Boyd-Franklin (1989) points to the necessity of racial socialization of Black children. She observes that socialization is composed of more than the external values of society, but of necessity must be a vehicle of the family for inculcating values around Blackness. Grace (1988) also supports this premise as she concludes in her study "Finally, parental attitudes was the most significant factor in shaping ethnic identity attitudes in both positive and negative directions" (p.76) (Ethnic and racial identity attitudes were used interchangeably in her study).

Racial socialization according to Thornton et al. (1990) "...involves messages and actions that provide information on personal and group identity, interracial relationships, and social position related to race" (p.176).

Socialization to racial ideology in American society takes place through various conduits such as through toys (Wilkinson, 1974), the media, and parental sentiments (Ward, 1985).

Ward conducted a study of the cross-generational transmission of racism using the two oldest children from a group of men initially interviewed by Lane (1962). He theorized that while racism as a cognitive construct has less political legitimacy in open expression, the affective component is transmitted generationally and remains active. Symbolic racism, "racism expressed in terms of traditional political values, such as equality, rather than in the language of racial inferiority," (p. 2) is derived from the families of generally overtly racist members.

In his review of the literature, Ward cites several researchers (McConohay & Hough, 1976; Hensler & Speer, 1979; Sears & Kinder 1971; Kinder & Sears, 1980) who conclude that symbolic racism is "traceable to pre-adult socialization." They also suggest that the norms of racism have changed while racism remains, and that "the prejudicial attitudes are learned early in childhood and one major source (among others) of these learned attitudes is the family" (p. 4).

Ward's (1985) assessment of the couching of racism by relating their underlying convictions to values can help in understanding the difficulty of intraracial racism. Ward points out that the lack of political and social acceptance of public racist expressions that refer to the inferiority of individuals has declined. Given the premise that African-American families, to some extent,

are affected by the racial values of the larger society, then it becomes necessary for the couching of intraracial prejudice to mask its presence. If the need exists in the larger society to mask racism, then a corresponding effect should manifest in the Black community. This position is logical if one accepts the premise that society and the individual are interrelated and co-creators of culture, with each shaping the other (Stryker & Serpe, 1982 cited by Campbell, 1996).

What about the process of parental racial socialization in African-Americans? Most of the literature on socialization refers to children (Spencer, 1983), minimally to adolescents and rarely to adults (Stevenson, 1994). Racial socialization of children has been handled in various ways. The subject of race can be addressed directly (Brookins, et al., 1992; Parham & Williams, 1993), avoided totally or discussed only when necessary (Spencer, 1983 cited in Sanders Thompson, 1994). Sanders Thompson states that there is no uniform agreement of the need for racial socialization in African-American children, as concluded in Thornton, et al. (1990). Other studies cited by Sander Thompson (Peters 1985; Bowman & Howard 1985) are in agreement that racial socialization is a primary concern of African American parents, and that they do transmit such messages to their children. However, research rarely indicates the content of socialization messages, so that there are disparate messages attributed to race socialization. Some messages deal with racial pride and African heritage, others with societal barriers that Blacks have to contend with because of racism. Racial identity, self-development orientations, racial barrier orientations, and egalitarian views are socialization areas examined by Bowman and Howard (1985).

There are minimal studies that measure racial socialization as a multidimensional construct (Stevenson, 1994). There is no consensual definition of racial socialization in the literature or how to measure it. In his development of the Scale of Racial Socialization for African American Adolescents (SORS-A), a skin color statement "Light-skin Black persons often think they are better than darker skinned Blacks" (p. 453) was included. The issue of skin color is seldom addressed in racial socialization studies. That lack attests to the variation in definitions of racial socialization, and to the lack of theoretical bases from which to inform racial socialization measurement construction (Stevenson, 1994). Few, if any, research studies on skin color socialization exist in the traditional literature domain.

Hale-Benson (1982) contrasts the socialization of Black male and female children. whereas males are expected to learn a physical deportation, athletic prowess, sexual competence, police avoidance, and street wisdom. Community definitions of masculinity and dominant definitions often conflict, creating tension and conflict in attempts to master either one or the other. Black males often reject the mainstream definition of masculinity as too effeminate, preferring a more macho image. Black females, according to Hale-Benson (1982) are taught to emphasize style (clothing and the ways they walk and dance) and de-emphasize facial beauty. This de-emphasis, according Hale-Benson, is the result of the larger society defining beauty in its own image, leaving African-American females feeling powerless and marginalized. Nobles (1978) presents different, more adaptive reasons for the behavior of Blacks. He suggests that if

African-Americans are viewed from the dominant cultural perspective, misunderstanding will result. He theorizes that a carryover from African values can as easily account for the de-emphasis on facial beauty in relation to personal qualities, style, and movement. Interdependence and interconnected of a group (qualities attributed to African descendants by Nobles, 1978) may not preclude, but minimize intragroup competition based on physical features. Hale-Benson contends that the female in the Black community is admired for her personal attributes (sexuality, style, and personal uniqueness) rather than for "status or office" (p. 67). Yet, this may be an underestimation of the power of the dominant culture to influence the socialization of African-Americans. The media, videos, film, advertisements for hair straighteners and bleaching cream attest to some concern with appearance by African-American females. This concern for appearance is based on the dominant culture's beauty standard.

The complexity of shaping Black identity is exemplified in Boyd-Franklin's (1989) statement that the child "must develop a sense of self and of his or her blackness" (p. 25) which must be accomplished with the parent's help. The implication here for African-American children, is that there are two concurrent, but non-identical processes during childhood identity development. The duality of this self-function pertains specifically to people of color. Associations to various shades may make integration of identity around skin color a more difficult developmental task. This dual socialization of children is in addition to the developmental tasks all families must negotiate (McAdoo, 1977).

McAdoo (1977) notes that Black families need to socialize Black children to effectively handle a society that does not value them as an ethnic group. This socialization is particularly difficult, as these same families often do not have the traditional support of the extended family system, the church, and other community resources. However, do families actually socialize their children around race? Empirical data is inconsistent in definitively answering this question (Sanders Thompson, 1994). The content, nature, and processes related to racial socialization is also inconclusive (Johnson, 1992). Further, the domains of racial socialization are generally varied and unreplicated so that comparison of results is untenable and unsound.

Two studies on racial identity attitudes specifically address the extent of racial socialization. Brookins et al. (1992) asked 171 African-American college students the questions, "Did your parents tell you what it means to be black?" and "Did your parents tell you how to get along with white people?". The response "yes" was given by 58.5% and 51% of the students respectively.

Parham & Williams (1993) conceived of racial socialization as race-specific messages received from parents. One hundred and fourteen individuals from various aspects of life were asked about race-specific messages they received from their parents while growing up. Twenty percent of the sample reported that race was rarely/never discussed at home and nearly 50% reported receiving negative or neutral messages about race.

Racial socialization can be communicated by various means such as direct verbal, nonverbal messages, and through indirect means such as toys

(Wilkinson, 1974) television (Peterson-Lewis & Adams, 1990) and other forms of the media. Toys have been used historically to socialize children into the status quo of socio-political attitudes and beliefs, and into gender role expectations (Wilkinson, 1974). Males and females have been allowed the toys that represent the mentality expected of each gender. Wilkinson argues that toys have been instrumental in “strengthening, confirming, and hence sustaining racist perspectives and stereotypical conceptions” (p.98). Toys and games are used to instruct the young and old in the social order of the day. Dolls in particular “...are highly strategic cultural mechanisms for indoctrination” (p. 103). Dolls as indoctrinators of societal values and racial bias have probably given way to the effects of television as noted by Peterson-Lewis & Adams (1990).

Peterson-Lewis & Adams argue that “...television functions as a third parent to many...” African-American youths. In their literature review, they cite research that supports all of the following assumptions about African-Americans and television viewing discussed below. Black teenagers generally use television as a vehicle for learning. Low income Black youth tend to rely on television to teach them about Black functioning in the larger society. In addition, children and low income Blacks tend to spend more time than other groups watching television. Blacks watch comedy and family shows as they minimize the intensity of stress associated with television viewing. Comedies and family shows often have depicted a Black major character (BMC) as a seeker of African-American identity. The handling of this search has negative consequences for the development of racial consciousness and connection for

African-American viewers. Seeking connection to other African-Americans is generally portrayed as a “liability” to the character. The group the BMC chooses to associate with generally presents as “...mediocre, corrupt, or as hypocritical, inconsiderate, crude persons whose behaviors set a poor example for the BMC. The BMC is now vulnerable to their negative influences because he/she has dissociated himself/herself from his/her White friends or “level-headed Black friends” (p.63). A summary of their analysis on the handling of Black identity development is captured in the following quotation, “...harbingers of Black consciousness are often presented as ludicrous, disrespectful, and untrustworthy, a portrayal that seems orchestrated to trivialize those who promote African consciousness, and by extension, to trivialize the significance of the search for racial connectedness” (p. 63). The research suggests that some parents do not actively racially socialize their children. Therefore, for some of the youth, this “third parent” may be the only parent attempting to help the child understand what it means to be Black in America. Or, this “third parent” unwittingly may be given authority to undermine the beliefs and attitudes of the actual parents.

Summary

Racial socialization is an ongoing process whether it is consciously addressed or left to the “third parent,” toys and games, or unconsciously undertaken and effected by the family. Racial socialization as a family process is viewed as a necessary parental task. This necessity derives from pervasive racism that threatens the healthy psychological functioning of African-

Americans. Research suggests that while the desirability and even necessity of racial socialization is a primary concern for parents, it may not always be a direct and consciously performed task.

Racial socialization consists of two related but independent concepts. One area addresses interracial relations and the other addresses intraracial relations and sentiments. The following section examines the origin of intraracial differences and sentiments around skin color. Below is a brief review of the historical background that effected the separation of Blacks based on physical features during and after slavery.

Slavery and Early Skin Color Issues

Historic accounts of slavery acknowledge the sexual liaisons, whether forced or consensual, that transpired between the Africans (free or slave) and White slave masters, mistresses, and overseers. The unions produced the foundation for the creation of the myriad skin hues that characterize the Black race. Earlier intra-racial skin color conflicts stemmed from the product of these unions and full-blood African slaves and ex-slaves. (Hall, 1992; Guttman, 1976; Frazier, 1939).

Higher status positions were generally accorded the offspring that resulted from the Africans slaves and Whites (Greene, 1990). And, as many of the mixed-race slaves were light-skinned, skin color became a badge of status (Berry, 1988). Race mixing produced a stratum of Blacks who were often given special status and privilege, educational opportunities, and, at times,

manumission from slavery. These offspring, before and after the emancipation of slaves, became the leaders within the Black race (Gatewood, 1990). Gatewood posits that "Because mulattoes were intellectually superior to blacks, with whom they were racially grouped, they were leaders in every line of activity undertaken by Negroes" (p. 150). Those Blacks living in the Deep South, (e. g. Louisiana) and other small enclaves around the nation formed cliques and communities based on skin color and White facial features. Having White features led them to discriminate against darker, African-featured slaves and ex-slaves (Russell et al. 1992; Gatewood, 1990).

All areas of living were affected by intra-racial color discrimination including religious, social and occupational (Russell et al., 1992). Admission to some churches depended on possessing a particular skin complexion. Some church doors were painted a particular shade of brown, and, if the potential churchgoer was darker than the door, he was politely asked to worship elsewhere. Entrance into some Black societies and affairs was often contingent upon passing some form of test such as the comb, or paper bag test or, by paying a "color tax." In the "comb test," the ease of a fine toothcomb passing through one's hair was used to judge suitability for admittance. If the hair snagged, the person was not allowed to attend the event. In the paper bag test, the individual's arm was placed inside a brown paper bag. If the arm was the darker of the two, the person was excluded from and unwelcome at the event. Attending a social event, the darker the partner of a light-skinned person, the

more money he was “taxed” to enter. In this way, the “color tax” functioned to keep darker and lighter Blacks in separate social circles.

Some bi-racial slaves who remained on the plantation were, at times, given less rigorous, more prestigious, in-house duties (Berry, 1988). The other, often darker or unmixed slaves experienced a harsher existence. They were more likely to work in the fields, live in inadequate slave quarters, have less to eat, receive less skilled training and be deprived of education. This preferential treatment served to divide the slaves along color lines. After the elimination of slavery, lighter Blacks formed communities and organizations that excluded darker, former slaves (Akbar 1984 cited in Berry, 1988; Gatewood, 1990). Berry also cites Williamson, (1980) as arguing that Blacks have achieved a political but not cultural fusion on the basis of skin color. Berry notes that the “Separate but equal” laws reinforced the division of individuals based on skin color in both the dominant and African-American societies. The hierarchy that ensued based on pigmentation contributed to the stratification of Blacks intrracially. Not only do lighter Blacks have an economic advantage over darker Blacks, but their proximity in coloring to Whites contributes to the maintenance of higher status positions (Hall, 1992).

Animosity, envy, pride, status, and stereotypes based on the skin color differences between these early bi-racials and purer Africans arose as a result of separations within the slave community. The reactions to different shades are presumed to have been perpetuated in varying degrees up to the present time (Berry, 1988).

Summary

The precedence for privilege based on skin color was set during slavery as slave owners cohabited with slaves to produce biracial children. Identification with Whites and White ideals became the rubric of separation between lighter and darker Blacks. Free Blacks (usually lighter Blacks) also banded together to exclude the darker Blacks before and after the abolition of slavery. Aesthetics and value judgments around physical features that arose from these two sources affected how Blacks viewed and valued themselves, their Black identities, and others of African and White descent.

Background Studies on Skin Color

This section discusses research based on early preference studies and assumptions derived from those studies. It is necessary to understand the early empirical studies for they prepared the groundwork for current debates on Black identity development.

The Clark & Clark (1940) research on skin color and preference in young Black children set the tone and direction of research on Black identity and skin color. Their research derives from, and is an extension, to some extent, of a study conducted earlier in 1939 by White researchers, the Horowitzs.

Out of the data from the 1939 study, Clark & Clark (1940) published a second study in which skin color was used as a variable. The preschool-age subjects were divided into light, medium and dark skin shades. In the results, the medium and dark skinned children chose the "colored boy" 52.6 and 56.4% of the time respectively, while the light skinned children chose it only 36.7% of

the time. The light complexioned children tended to choose the White boy from the ages of three to five. Dark children from three to five tended to choose the Black boy, while the medium toned children were inconsistent. This inconsistency may have been due to their inability to make finer discrimination in assessing their own skin color in relation to the boy's skin color. Or it may have resulted from having parents of light and dark hues that enabled the child to internalize his parent's dark or light skin color as his own shade. This interpretation places the results in a different context suggesting a greater relationship between the skin color of the family members or parents and the subject's performance. Using the parental skin shades as a variable may have contributed to a greater understanding of color identification and choices.

From these results emerged the implication of skin color as a contributor to one's group and self-identification. That is, skin color seems, from very early in the child's life, to be a factor in the development of identity and proclivity towards a preference for a particular skin shade in the social sphere.

Gender and Skin Color

It was first suggested in Clark & Clark (1939) that gender may play a role in skin color dynamics. Results of their study showed significant differences in the responses of male and female subjects. All results by females were due to chance, but were due to significance differences for all males. It is possible, as the Clarks pointed out, that because the female was asked to identify another person, she was less accurate than if she had been asked to identify herself. An

alternative possibility is that socialization processes differentially impact on the female and are different from those that impact on the male.

Fine and Bowers (1984) posits the idea that Black girls, because Black women socialize them, may see identifying with Black women as part of a healthy identity adjustment. On the other side, Black boys may function under a false assumption that they can "identify away from Blackness" (p.144).

The main conclusion, however, is that in American society, females are viewed and assessed differently than are males. Considering their attributed inferior status in comparison to men, overall, women have fewer advantages and suffer greater psychological distress. Females respond to situations differently than do males and empirical results note significant differences in the responses of males and females. If indeed, "We raise our daughters but love our sons because we're afraid of losing them. And, to compensate for what society will do to our sons," as stated by Nancy Boyd-Franklin (1994) then it is worth examining gender differences in socialization. Considering these differences, females deserve empirical research that focuses on their particular status, issues, and needs.

To complicate the issue, Bates (1994) states that while women must approximate the American beauty model, men have the task of assessing the effect his mate's color will have on the various areas of his life. Consider the number of ways the female may be affected by her potential mate's choice of skin color. The female is a symbol of the male's identity; of who and how he sees himself. She is an expression of his achievements in the context of

American values, as a trophy to please his family, and as the vehicle for producing an acceptable color in his progeny. If the male is considered "militant," he cannot choose a partner who is too light if he is to remain faithful to the rhetoric of promoting Blackness in its most concrete of terms. Corporate men may need a more mainstream-featured female, not too light and not too dark. Too dark a female implies that the male could do no better (Bates, 1994).

When women see themselves as symbols of their mates' status, this has the potential to produce greater narcissistic injury. She can be displayed as her partner's trophy, which can bolster her esteem or as a pernicious measure and indication that he can do no better. Consciousness may be clouded by the ambiguity of or assumed personal value in these circumstances. The underlying motivation for hers and others' choices can devolve from the communications that skin hues are symbolic of particular attributes. Yet, these attributes are not under her control and are not related to her personal self.

With adequate education and success in the financial world, African-American women still encounter more difficulties professionally than African-American men or White men and women. There are often few or no other African-American women in positions held by successful Black women. This leads them to feel alone and without emotional contact with others (Greene, 1994). Even when there are a few other African-American females in the workplace, skin color differences have the potential to keep women separated from each other and prevent communication about these differences (Boyd-Franklin, 1991).

Summary

Empirical data, theory, and clinical cases support the premises that skin color and gender are significant factors in the lives of African-American women. Being female and dark can result in more financial, interpersonal, and psychological stressors than being male, White, or a lighter-skinned African-American female. While lighter females may experience emotional distress precipitated by their lighter than average skin color, darker women are more likely to experience a more total and pervasive impact from their darker skin color.

The Saliency of Skin Color Dynamics

Introduction

The topic of skin color touches on myriad aspects of functioning in the life of African-Americans. Presented here is a cursory view of skin color and its relationship to racism, societal handling of skin color variations, and its effect on the identity of some African-Americans.

The General Context of Skin Color

The extent to which melanin in the skin has influenced the creation of social order and psychological issues within some societies are underacknowledged. In societies where individuals are generally of the same race, variations in skin color may not be an issue. However, in American society, skin color is related to racism, and racism is a powerful underlying force within the culture. The failure to consciously note this phenomenon can mislead one to conclude that the degree of skin pigmentation is of little or no

significance. Unstated is the premise that within groups skin color dynamics have little or no consequence for inter- or intra-group relations.

Isaac (1974) states that "...long submerged patterns of attitudes and behavior about skin color have been reappearing in varying intensities along the entire color spectrum and in many different parts of the world." (p.32) He goes on to say that "...evidence of social and aesthetic values attached to "lightness" and "darkness" of skin color appear in the history, art, and literature of numerous cultures widely separated in space and time, in all parts of the globe, and in times long before the spread of the power of White Europeans beyond Europe" (p. 32). These statements suggest processes related to skin color are pervasive and common to many parts of the world.

A division within groups of people by skin hue is systemic within many countries such as South Africa, Brazil, India, and in a number of Hispanic countries (Isaac, 1974; Berry, 1988). The organization of people by color grants, in these countries as well as here, status and privilege or renders one the object of prejudice and discrimination. Isaac (1974) studied ethnic groups (e.g. Japanese and East Indians) in which intra-ethnic group differences based on skin color played an important part in the group's relationship to some of its members. Often directly related to the member's skin color was his status designation in society (e.g., Brahmins and Untouchables).

Skin color is only one factor in a multitude of characteristics, attitudes, values, and beliefs that characterizes one as Black or African-American (Russell et al., 1992). It is a very visible characteristic. As such, skin color often

influences one's self and other perception and expectations. By influencing one's perception and expectations of others and self, skin color overtly and insidiously defines and psychologically contains African-Americans in various ways. The ability to contain African-Americans takes various forms. These forms include the inability to conceive and present oneself in a manner consistent with one's internal potential or to follow one's goals to their fulfillment. It also affects whether one feels powerful and in control of one's life. This psychological containment obscures whether one's motivations or judgments arise from an unhealthy source, or whether racism is an underlying dynamic in one's motivations and judgments (Grier & Cobbs, 1968). Because of this psychological containment, the procuring of nurturance and support from the larger society may remain an unmet need. In this way, skin color, as a racist tool, configures the life pattern for many African-Americans.

Isaac (1974) states that skin color, a highly visible body characteristic, remains an important part of how individuals are perceived by others. This visibility contributes to its salience for members of society. Moreover, it remains salient due to the division separating individuals into the Black or White racial group based on hard-to-alter features (i.e., skin color). The choice of skin color assures the perpetuation of identities defined by this marker (darkness or lightness) and the stereotypes that often result in discrimination and bias or privilege. The relatively permanent marker and high visibility of skin provide a discernible target for projections and stereotypes.

Endemic Racism and Self-Expectations

Skin color discrimination is evident within both Black and White racial groups (Isaacs, 1974; Berry, 1988). At the same time, the bias is without psychological validation for those experiencing its consequences. That is, the psychological effects of being a particular complexion color are seldom confirmed. Some Black and White individuals behave as though skin color plays no role in their expectations and views of themselves or of others. This is particularly so in the case of self-expectations. Self-expectations around skin color can take the form of entitlements. Entitlement or lack of entitlement for both races derives from self-expectations around skin color distinctions.

Summary

The reaction to the physical features of Blacks, which includes the degree of skin pigmentation, affects relations between African-Americans and most other groups who have internalized the physical features of Caucasians as "The Ideal" (Carter, 1995). Attitudes towards darker skin hues are pervasive (Iwawaki et al., 1978) and act to hinder or assist in intergroup relations.

Intraracial Skin Color Issues

The phenomenon of intraracially distinguishing Blacks, based on gradations of skin color, has been referred to by different terms such as "colorism," "color coding," "color demoralization," or "colorstruck" (Berry, 1988; Marriott, 1991; Russell et al. 1992). Grant (1994) defines "color coding," the term used in her article, as a systemic relic left over from slavery that is a form of

psychological oppression. She states that one's "...sense of self, your goals, your aspirations and your well-being can be damaged by color demoralization" (p.28). The acceptance of the existence of color discrimination by the readers of this popular magazine suggests a familiarity with it, and permeation within the community. These terms and their affect on African-American communities are generally encountered in lay literature. Marriott states that it is tantamount to "racial treason" to acknowledge this phenomenon. "Colorism", coined by Alice Walker, (Berry, 1988; Marriott, 1991) is defined as "prejudicial or preferential treatment on the basis of skin color" (P.1).

The emphasis on complexion color has resulted in what could be viewed as a subtle and sometimes not so subtle color caste system. This color caste system, while not officially recognized, still affects the lives of many people of color. One's chances for economic, psychological, and social well being, educational opportunities, living location and condition, and a host of other factors are influenced by skin color (Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Okazawa-Rey, Robinson & Ward, 1987; Hall, 1992).

Less research explores the significance of the various hues found within the African-American community. One question is how the members of the community respond to the variety of skin shades that exists. How do members experience the significance of the skin hues within the family and community? How are the variations in skin tones integrated into the identity of the individual on a personal as well as group level?

Given societal views around skin color, particularly the negative stereotypes perpetrated and perpetuated by various forms of the media, negative communications may have been internalized by African-Americans to varying degrees. It is possible that, within the African-American community, there exists a similar manifestation of skin color bias as that found in the larger society.

Power and Skin Color

What of the possibility of special privilege and indulgence based on skin color? Is there an unconscious deference to those with lighter skin coloring? What are the extent and effects of being "colorstruck"? Can it be said that within the Black community "blondes do have more fun"? If they do, to what extent is it a phenomenon in the African-American community? Do the sequelae deserve addressing by theoretical and practical means?

Another aspect of the color issue concerns the assignment of power. Lighter skin color in the African-American community, as in the larger society, may be related to credibility and validation of efficacy and power. The question is, are lighter individuals and family members given more power, authority, or influence because of the internalization of racist values? Is there an intraracial value system functioning within the community that devaluates people with darker hues, while elevating those who are lighter? It is difficult to confirm or deny these plausible hypotheses because of the scarcity of empirical research conducted on this subject.

Current Skin Color Issues

Two recent and one continuing phenomenon propel the examination of colorism. One recent implication that colorism is active in the Black community is the resurgence of preference for light skin in African-American men (Marriott, 1991). The other is the significant increase in interracial marriages (Norment, 1994). Status and privilege based on skin color (Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Seltzer & Smith, 1991) are in need of reassessment to determine its applicability to bias and discrimination in African-American women. The ensuing section addresses these manifestations of colorism in Black women. Many African-American biracial individuals are particularly affected by skin color dynamics in the larger society, African-American community, and family structure.

Although skin color differentiation resulted primarily from miscegenation during slavery, race mixing appears to be on the increase. This increase adds to the number of individuals who may be affected by skin color concerns and bias (Norment, 1994).

The progeny of these unions will possess a range of skin hues, even within the same nuclear family composition. In Ebony magazine, Norment wrote of the rise in marriages between Black men and White women that increased fourfold in the last twenty-five years. Skin color remains a primary issue for some bi-racial or multi-racial individuals, even when other physical features meet the criteria for Blackness such as broad features and tightly curled hair (Norment 1994).

As the magnitude of those who may be affected by colorism increases, it becomes even more important that researchers examine the impact of skin color variability, and its a possible correlate, skin color bias.

As the number of intraracial individuals increases, majority Americans have a larger pool of individuals on which to confer “narcissistic” privileges. That is if, as the literature suggests, Whites indeed allow more educational, professional, residential, economic, etc. privileges to those most closely resembling themselves in physical features (Hughes & Hertel, 1990).

The second consequence of an inability to address intraracial issues arises from the feelings engendered within the community upon acknowledging the existence of colorism. Issues of rejection or any imputation of inferior status by family, or community members because one is light or dark remain an unresolved issue. The noted anger, guilt, poor intimate relationships, unacknowledged favoritism, unresolved identity issues, and feelings of marginalization can continue to affect the intraracial interpersonal relations of its members.

In a section of Essence magazine, called Between Us, Grant, (1994) responds to a reader who relates her frustration with remarks directed towards her because of her light skin. While individuals direct most of the color bias toward darker-skinned African-Americans, there is also bias against some who are light-skinned.

The examination of colorism is lacking in the empirical literature despite it being a psychological phenomenon with the power to affect well being. There is

a need for empirical investigation and theory construction in psychological research to define, recognize, determine the potential impact of, and provide interventions for colorism, within the African-American community.

Privilege and Color and Opportunity

The following section documents the differential experiences of individuals of African descent. Included in the literature review is the impact of skin color difference on various variables (income and socio-economic status, education, marriage, beauty standards) affecting the life chances, and relationships (professional, intimate, interpersonal, and familial) of African-Americans.

There are many aspects of life in which there is a relationship between skin color and the position, status, and circumstances one finds herself. For some African-Americans educational attainment, occupational and socio-economic status, income, religion, interpersonal relations, geographical residence, social and political attitudes, and prescribed identities are related to skin color.

Being dark or light-skinned has been explored and is more available as literature found in novels and poems, the theater, and film, than as the focus of inquiry in psychological research (Okazawa-Rey, Robinson & Ward 1987).

Differences in skin color can lead to qualitatively difference experiences throughout life. Being light has had its privilege, often bestowing greater prestige, respect and indulgence. This indulgence is often effected through

greater favoritism at home and in school (Okazawa-Rey, Robinson & Ward, 1987). Skin color has been called a status-determining characteristic in which light skin tends to increase one's social position as cited in a study by Mullins & Sites (1984) and quoted by Okazawa-Rey et al. (1987).

What is the opportunity that color confers on an individual? Okazawa-Rey, Robinson and Ward, (1987) suggest two possible opportunities: marriage and entrance into the middle class. With the shortage of Black marriageable men in all age categories, marriage itself is becoming a prized occurrence for some Black women. Norment (1994) informs us that experts predict that for every 100 Black women in college, there are between 35 and 45 Black men. There are some Black men who decrease the pool of available men by dating and marrying mostly or only White women. Having lighter skin appears to consign a competitive edge over the darker female in the marriage market. This advantage works in two ways. One benefit is to have light skin regardless of socioeconomic level and to marry on the principle of homogamy, status or status resource. The second is to be light and be the chosen object of a darker, but more economically successful individual in which case homogamy would not be operative. In this case, color, as a representation of status or a status resource would operate.

Lighter Blacks tend to predominate in the higher socioeconomic status category. Regardless of socioeconomic status, lighter Blacks tend to marry other light skinned Blacks. This latter phenomenon is not justified by the socioeconomic status of the subject, or subject's parents, (Hughes & Hertel

1990). Several explanations have been proffered for the pattern in which light individuals more often marry others of a similar skin shade, across class and economic lines. One explanation is that light skin is seen as a high status symbol. The attribution of higher status resulting from the historical association of light skin to higher socioeconomic status persists to the current time.

Another possibility is that light skin, associated with higher socioeconomic status, is seen as a viable resource for the marriage, and will be the preferred color choice because of its perceived advantage to the marriage. The final hypothesis is explained by homogamy, in which marriage is based on similarity of traits, which includes skin color.

The second perceived opportunity in marrying a light-skinned person sees the person as a vehicle for entering the middle class. This entrance can happen in at least two ways related to skin color. One is through marriage to a successful Black. Because lighter, more often than darker individuals, occupy positions of success, marrying light could be seen as a means of entering the middle class. In the marriage market, the lighter female is often depicted as the object that symbolizes success. Another assumed advantage in marrying someone light, is gained through the economic benefits that have been given, historically, lighter complexioned individuals by members of the dominant society (Okazawa-Rey, Robinson, and Ward 1987).

Educational Attainment

Darker skin Blacks are often the least educated within the color subdivisions of African-Americans. Proportionately they do not continue and complete education levels at the rate of other Blacks (Seltzer & Smith, 1991). They are less likely to have completed high school than either medium or light-toned Blacks. An unexpected finding, when placed in a historical perspective, is the trend for medium toned Blacks to graduate from school at a higher percentage rate than either dark or light skinned individuals between the ages of 18-40 (Seltzer & Smith, 1991). These authors suggest that there is an interaction effect of skin color with education that increases with age. Older people with light skin have more education. Hughes & Hertel (1990) however, found in their study that lighter skinned Blacks have more education even after controlling for age, gender, and parent's socio-economic status. Spouses of lighter Blacks also have more education. Using the effect of skin color on education by age, education in the young does not appear to be influenced by skin color. With age, however, older people with light skin tend to have completed higher education.

It may be that a greater number of darker individuals gained more access to higher education. It is not indicated if the subjects were Africa-Americans or a compilation of all Black ethnic groups. The subjects may include darker-complexioned individuals of other Black ethnic groups who may not have experienced the degradation and relegation to inferior status of African-Americans.

Occupational and Socio-economic Status

As with other negative findings, darker Blacks, also have lower occupational status than other Blacks (Seltzer & Smith, 1991). Lighter Blacks and their spouses were found to have higher occupational status by Hughes & Hertel (1990). Lighter Blacks were found to marry other Blacks with high socio-economic status, and to come from higher socio-economic status backgrounds than darker Blacks. They found that “dark skinned Blacks suffer much the same disadvantage relative to light skinned Blacks, that Blacks, in general, suffer relative to Whites” (p.1112) when it comes to employment in managerial and professional occupations, and consequently in terms of income and education. The one difference is that income distinctions were not as great within the race as between the races. Dark skin color was correlated negatively with the individual’s own socio-economic status as well as that of the spouse. The overall conclusion is that skin color does play an important role in the economic and occupational life of Blacks

Hughes & Hertel (1990) analyzed studies conducted from 1960-1980 to obtain a broader and longitudinal view on the impact of skin color on socio-economic status and its prevalence or decline. They, as other researchers have done, were looking at the impact of the Movements of the 60s on the life status of Blacks. They concluded that there was no general decline in the effect of skin color on socio-economic status during that time.

Income Differences-The Vagaries of Politics?

A study by Seltzer & Smith (1991) looking at income differences based on skin color found that lighter skinned Blacks had higher family incomes at age sixteen than darker Blacks. Darker skinned Blacks were more likely to have lived in below-average household at age sixteen than either light or medium Blacks. However, no income differences, by skin color, were found at the time of their study. Hughes & Hertel (1990) did not confirm the finding that income was not influenced by skin color. They found subjects with lighter skin had more personal and family income. They made the point that these relationships were not eliminated by control variables. They also were not explained by the fact that lighter Blacks, more often than darker Blacks, come from higher socio-economic status.

Interpersonal Relations

Boyd-Franklin (1989) suggests that unresolved skin color issues affect professional and personal relationships. Homogamy, marrying one with similar traits (i.e., skin color) is also active in the African-American community (Hughes & Hertel, 1990).

There is research to suggest that skin color may also affect not only on homogamy but also on the divorce rate in the Black community. Seltzer & Smith (1991) found that the darker subjects tended to be married, while the lighter ones were divorced. Medium-toned individuals were more often never married, but when married were least often divorced.

Intelligence as Privilege

The history of slavery has established that many of the lighter Blacks in America are genetically related to Whites. Because of this relationship, they have been portrayed as more educable, competent, and intelligent than other Blacks (Hughes & Hertel, 1990). In a somewhat narcissistic projection, Whites attribute these qualities to lighter Blacks without empirical validation. Attempts to validate the hypothesis that lighter Blacks are more intelligent than other Blacks failed, but the proclivity to characterize light-skinned Blacks in this manner remain. Consequently, light-complexioned individuals have been the beneficiaries to advantages not accorded darker Black people. Because they derive from the White race as well as from the Black race, they are in essence "family" to members of the dominant culture. As "family" to Whites, they are projected as more intelligent, more capable, and more deserving of societal and institutional support. As Whites control resources and institutions, light-skinned individuals often benefit, in a racial nepotism. The narcissistic nature of these projections is evident in this form of nepotism.

Another explanation for greater privilege to light individuals, conceptualized in terms of "diffuse status characteristics", is an outgrowth of the racial relationship of lighter skinned African-Americans to members of the dominant culture also. "Diffuse status characteristic," is a concept introduced by Berger et al. (1977) and cited in (Hughes & Hertel, 1990). In this theory, high status affiliates (light skinned persons) are treated by others as though they are more competent than low status affiliates (darker persons). The tendency to see

others in this manner prevails although there is no information conveyed by the status (skin color) indicating competency or the lack thereof. As a status characteristic Whites use skin color to make interpretations and judgments of Blacks in a process that may be mostly unconscious and unintentional. The process involved may be operating in the Black community also. Seltzer and Smith (1991) conclude that there is class stratification within the African-American community based on skin color with light individuals occupying the privileged positions at the top of the hierarchy. Although a possible explanation for lighter individuals occupying the position at the top of the privilege hierarchy may be found in the hypothesis of "diffuse status characteristics", there is no clear understanding of the etiology and need of this process, other than as an effect of narcissism.

There are no empirical studies to substantiate or refute "diffuse status characteristics" hypothesis as it relates to African-Americans. Are positive and negative qualities imputed or projected onto lighter and darker skinned African-Americans respectively by African-Americans simply because of their distance to or from White skin coloration? The possibility of this mechanism operating within the Black family, based on skin color, will be examined.

There are few theorists who have investigated the socialization of African-Americans without resorting to the paradigms of Black to White comparisons (Wilson, 1987). White families were originally concluded to have transmitted less pathological attributes to its offspring. However, there are inconsistencies in conclusions so that there are studies that contradict this generalization

(Berger & Simon, 1974; Aseltine, 1978;). Because many studies focus on interracial differences, there is limited theorizing and empirical basis from which to understand intraracial dynamics in African-American families. One such neglect is the place of skin color in the functioning of African-American families. Nor are there sufficient theories that examine and consolidate the particular intraracial skin shade factors that constitute areas of clinical importance. Skin color can be a major structural variable in African-American families thereby exerting major influence over the development of individuals within the family (Boyd-Franklin 1989; Bradley & Sanders, 1997). Skin color as a structural variable has a dual manifestation. It can be an individual and/or family structural variable. As an individual structural variable, it differentiates one individual from the other. It can be a family structural variable resulting from the interaction of society with the family, and from the interaction of the family and the individual. The family's self-image can, theoretically be based on skin color (Gatewood, 1990). Empirically based investigations that incorporate the psychological aspects of skin color socialization with clinical cases are needed to guide and inform therapeutic interventions.

Skin Color Socialization

Introduction

This section is a continuation of the review of the impact of racialization in the Black community and the subtle undercurrents of skin color discrimination. Skin color dynamics in African-American communities, as an outgrowth and component of societal values, are explored in the next segment of this paper.

Skin shades vary within many African-American families. The variation in skin tones is fertile ground for the promulgation of the color issues within the family (Boyd-Franklin, 1991). The differences in color can be used in deleterious ways that negatively affect the life circumstances of its members.

Many variables (education, financial status, marriage potential, religion, marital status, etc.) (Hughes & Hertel, 1990), psychological reactions (jealousy, envy, hostility, guilt, shame, rivalry, etc.)(Boyd-Franklin, 1991) and identity issues (Clark & Clark 1939; 1983) are associated with skin color. These variables are related to prejudice and bias from the dominant society, and discriminatory practices that have been internalized by the African-American community from the larger society. The effect of racism on the intraracial socialization of African-Americans remains underexamined.

Given that racial socialization may be too threatening psychologically to address within the family for some families (Johnson, 1992; Sanders Thompson, 1994), it is unlikely that skin color and any possible impact it may have on African-Americans would be readily discussed either. Bradley (1997) stated at a symposium at Teacher's College, New York City, that the issue of skin color operates in the lives of the African-American women she has worked with and that "the women talked of being wounded on how women and family interacted with them" around skin color. Bradley expressed the hypothesis that "if girls had a strong racial identity they may be able to withstand some of the messages on how we look. A lot of our identity is based on how we look."

Bradley & Sanders (1997) stated that they conducted a study with 110 preadolescent and adolescent girls in the 5th to 7th grades in a public school from the Middle West. As most empirical data they reviewed referred to the impact of skin color on women, and the women always referred back to childhood, they decided to "test if they are receiving messages from family. From her personal experience, Dr. Sanders related that "some family members were commented on as looking better than me, but I didn't know what it meant." As she later put things into focus, she concluded that it was because she was her particular skin color (chocolate brown). As part of the Bradley & Sanders' research, the female students were asked to describe "the best you can, how I can recognize you." It was extremely difficult for the students to describe themselves. When encouraged to look in the mirror and describe herself, one student described herself with long blond hair, blue eyes, and fair skin. This portrayal was the opposite of her actual appearance. When asked about this disparity, the young female could only cry silently. Bradley and Sanders surmised that beauty, being inferred through messages of society, was implanted in her mind in a way that caused her to have to negate her actual physical image.

The students were then shown eight pictures of female faces with typical and non-typical Negroid features that spanned a range of skin colors. The students descriptions ranged from responses such as "She thinks she's cute" to a picture of a light skinned person, to "She could be pretty but she's too dark" when shown a picture of a darker-skinned female.

Thirty percent of their students said they would be lighter if they could and 8% said they would be darker. All of the 8% who wanted to be darker were very light. The Bradley & Sanders research touched on “wounds that have a lot to do with skin color” and concluded that “directive, purposive, gender-specific racial socialization is needed.”

Treatment by various institutions and agencies reflect endemic societal racism (Steele, 1992; White & Parham, 1990; Aseltine, 1978; Hacker, 1992; Cose, 1993). Yet, the question remains if African-American families confront the issue of skin color difference within the family, community, and race. Draper (1995) developed a preliminary pilot survey to ascertain if “people” or family members discuss skin color differences. Approximately 72% of 551 respondents answered yes to the question “Do people you know talk about skin color differences?” However, only 33% answered yes to the question “Do members of your family talk about skin color differences of family members?”

Some skin shades are valued, however, over others both inside and outside the African-American community (Isaacs, 1974; Berry, 1988). How to put this in proper perspective for socialization purposes can be, at the least, a challenge. How can parents present this issue in a way that is non-biased but realistic, nonjudgmental, and supports each member to develop a positive identity while alleviating the narcissistic injury encumbered by this knowledge? Investigations into how to achieve this skin color socialization are undoubtedly negligible, if extant.

Okazawa-Rey, Robinson and Ward (1987), in agreement with Boyd-Franklin (1989, 1991) attribute the reinforcement of color distinctions to the family. The family teaches the child that one skin color is valued over another. These values may be unconscious or unacknowledged. They may be overtly stated or implied through behavior (actions, stories, jokes) and value judgments.

In a given family, the interest in color begins with curiosity about the color of a new member born into the family. Inspections are made for the eventual color of the child (Okazawa-Rey, Robinson, & Ward, 1987). In this manner, from birth the child, may be sent messages from family members as to her identity and/or acceptability based on her current or eventual skin color. The acceptance or lack of acceptance of the child's skin color (and therefore, the child) has the potential to affect object relations or bonding between the parent and child, or to meet or thwart a parent's narcissistic need for particular characteristics in a child.

What this child first recognizes and believes about herself, or perceives as an inherent quality, may come out of the values the family holds about her particular skin color and her interactions within this context of color values. In effect, the family's values become internalized as part of the woman's self-concept and self-valuation.

Boyd-Franklin (1991) points to families as a source of skin color socialization in the formation of racial identity for African-American women in both values orientation and skin color variation. She states that "The issues of skin color, hair texture, and body image have their painful origins not just in

societal attitudes but in their families of origin as well" (p.32). She calls this issue "toxic" because of its insidious undermining of the individual's feelings of self-worth and its far-reaching effect on the many types of relationships in the individual's life. No relationship on any level is spared being filtered through this motif-professional, casual acquaintance, friendship, intimate, or parental. This "toxicity" also affects the female's ability to communicate to others about this topic. The inability to communicate may be due to their differences in skin shades, the differences projected onto the particular hues, their experiences around skin color in various aspects of their lives, and the sentiments attached.

Shame is also associated with the family's mode of socialization and skin color. (Boyd-Franklin, 1991). The tendency to keep secrets within the family around this topic and to admonish against "airing dirty laundry" in public contributes to the generalized suppression of this subject. Socialization becomes even more "toxic" because it is unrecognized as such and can have an unconscious impact on those involved. This leads to the maladaptive use of defenses to keep these feelings towards self and others out of consciousness.

Bates (1994) confirms the position taken by Boyd-Franklin (1991) on the noxious effects of intra-racial attitudes regarding skin color in interpersonal relationships and how it affects both dark and light skinned women. She too notes the possibility of pain, rage, competition, suspiciousness, arrogance, resentment and stereotyping by and among women of differing skin hues.

In Bates' (1994) interview of dark-complexioned Carolita and Lisa Marie, and light-complexioned Donna, the painfulness of having a skin shade that

diverges significantly from the median or typical skin shade is discussed. Dark-skinned Lisa Marie feels invisible even within the African-American community because she is often overlooked as a possible mate for other dark men. This is her perception despite being described by men in her life as “voluptuous” and attractive. Carolita, also dark-complexioned, recounts with rage how a light-skinned male colleague complimented her. He told her that she didn’t fit the general beauty model for dark-skinned females, that she was attractive. She felt that while White men seemed more attracted to her darkness, successful Black men did not see her as a partner because they wanted a lighter woman to symbolize their success.

Donna, in a different dilemma, was hired by the University of Colorado as an admission’s counselor to propagandize to African American about the merits of attending the university. According to Donna, because of her light-skin, a Black parent challenged her qualifications to represent Blacks. The parent questioned her being part of the Black experience in America.

Skin color differences have been, at times, particularly during childhood and adolescence, at the root of physical conflict amongst African-American females. Women recall fights in which lighter girls were attacked by darker ones. These attacks were attributed to envy because of the lighter skin color. Fights, verbal attacks, painful rejections, by same-race females have been revealed in therapy by women of color (Boyd-Franklin, 1991; Okazawa-Rey et al., 1987)

Transmission of Skin Color Values

The transfer of skin color values from the larger society has several segues into African-American communities. These entrances, opened daily via mass media, filter into family functioning, as well as directly affect the attitudes and beliefs of African-American individuals. This part of the paper reviews the transmission of skin color bias. To quote Marriott (1991), "...some experts would say that a concern with skin color is understandable if not completely acceptable" (p. 122). Marriott goes on to say that "lightening the line" is a tradition that "...fit within the need or desire to adapt to the White supremacy of the society" (p.122).

Boyd-Franklin (1989) states that Black families have internalized the prejudices against Black skin color by identifying with the larger culture's racist valuation. Because of this identification with racism directed against Blacks, some Black families themselves discriminate against other family members based on the criterion of color gradation. This intra-familial bias creates schisms and difficulties for family members. Using the Bowenian family therapy model, Boyd-Franklin goes on to state that "All families project characteristics onto their children based on appearance" (p.34). The child, whom least approximates the family's ideal in physical appearance, becomes the object of projection of all that ails the family. Psychologically, emotionally and/or socially, the child becomes a container for all that is unacceptable in the family or individual members of the family. In family therapy terms, the child becomes the "identified patient." The family now has a place to focus its frustrations with the racist system by

attributing to the "identified patient" that which it would prefer to reject or deflect from itself. Reactions to skin color are fraught with complexity. Individuals have different conscious and unconscious reactions to the various skin shades. The family may idealize the lighter member, hate it, ignore it, or envy it. There can be simultaneous love and hate, pride and shame and guilt. On the other hand, the dark child could remind the family of the Black ancestors and all that is African. The darkest child can also be a repository for all the negative stereotypes fostered by the mass media and dominant culture. On an unconscious level, these values may pass from generation to generation.

Raising psychologically healthy African-American females has to be an onerous task in the face of a society that propagandizes for the unilateral view that its features are the ideal and are to be idealized. How is this subject handled in Black families? What are the features that comprise beauty? What is the socialization process that allows for the emergence of a self that feels adequate, valued, admired, intelligent, and a valued part of both family and society? The family's role is to provide a haven against pernicious affects from external agencies along with physical and emotional nurturance. Yet it can project subtle, and sometimes flagrant, negative qualities because of the member's skin color. The family can be the agent for the continued degradation of some of its members.

Gillespie (1993) decries the promulgation of White American beauty standards within the Black community. She feels that future generations are being bombarded, through lyrics, with the message that they cannot be beautiful

unless they are at least beige in skin color. Not only are they not beautiful, neither are they acceptable in physical appearance. She describes the acceptable appearance depicted by Black models as “Black but not really Black: café au lait, not black coffee...” (p. 74). Black models are also thrashed for being merely “dipped in light chocolate” and not representative of the full range of hues within the Black race. Using only such models misleads one to equate beauty, desirability, and the modeling profession itself with beige or lighter skin hues. The use of only light skinned individuals in photographic modeling puts emphasis on presenting models who possess Caucasian features, rather than on modeling the various hues and features within the African-American spectrum.

Gillespie also points to rap musicians who croon over the fair skin and long, straight hair of their love object. In song, they eulogize the features that are scarce in, and uncharacteristic of, most of the audience they proclaim to court as fans, fellow Black people. This happens and gains acceptance by an audience that identifies with the values and objects in the song. Vicarious living allows the idealization of characteristics not present in the beholder or listener. So, the Black person can be this more desirable person, until the song, or movie goes off, or until the magazine cover is closed.

Indulgence, privilege, and power in the family are possible benefits of having the preferred family skin color, which in many families, but not all, is the lighter skin shade. Skin color, related to variables in the empirical literature, suggest that lighter skinned African-Americans have more resources, obtain

higher levels of education, and are allowed entrance in greater numbers to higher positions of power than darker African-Americans. It is proposed that such a hierarchy may be active within the family structure also and there is a need to examine that possibility within the matrix of the Black family. The insidious effects of this power and indulgence are achieved through the same beliefs and ideology that produce disempowerment, and deprivation in individuals with negatively cathected skin shades.

Summary

The socio-cultural framework (Williams & Wright, 1992) and the intergenerational transmission of values (Bowen, 1978) are complementary theories that create a logical context from which to study African-Americans family milieus. The psychological experience of being a member of a particular Black family structure in American society can be understood in the context of these theories.

Racial Identity Development

Introduction

The Racial identity section contains a brief overview of issues of identity development deals and the importance and validity of viewing African-American identity from various perspectives. The perspectives most noted in the literature are based on race, acculturation or assimilation, or ethnicity theory (except when synonymous with African-American). Theories based on the social, cultural, and political climate in American society are presented in relation to the exploration of Black group identity development in America.

Theories of Black/Racial Identity Development

There are many ways of conceptualizing factors that affect group identity processes in persons of African descent. Researchers use different terms connoting different perspectives to label and give meaning to identity. Some terms focus on the racial derivatives while others strictly avoid the racial aspects and focus on assimilation and acculturation (Atkinson, Morten & Sue, 1989; Sue & Sue 1990). It has been posited that race is less significant than class (Wilson, 1978), that race is a fallacious concept (Webster, 1992), or otherwise implied as a factor of minimal importance in the lives of African-Americans. However, an overview of other possible designations, (acculturated, assimilated, ethnic) suggests even less precision in capturing the processes many affecting African-Americans.

Acculturation/Assimilation and Black Identity

Atkinson, et al (1989) and Sue & Sue (1990), major theorists in the study of ethnic identity, focus on assimilation, acculturation, and the extent to which one chooses to integrate traditional cultural views with Western cultural values. They examine the conflicts and compatibilities of the traditional and Western systems, and the manner in which the ethnic individual resolves the issue of his identity in relation to American culture. Their basic assumption is that ethnic groups have comparable-enough experiences to aggregate their psychological experiences and reactions to these experiences. They fail to emphasize that for

some groups, physical features play a more important function in attempts to integrate into the American value system.

For African-Americans who are acculturated or bicultural, and have attempted to achieve the "American dream", their darker skin color and other African features can target them for discrimination or render them invisible, enraged (Cose, 1993), or untrusting of the country that kidnapped and ravaged, but does not value, them (Grier & Cobbs, 1968). As long as skin color is related to race in America and at the same time used as a racist tool, African-Americans will continue to be defined by racial group membership, rather than by culture or ethnicity.

Summary

Acculturation, assimilation, and ethnicity miss a vital component of Black identity in their minimization of the effects of skin color. Because skin color is a defining characteristic of American race relations, and affects African-Americans more directly than any other "minority" group, it is necessary to examine models that include race in identity structure. The importance of skin color dynamics is often overlooked from a theoretical perspective as an adjustment issue in the lives of African-Americans (Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Greene, 1990). Instead, much of the theory about African-Americans is conceptualized using terms such as "ethnicity" or "culture. These terms, however, (used in much of the literature to understand many immigrant, racial, minority, or ethnic groups issues) obscure the sentiment and importance attached to skin color in the minds of African-

Americans, other "minorities", and particularly in the minds of members of the dominant culture group.

Black Identity and the Social Milieu

Other models of Black identity development infer that Blacks self-define by external, societal-based criteria. Campbell (1996) cited Stryker & Serpe (1982) who theorize that the "self" and "society" exert a mutual influence on each other thereby defining each other by this mutual influence. The self and society can be seen as the same entity for individuals of the larger society. Attempting to apply this concept to Blacks, the mutuality of influence in shaping the identity of each is present, but there is not a linear relationship between the Black "self" and "society". What mediates the relationship between Black identity and societal identity is probably "race" as conceptualized in America. As Stryker & Serpe argue, self and societal identities are produced by mutual feedback, but the mechanism is more complex for African-Americans as Blacks and society do not eventuate in the same entity to extent that Whites and society do. Alternative identities resulting from mitigating input (intrapsychic, biological, constitutional factors, and historical, political, and social) must be plausible possibilities for Blacks in America. Blacks are not, and are not allowed to be, simply White people in Black skin. Accepting American values does not give the African American full privilege and identity as an American.

Models of Black development based on societal influence propose that Black identity is a function of the currents of political and social ideology.

Studies in this genre (Cross, 1978; Krate, Leventhal & Silverstein, 1974) place identity in a socio-political context with psychological implications.

Cross (1978) reviewed Thomas's model of Nigrescence in which Nigrescence is defined as the process of becoming Black. Thomas's stages, presented as an antidote for negromachy, are defined "as that which is ruled by confusion of self-worth and show dependency upon White society for definition of self..." (p.14). The remedy for negromachy is the attainment of a positive racial identity. That achievement is a step on the way to the realization of the oneness of humankind. Positive self-esteem is achieved via a positive racial esteem, eventuating in the goal of unity within the human race.

In the first stage, the individual withdraws to "rap on Whitey" and to gain insight into his negative self-concept. The "new self" emerges in the second stage, with the attendant uncertainties and need for validation of the new identity. Next, the individual becomes action-oriented in his attempt to solidify his new identity. This stage consists of both the emergence of a Black identity, and the internalization of the identity. The final stage is Internalization. The individual ends the withdrawal with the capacity to deal with Black and other-than-Black individuals. Internalization produces a person of the human race, not a Black person. There is now a humanistic, rather than racial, identity. The theory ends with the transcendence beyond one's racial identity. This perspective suggests that one's response to and internalization of racism should be irrelevant to his sense of whom he is, his humanity. There is a degree of optimism that mankind is capable of relinquishing his group identity for a human

race identity. There is also the implication that one cannot hold both Black and human identity at the same time.

Another theorist, Toldson (1962) takes a more philosophical stance on the stages of identity development. His model contains six stages with the a different resolution to Black identity as the one posited by Thomas (Cross, 1978). In Toldson's stages, the individual transits the following stages, "separation from nature" to "submersion into personal misery", Identification with oppressed people, The extension of self into the past, A careful self-analysis and finally to Affirmation of Blackness. At the final stage, the self is accepted, its blackness, and its oppressors.

Lightfoot and Foster (1970) place their theory in a socio-cultural context. They define Black identity as (...a function of the socio-cultural reality of the times." (p.751). They review the Stage theory of Bennett (1969). Bennett was a political identity theorist. He hypothesized that there are four stages. The Stage of Passion that is characterized by struggle, pain and conflict. In the Stage of Integration some Blacks are allowed to participate in various aspect of majority life and are allowed "...admission into the inner sanctum" (p.753). In this stage, the selected Blacks are placed as buffers between their own group and White majority members. This buffer group is often composed of those with light skin and European facial features. The third stage, Stage of Mass Direct Action, comes about as those not allowed entrance into the sanctum demand more supplies through nonviolent protest. The final stage, Stage of a Nationalist Rebellion is a stage of subliminal realization of oppression that directs its

discontent against outer society in "...sporadic, disorganized outbursts against property in an effort to be heard" (p.753).

Cross (1971, 1991) continues in the socio-political context and presents his model, originally called the Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience. Cross describes the existence of Blacks under oppressive conditions in which the cultural values paradigm is that of middle-class White America. Although environmental conditions of oppression remain manifest, Cross believes that there has been a psychological chain breaking for many Blacks resulting from the Black movements of the 1960s. The Black social movement produced an ideological shift away from the Eurocentric to the Africentric values paradigm.

In his model, Cross defines five stages that depict changes that the individual goes through in an attempt to come to terms with his Blackness. The first stage is Preencounter, in which the individual experiences his racial group orientation (reference group orientation) as a low salience Black, a neutral Black or an anti-Black. For individuals with low Black salience, being Black has little relation to their working reality. They do not necessarily have an issue with being Black. They may be neutral in their emotional cathecting to Blacks and Black culture. They may focus more of their attention, concern, or ideological orientation on areas such as religion, occupational or professional organizations. Low salience Blacks may also view their Blackness as something negative and focus concern on presenting themselves in a manner that they deem acceptable to White society. The third type of Preencounter individual is the anti-Black African American. His worldview is that of White America. This Preencounter

individual degrades Blacks and Blackness, and his ancestral history and motherland are viewed in a negative and distorted manner. These individuals look to Whites to lead and guide them. They view Whites and White artifacts as the epitome of civilization and vastly superior to Blacks and their contributions to history. Whites and Blacks may be stereotyped in that the Black may be seen in a more negative light while the White is seen in a more positive light than reality confirms. White culture and Black culture are often dichotomized for the anti-Black Preencounter stage individual. The Preencounter stage, once thought to be a stage indicative of poor mental health in Blacks was revised in Cross (1991). Cross proposes that Preencounter individuals can be as mentally healthy as individuals in the other racial identity attitude stages. One can gain satisfaction and happiness from other interests besides Black cultural activities and perspectives. Preencounter also cuts across social class lines and can as readily affect the Black professional as it can individuals who live at the poverty level.

In the second stage, Encounter, the individual experiences an incident that challenges his Eurocentric view of the world, his interpretation of Blacks, and the Black experience in America. Cross (1991) states that encounters may occur as the result of a negative or positive happening but that they are both inherently negative experiences. There are two parts to the encounter; one of which is the experience itself. The second is the impact of the encounter that propels the individual to begin a reinterpretation of his life experiences and the world around him. He is forced to reconsider his previous interpretation of the

Black condition in America. Guilt often accompanies the encounter as the person begins to wonder if he has sold out his race. The person may also feel guilty for having maligned Blacks in the past. Anger emerges and the White world becomes the enemy. He is driven to gain a Black identity that propels him into the Immersion-Emersion stage. While Cross posits a unidirectional route to an Encounter experience, Parham & Williams (1993) suggests a bi-directional effect. They asked subjects how they experienced the cause of their racial attitude change. The subjects responded with answers of positive experiences with Whites (9.4%) and positive experiences with Blacks (11.5%), in addition to the negative experiences with Whites and Blacks (13.5% and 2% respectively). Parham & Williams found that 57.3% of their sample related that "personal insights unrelated to negative or positive experiences with either Blacks or Whites" (p. 17) contributed to processes that effected their identity change. Therefore, they suggest that influences other than White oppression may account for racial identity change in Blacks. Parham & Helms (1981) maintain that racial identity attitudes are biracial with an attitude toward Blacks and an attitude towards Whites. Cross (1991) however hypothesized that the energy generated by the Encounter stage individual's anger, guilt, and anxiety propel him into his all-encompassing search for his Black identity. The individual has now entered the Immersion/Emersion stage.

Immersion-Emersion is the third stage. The individual now submerges himself in the Black and African cultural experiences. He values all that is Black and denigrates all that is White. He experiences a newfound sense of pride in

being Black, and feels a need to “confront the man” (p.19) in order to assert his Blackness. In his need to define himself, he is quick to categorize others with labels that symbolize a less evolved Black self-concept. He derides all who do not appear as “Black” as he, or fit his definition of Blackness. This stage is one of emotions fueling behavior. The anger, resentments, disappointments, guilt, and anxiety propel him on his journey to his new Black identity. The Emersion stage follows as he begins to emerge from the cultural experience in which he had fully immersed himself. His emotional reactions begin to come into balance and are no longer as intense or motivating. The antithesis he felt towards Whites is modified and he acknowledges their humanity, while taking a more balanced view that not all that is Black is beautiful. Still angry, he feels less guilt and more pride. As he becomes more aware of Black cultural, social, and political realities, he is better able to control his reactions to the larger culture and is now prepared to enter the fourth stage.

Internalization, the fourth stage, is not necessarily accessed as a result of negotiating the prior stage, Immersion-Emersion stage. Cross notes that for some individuals, there can be a regression to the belief in White values. For others, Immersion-Emersion becomes a permanent psychological state, as they remain fixated at this stage. The optimal course however, is entrance into the Internalization stage where one is open to, but not yet committed to, political action. The Immersion/Emersion stage individual has negotiated the challenges to his new identity. The identity is no longer a superficial manifestation of his journey, but is now internalized as part of his/her “self”. In contrast to the

Preencounter stage person with low Black salience, the Internalization stage individual has high salience to Blackness. All persons in the Internalization stage, however, are not at the same level of salience for Blackness. Cross (1991) notes that Internalization stage individuals may take different ideological perspectives, but the "cognitive dissonance" that characterizes the prior stage has been resolved. Internalization stage persons may range from nationalists who remain immersed in Blackness to persons with bicultural and multicultural perspectives. Brookins et al., (1992) concluded in their sample of college students that Internalization attitudes are associated with identification and feelings of psychological closeness to African-Americans. Cross (1991) also notes that the anxiety about Blackness has decreased, so that he/she is calmer. Where there was formerly anxiety around Blackness (Weusi anxiety), there is now Weusi pride and Weusi self-acceptance. The Internalization stage person is now more secure in his/her new sense of a Black identity so that "one is free to ponder matters beyond the parameters of a personal sense of Blackness (e. g., organizational development, community development, problem solving, conflict resolution, institution building). This change in identity does not mean that the individual's personality has changed. What has changed is the way he views the world. Cross (1991) emphasized that one's personal psychological strengths and weakness and personality traits remain after this Black identity change. Shy individuals are just as shy, while extroverted individuals remain as extroverted. One's internal strengths however can help negotiate the intensity of the Encounter and Immersion/Emersion stages.

But, why concern oneself with Black identity as a psychological construct? Cross (1991) maintains that a solid, stable Black identity has value as a defense structure. The Black identity is defensive against the onslaughts of a racist society. A Black identity is also able to "provide a sense of purpose, meaning and affiliation", and finally produces a personal internal manner of functioning that allows for dialogue with others on matters unrelated to Blackness. There are other values to a Black identity that relate to the group functioning. Blacks need to experience acceptance and connection to other people. These feelings are rooted in Blackness for the Internalization stage person. "Bridging", the ability to communicate and function in a non-Black milieu is another function of a Black identity. Internalization stage individuals, by understanding themselves, learn to understand other non-Black individuals. And, as remaining in a completely Black world would limit access to the change necessary in the modern world, Blacks become more flexible ideationally.

In the fifth stage, Internalization-Commitment, the person is committed to fostering political, social, and economic change within the Black community. After reaching the Internalization stage with its high salience for Blackness, many Blacks do not maintain an interest in further Black involvement. But some do continue to work toward Black advancement and goals. The commitment to continued work toward Black advancement distinguishes Internalization from the Internalization-Commitment stage individual.

Summary

Racial identity theory suggests that Black individuals are in a reciprocal relationship with society in shaping and formulating their identity. Blacks, expressing this relationship, present with different degrees of internalization of positive and negative attachments to both the majority and their own racial group. These connections to the White and Black racial groups can be defined on a continuum based on pro and anti-sentiments directed toward both groups.

Racial Identity Theory and the African-American Female

Racial identity development in African-American females has been minimally addressed in the research literature. And, although theorists do offer explanations for female identity development (Boyd-Franklin, 1991; Greene, 1994) a comprehensive theory integrating family socialization messages, racial identity stance, early experiences, and biological factors is lacking.

Freeman (1994) conceptualizes African-American female development through Marcia's identity stages (Identity Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium and Identity Achievement). Marcia had originally operationalized concepts in Erikson's Identity vs. Confusion stage on White male college students. Phinney & Tarver (1988) applied this stage theory to ethnic groups. Freeman has further defined the use of Marcia's stages by expanding it to African-American female identity development. The first stage is a combination of Ethnic Identity Diffusion and Foreclosure. In this stage the female, aware of her ethnic heritage, prefers the majority group's beliefs that are consistent with those of White males and accepts them without questioning their meaning or validity. Majority beauty

norms are internalized, as are the negative stereotypes about Blacks. In the Ethnic Identity Search/Moratorium stage, there is “a gradual or forced awareness” that African-American women are held, as a group, in low esteem. The Moratorium stage is a crisis stage and this awareness throws the African-American female into crisis. The female may also immerse herself into a search for ethnic identity, or immerse herself into her ethnic identity. Self-esteem may be low and anger is a general quality of this stage. The final stage, Identity Achievement, brings acceptance of gender and ethnic identity. She develops a sense of belonging and connection to her ethnic group and a positive self-concept begins to develop. In addition to the Marcia stages, Freeman includes a stage that precedes Ethnic Identity Diffusion/Foreclose. This is a neutral stage, similar to the first stage presented by Steward (1991). This is the stage of total ignorance in which the African-American is unaware of the societal value attached to her membership in the African-American ethnic group. In the neutral stage, there is no acknowledgment of belonging to an ethnic group as is acknowledged in Phinney & Tarver’s Diffusion/Foreclosure, the first stage of ethnic Identity. The final appended stage comes between Ethnic Identity Search and Ethnic Identity Achievement and is a stage of respite in which the individual takes time to understand and integrate the insights from the Search stage.

As can be surmised from the paucity of theory and research on African-American female identity development, there is a general lack of insight into the factors that are relevant to African-American female functioning. Theory is not based in the observations of African-Americans or even females but on the

underlying premises gained from research with White males (generally college students).

Not only are personal and gender identities influenced by the family (Pittman, 1985) but so is racial identity. Little research has focused on "family communication and preparation of racial identity" (Stevenson, 1994, p.446). Racial identity is posited as "precipitated by family influence" and is a multidimensional rather than unidimensional construct (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992 cited in Stevenson, 1994). According to Stevenson, the dearth of examination of racial identity attitudes and racial socialization results from the lack of viable measures of racial socialization. While this paper will focus on only one facet of racial socialization-skin color socialization, the topic merits further investigation on a more comprehensive level.

Racial Identity Variables

The Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS-B), used in the following studies, was developed by Parham & Helms (1981) to operationalize the first four stages of the Thomas and Cross models of Nigrescence.

Racial identity is defined by Helms (1991) as "...a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group" (p.3). She distinguishes racial identity as defined above from racial classification (Black or White). Race is defined according to Krogman (1945) as "...a sub-group of peoples possessing a definite combination of physical characteristics, of genetic origin, the

combination of which to varying degrees distinguishes the sub-group from other sub-groups of mankind..."(cited by Helms, 1991, p. 3). Black racial identity refers to identification with Blacks as a racial group. Subsumed under Black racial identity is a particular emphasis on the quality of the individual's identification, and the manner by which one identifies or fails to identify with the racial group. Racial identity theory has two concurrent goals: one is to specify identity based on personal, ascribed and reference group factors. The second goal is to predict behavior, ideation, and affective considerations related to racial identity. Theoretically, racial identity is believed to affect self-esteem, and self-esteem is a major component of psychological health in African-Americans. It is therefore important to examine the relationship between racial identity attitudes and variables influential in the lives of African-Americans.

Racial identity attitudes are also related to racial self-designation (Martin & Hall, 1992; Parham & Williams, 1993) in their research using of the RIAS-B, long form. The long form consists of 50 items in the four-factor breakdown. Preencounter status was related to the use of Colored and Negro as racial self-designations (Martin & Hall, 1992). This suggests that Preencounter may be related to age of subject, as younger subjects will be less familiar with the terminology Negro or Colored. The mean age of their sample was 47.5 years with a range of 18-75 years in a group of highly educated churchwomen. However, this group of women was as likely as the other groups of women to support women's issues and the Black liberation movement. Age is probably

one of many factors that need further research to help in understanding its impact on racial identity attitudes.

Parham & Williams (1993) also examined the relationship between racial identity attitude and racial self-designation. African-American and Black self-designated individuals were attitudinally more strongly anti-Preencounter than individuals who self-designated as Negro.

Another study, (Carter, 1991) examined racial identity attitudes and psychological functioning (not stages) using the same names for the attitudes as those given to the stages. Self-reported levels of anxiety, paranoia, hallucinations, alcohol concerns, memory impairment, and global psychological distress were significantly and positively related to Preencounter attitudes.

Munford (1994) found a difference between college students and non-college subjects with college student scoring significantly higher on Encounter, Immersion, and Internalization attitudes. Preencounter, Encounter, and Immersion attitudes were significantly and positively related to depression. Preencounter attitudes were also related to low self-esteem and Internalization attitudes to high self-esteem. Overall, males scored significantly higher than females on Preencounter attitudes. Males in the college sample scored higher on the Preencounter scale than did the females while males in the non-college student sample scored higher in Internalization scores than did their comparable females.

Racial Identity and Physical Appearance

Hughes & Hertel, (1990) attempted to assess the effect of skin color on the variables Black identity, Black separatism, and racial self-esteem. They hypothesized that light-skinned Blacks identify more with middle class White culture than with a strong Black identity. Their results indicated a significant but weak zero-order correlation between dark skin color and Black identity and Black separatism. Blacks with darker skin coloring evidenced greater Black identity and Black separatism ideology. However when controlling for age, gender, parents' socioeconomic status, subject's education and occupational prestige, the effects of skin color were eliminated. There was no relationship between skin color and racial self-esteem. Skin color itself may be insufficient to account for one's identity and racial esteem. It is posited that beliefs, one's conception of, and allegiance to one's definition of Blackness probably contribute to racial esteem and Black identity. Another explanation is Isajiw's (1974) theory that acculturation and racial identity may not correlate and so do not negate one another.

Hughes & Hertel (1990) also looked at the interaction of gender and skin color with racial identity. For Black males, skin color was not associated with Black identity. Of the female subjects, lighter-toned females had lower levels of Black identity. One study using the RIAS-B suggested there was no relationship between the objective assessment of skin color and individual or family racial identity attitudes (Draper, 1997a & b) in a non-student population. Self-perceived skin color resulted in the opposite conclusion (Helms, 1991).

Describing a study of 285 college students using a 5-point scale to describe their own skin color (1=White or almost White, 2=light, 3=brown, 4=dark, 5=Black or almost Black) Helms found differences in racial identity attitudes that she stated were more complex than generally conceived. The only attitude not predicted by skin color was the Encounter stage. Darker subjects tended not to place themselves in the Preencounter stage while the lighter the subject, the more likely the individual was to fall in the Preencounter stage. For skin colors white through brown, the darker the individual, the higher the Internalization attitude. Self-designated brown individuals had higher Internalization scores than white or black designated individuals. This suggests that individuals at the extreme color ends may have more difficulty developing a positive racial identity than those in the middle category (Helms, 1991).

Racial Identity Attitude Variables

Racial identity attitude is defined as one's sentiments, feelings, views of, or perspective on, his/her concept of the self as a member of a particular racial group. Carter & Helms (1988) and Cross (1991) argue that personal identity of African-Americans and racial identity are separate constructs. And, that self-valuation concerning personal identity does not necessarily correlate with self-evaluations of the racial group to which one is assigned. Therefore, a Black could theoretically feel good about himself as a Black individual but hold negative attitudes toward the Black race. Negative estimations may be indicated depending on the subjective association to race as a personal quality or racial

group quality. This is plausible as Carter & Helms (1988) contend that "...racial identity attitudes appear to be related more to internal functioning than to external forces. It seems that this developmental psychosocial process is more a result of an individual's interpretation of his or her socialization experiences and personal development than it is a reflection of actual external condition imposed by social class" (p.29). Although this statement is in reference to a finding that social class status was not predicted by racial identity attitude, the effects of subjective interpretations remain a potent factor regardless of the variable examined.

Therefore, identity appellations and status may change by or within the decade; but the individual's internal identity may not change to any significant degree. This premise is exemplified by the "Black is Beautiful" movement of the late 1960's in which social scientists and researchers are still contemplating the nature and extent of its effect on African-American (Killian, 1990).

Many studies relate Racial Identity Attitudes to social and personal variables. Racial identity attitudes have been examined with the following variables: self-esteem (Parham & Helms, 1985), preference for counselor's race (Parham & Helms, 1981), demographic factors (Parham & Williams, 1993), participation in college activities (Mitchell & Dell, 1992), gender and psychological well-being (Pyant & Yanico, 1991), psychological functioning (Carter, 1991), attitude towards counseling and counselor (Austin et al., 1990), social class (Carter & Helms, 1988), and Black values orientation (Carter &

Helms, 1987). However, racial identity attitudes research has not focused on family racial socialization or skin color attitudes within the family.

An underlying assumption of racial identity attitude studies is that racial identity attitude is somehow related to other aspects of functioning. Some areas of functioning will be examined in this section of the paper. Many variable have been used to examine racial identity attitudes such as age, college and non-college populations, gender, extent of racial integration in the location of the study, geographical location, socioeconomic status, and whether the long or short form was used.

Pyant & Yanico (1991) investigated the relationship between racial identity attitudes and attitudes Black women hold towards their roles as a female. The subjects were 143 Black women, obtained from a predominantly Black university in North Carolina. Seventy-eight psychology students, and 65 nonstudent volunteers were obtained through the following sources: a U. S. Army personnel in Alabama (19), a social work agency in Missouri (30) and a university medical hospital in North Carolina (16). The college students with a mean age of 19.8 years, were mostly single, childless, with full-time attendance at college. Almost half of this group was employed. The nonstudents had a mean age of 30.5 years, less than half were married (41.5%), slightly fewer were single (38.5%) and some were divorced, separated or widowed (18.4%). Less than half had completed high school, some had some college, a quarter had obtained a bachelor's degree and a little over 10% had a graduate degree. Most of the nonstudents who worked full-time were skilled worker/craftsperson. Some

of the other nonstudent subjects were managerial/clerical, professional or technical workers. No significant difference was found, subsequently, between the two groups.

For the student sample, the Preencounter score on the Racial Identity Attitude Scale was a significant predictor of well being and self-esteem. The higher the Preencounter score, the lower the well being and self-esteem score. On the Beck Inventory, there were no significant predictors in the nonstudent sample. The Encounter and Preencounter subscales of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale were predictors of well being. However, the Encounter scale accounted for more than twice as much variance as the Preencounter in the well-being scores. The Preencounter subscale accounted for 16.4% of the variance in self-esteem scores, while the Encounter scale accounted for 4.9% variance. The higher these two scores the lower the self-esteem score. Preencounter was also a significant predictor on the Beck Depression Inventory accounting for 14.1% of the variance of scores. The Encounter scale accounted for 4.8% of the variance. As with self-esteem, higher scores on the Pre-encounter and Encounter predicted higher depression scores.

The results suggest those racial identity attitudes (Preencounter and Encounter) impact on the female's well being, especially in the older nonstudent sample. It was not found, however, that higher scores on the Immersion-Emersion and Internalization subscales predicted better mental health. Also, although the Preencounter attitudes predicted lower well being, self-esteem, and

depression (in the older sample), this racial identity attitude stage was chosen less frequently than the others were.

It can be inferred from this study that students and non-students express differently on the subscales of the RIAS-B, that the subscales are independent, and that two of the subscales (Preencounter and Encounter) have predictive value for self-esteem and depression.

In another study of nonstudents (Parham & Williams, 1993), racial identity attitudes were related to region of birth. Individuals born in the East and South had significantly higher Preencounter scores than individuals born in the West. Immersion scores were also related to region of birth. Individuals raised in the south had higher Preencounter scores than individuals raised in other regions of the country. Paradoxically, well being is higher for southern Blacks, whether in rural or urban areas, than for those living in the north (Ellison & Gay, 1990). However, poor African-Americans in rural areas suffer less depression and are happier than African-Americans in urban areas. Preencounter attitudes, and other stage one attitudes on Nigrescence models, were originally thought to indicate lower levels of mental health (Milliones, 1973; Brown, 1979; Denton, 1985, cited in Cross, 1991). Despite some findings to the contrary, Cross (1991) argues that Preencounter Blacks probably manifest psychological health to the extent that individuals in the other racial identity stages manifest psychological health.

In the same study (Parham & William, 1993), racial messages from parents such as "Feel good about being Black and don't be afraid to show it" (p.

19) did not correlate with any particular racial attitude state. It was assumed that the questions on racial messages were not sensitive enough to differentiate stages. Even given a lack of sensitivity in the questions, nearly 50% of the individuals reported having received negative or neutral racial messages while growing up. This was so despite the finding that Internalization was the most strongly held attitude of the four alternatives. The interaction between what is internalized from parental messages and what is measured by the Internalization stage in this study suggests the possibility of an unaccounted for mediating variable in their study. More highly educated individuals had lower immersion attitudes, and individuals with higher incomes also had higher Preencounter and lower Internalization attitudes.

Parham & Helms (1985) also found Preencounter and Immersion scores related to lower self-regard and Encounter scores to high self-regard in a group of 166 Black college students. This suggests that Blacks who fail to value their racial group may fail to value themselves either. The low variance accounted for by the racial attitudes (17%) suggests caution in the application of these findings.

As Black intragroup differences have been attributed to economic differences, Carter & Helms (1988) tested the relationship between socioeconomic status and the predictability of racial identity attitudes. They found no predictability of racial identity attitudes by socioeconomic level. By explanation they conclude that racial identity attitudes are probably related to

internal functioning rather than external criteria as suggested by socioeconomic status and economic resources.

Family Identity Stage Theory

This section on family identity stages is based on theoretical hypothesizing that families have identities, just as individuals have identities. And, that Black families can be categorized according to Cross's (1971) Nigrescence theory and that family identities can be assessed with the Racial Identity Attitude Scale of Parham & Helms (1981).

There is no family racial identity attitude theory and therefore no literature which to review. The content of racial socialization messages would probably help to understand family racial identity attitudes, if this research were sufficiently available. It is also logical to conclude that families have racial identities, if only because they are part of a society that places a greater value on some races and physical features than on others. While there is no empirical literature on family racial identity, it is known that the social and cultural climate in which an individual is reared will affect his/her racial identity (Lightfoot & Foster, 1970; Mays, 1986; Clark, 1939, 1947; Thompson, 1990, 1992).

To investigate whether individuals remember their families expressing certain sentiments that would suggest a family racial attitude, a pilot of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black Version, Family Adaptation, short form was conducted (Draper, 1997b). This scale is a modification of Parham & Helm's Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black Version, short-form (see Appendix F). The

results suggest that families were remembered as predominantly holding Internalization attitudes (94.1%) and minimally holding Preencounter attitudes. While these percentages suggest overwhelming pro Internalization attitudes, only 33% held a mean score that placed their recollection of family attitudes in the Internalization stage. That is, these subjects agreed or strongly agreed with Internalization items significantly more often than not. The most frequently held response was agreement with Internalization items. At the opposite end, only 1.5% agreed or strongly agreed with Preencounter items. Encounter and Immersion/Emersion attitudes had means scores that agreed or strongly agreed with Encounter and Immersion/Emersion stages by 8.9% and 5.9% of the subjects respectively. Almost 40% and 67.6% disagreed or strongly disagreed with Encounter and Immersion/Emersion items respectively. From the results of this study, it can be inferred that family attitudes can be assessed using the RIAS-B. In addition, these findings are consistent with other studies that suggest that Black individuals express more pro-Internalization and fewer pro-Preencounter attitudes (Parham & Williams, 1993).

The individual as part of the family can be socialized into the family's view of his racial identity (Stevenson, 1994). That is, the family has an attitude that it passes on to the individual members. These family attitudes have been captured in the lay literature such as biographical and historical novels about African-Americans (Gatewood, 1990)

Family racial identity attitudes are hypothesized as influenced by, but not solely a reflection of, the internalization of racism and dominant cultural values.

These values have repercussions within the family for individual socialization and for the family as a unit. It is suggested that the events of the past and present influence the family, and that the family is a conduit for both the larger society's messages as well as its own. Racial messages from the larger society, overt and covert that commingle with those of the family are part of the messages the family will have to decipher for its individual members, and address.

In the context of racial identity attitude theory, families can be viewed as a subsystem within the overall racial group. As such, families can be understood as a major reference group for the individual. One's race is also a reference group in which the family can be seen as either a subsystem or a parallel system. The family members' attitude toward its prescribed racial group will determine whether the family takes the position of being part of the prescribed group or unaffiliated (parallel) with it. If the family considers itself outside the Black race as do the Creoles of New Orleans (Wood, 1994), it is, in the context of racial identity states, a Preencounter family. Family environments contribute to the racial identity of its members (Stevenson, 1994) and therefore of the family. If family contributes to racial identity, it also contributes to racial identity attitude. Without a family racial identity attitude, there can be no racial socialization of its members. Family dynamics and interaction support the formulation of family racial identity attitudes.

Families absorb messages from the events of the times, and over time, the messages can become incorporated into family ideology. As a unit within the

larger community, the family cannot fail to transmit the messages of society, even though the family can interpret the messages in its way with its particular meaning attached.

While the social climate tends to be generational, variable and unstable, family patterns and personalities tend to be more enduring, intergenerational, and therefore more stable in its impact on its members (Bowen, 1978). Traditions and rituals, as well as values, and behaviors tend to be transmitted from generation to generation.

Theoretically, it is possible for one to recycle through racial identity stages at various points in one's life (Parham, 1989). Recycling allows individuals to rework or continue to work out entrenched uncomfortable racial identity attitudes. It is a progressive process. In families, however, recycling can theoretically lead to splits in the family because of the differing attitudes of individual members that can result if all members of the family do not recycle at the same time, in the same direction, from the same status or level. There is a conservative element in families because it relates to how one's ancestors believed, and that conservatism could incline families to hold onto or revert to previously held beliefs before new ones are internalized. The potential for continual recycling is greater in families because of the pull of old beliefs, the inconstancy of the socio-political climate, and racism. Continued recycling may hold families to less progressive or current views, thereby minimizing the effects of political events such as the Black is Beautiful Movement of the 1960's.

Bowen (1978) stated that it takes at least three generations for family patterns to become stable representations of the family. The hypothesized failure to effect greater, more immediate change in families can contribute to the maintenance of positive or negative self-attitudes in African-Americans.

If families do hold racial identity attitudes, it would be worth examining how members negotiate these stages while maintaining a cohesive family structure.

When the family members hold similar racial attitudes, the individual is likely to enjoy a higher level of comfort in intrafamilial interactions. This greater comfort is due to validation by the family of the individual's racial self-image and concomitant worth. It is probably more difficult for the mentally healthy individual to alienate him or herself from the family and its values, than from the values of a larger, less personal (though impactful) society. The consistency in familial racial identity can be viewed as a mechanism for understanding high self-esteem in some African-Americans.

When there are no racial identity ties that bind within the family, it is probable that the negative forces of the larger society will be felt more intensely and critically, and will be more paramount in affecting the way one views his or her racial self-image. It can be more detrimental when society defines one's racial image without a family buffer, than when the identity is the consensus of related individuals, and part of a larger identity network. The lack of a family buffer leaves the individual more vulnerable to racial assault, insult and

psychological intimidation due to the lack of a supportive framework within which the pertinent issues can be dialogued and interpreted.

Psychological Well-being

Introduction

"Psychological well being is considered a state internal to the individual- that is, how the individual is feeling inside (Kellan & Ensminger, 1980 cited by Seaborn Thompson & Ensminger, 1989) as distinct from how the individual is functioning in social roles" (Seaborn & Ensminger, 1989, p. 719).

Research on psychological well being has been approached from various perspectives using a variety of component factors in its conceptualization. (Franklin & Jackson, 1990; Sheeran & McCarthy, 1992; Ryff, 1989; Menaghan, 1989; Winefield et al., 1992). There is also the question of the appropriateness of the current measures for particular populations (e.g., females, non-Whites, and particular age groups) (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Ryff, 1989; McCulloch, 1992). The complexity and multidimensionality of the topic comprise the final portion of the literature review. The terms, psychological well being, subjective well being and positive mental health will be used interchangeable as referents defining this experience.

This review of psychological well-being literature is divided into two sections. In the first section, issues as they affect the general population, and females are reviewed.

The second section on psychological/subjective well being incorporates various factors (self-esteem, life satisfaction, economic well being, role

performance/opportunity, interpersonal relations) shown to be facets of an overall sense of well being in African-Americans (Franklin, 1996). Each of these dimensions of well being will be viewed from the perspective of their impact on African-Americans in general and African-American females in particular.

Overview

One of the major inconsistencies in the literature on well being has been in the definition of the concept, and therefore its operationalization. The structure of the concept of well being varies with the researcher's premise and underlying theoretical perspective (Sheeran & McCarthy, 1992; Ryff, 1989). In the general articles reviewed, some operationalized with affective and cognitive factors (McLanahan & Adams, 1989; Ryff, 1989; Winefield & Tiggeman, 1990; Amato & Zuo, 1992; Winefield, Winefield, & Tiggemann, 1992, Armsden, & Greenberg, 1987), affective indicators (Tetrick & LaRocca, 1975; Menaghan, 1989), or cognitive indicators (Sheeran & McCarthy, 1992).

Another issue cited in the literature is the lack of non-White samples, and issues relevant to non-White populations (Menaghan, 1989; McCulloch, 1992; Winefield, Winefield & Tiggeman, 1992). Ryff (1989) concludes in her research that theories of psychological well-being are basically manifestations of middle-class values.

Well-Being as Cognitive and Affective Concepts

Neugarten et al., were the originators of the Life Satisfaction Index that contained five subscales with 20 items. The subscales were Zest, Resolution and Fortitude, Congruence, Self-Concept, and Mood Tone. As scales were developed from this innovative concept, non-comparable measures were used for research in this domain. Three types of scales were developed from Neugarten et al.'s and McCulloch chose two to assess the relation of well-being to gender and race interactions. The Hoyt & Creech, (1983) 3-Factor eight-item life satisfaction model and Liang's (1984) 3-factor 11-item second order factor structure were examined. He found that the number of Life satisfaction index items ranged from 8 to 20. Scoring formats were either dichotomous or trichotomous which resulted in different ways of defining life satisfaction. In both he found three main factor structures but with different factor components. Gender and racial differences were significant depending on the choice of items used to represent the construct. It was concluded "it was not safe to assume that the same items could be interpreted in the same manner for each of the groups" (p.114. McCulloch also found that the summation of life satisfaction items as a unidimensional measure of well being led to misclassification of subjects. There was also an inability to replicate the satisfaction factor across the four groups (Black and White, male and female). Measurement properties are particularly important when researching population subgroups.

The well-being scales used for research on African-Americans need to be constructed with items that capture the factors relevant to the life experience of

Blacks and females. As McCulloch's (1992) research suggests, scales appropriate for one population, may misrepresent another population. Scale development with this consideration is certainly a necessary adjunct to the study of well being in African-Americans. An appropriate psychological well-being measure is necessary, as is the pertinence of the items, the way of conceptualizing the well being construct, and their operationalization.

McLanahan & Adams (1989) operationalized psychological well-being in terms of worry, self-satisfaction, efficacy, global happiness, and marital happiness, somatic indications and perception of children. In this comparison study of parents and non-parents in 1957 and 1976, the level of these factors were significantly impacted by childrearing for the three groups of parents studied (parents with preschoolers, school age, and adult children). This study supports past findings that parenthood negatively affects psychological adult well being.

Children have frequently been associated with anxiety and depression in particular groups (Alwin et al., 1984, Gove & Geeken, 1977, Radloff, 1975, Reskin Y Coverman, 1980, cited by McLanahan & Adams, 1989). They also support Guttentag, Salasin, & Belle, 1980, in their finding that single parent mothers seem to be in more psychological distress because they frequent mental health facilities more often than non-parents of a comparable socioeconomic status and approximate age.

These are noteworthy considerations for understanding well-being as Black females are often characterized as occupying both the single parent

mother position and having more children than White females. It is also generally documented that Black females do not frequent mental health agencies as frequently as their White counterparts. This may contribute to African-Americans sustaining higher levels of distress.

Well-being is defined and operationalized, in Ryoff (1989), as self-acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and personal growth. She studied a population of 321 young, (mean age 19.53), middle age, (mean age 49.85) and older adults (mean age 74.96) males and females, who were financially well off, and highly educated. Although the basic Black population has been portrayed with the exact opposite characteristics (low economic status and undereducated), she does point to some variables for consideration in studying African-American females.

In her review of theoretical conceptions of psychological functioning (Maslow's 1968 theory of self-actualization; Roger's 1961 optimal functioning theory, and Allport's 1961 theory of maturity), neither race, culture, age nor gender differences were accounted for. Life span developmental theory was the one major exception she found that considers how age relates to the negotiation of life challenges.

Ryoff used previously accepted measures of well-being, and a newly constructed measure that she devised based on prominent theoretical views of well-being. These measures were used to determine the adequacy of the measurement of psychological well-being using scales developed for other purposes. The newly constructed measure contained the variables listed in the

operational definition above. The prior well-established measures cited are: the Affect Balance Scale of Bradburn, 1969 based on happiness; the Life Satisfaction Index of Neugarten, et al., 1961 based on five components (zest, resolution and fortitude, congruence between desired and achieved goals, positive self-concept, and mood tone); Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale, 1965; The Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale of Lawton, 1975 designed to measure morale in the aged that include a sense of self-satisfaction, belonging, and acceptance; and three locus of control subscales of Levenson's, developed 1974.

The new measure results showed a significant overall effect for age. The trend indicated higher well-being scores in middle age respondents. However, self-acceptance and positive relations with others showed no age differences. There was also a significant overall effect for gender accounted by for positive relations with others and personal growth, in which females scored higher than males.

The established-measures results found that the young scored lower on affect balance and chance control, and lower than the middle age on morale. The oldest group scored highest on depression. Men rated themselves significantly more positively on internal control, morale, and depression. Women were decreasingly less satisfied with life as they spanned the three age groups. As predictor variables in the new measure, being female predicted positive relations with others and personal growth. Finances and health were also predictors of well-being. In the prior measures, the predictors of psychological

well-being were finances, age and marital status. Differences in gender were accounted for by differences in life situations such as financial and marital status, age, and health. For women, sex differences accentuate the negative diagnoses generally accorded them. Females experienced lower level of internal control and morale, with higher levels of depression. These views were counterbalanced for females by higher positive relations and personal growth scores. Both findings are indicative of the subordinate position of women. The lack of control of their circumstances, and lower morale in a male-dominated society, culminating in depression, is a logical finding given societal values and the status of women. Women are expected to be more social and sociable, hence the logic of higher scores for positive relations and growth. It has been shown that Black women express themselves differently in their relationship to males and "feminine values" (Bem, 1977 cited in Napholz, 1994). Therefore, Black women, may not assess themselves in a similar manner with similar outcomes. Seldom are Blacks studied in well-being studies, therefore knowledge of the values enacted between and by Black males and females is scarce. Life circumstances, rather than gender, were inferred to predict well-being for women. Yet life circumstances and gender are inseparable for many African-American and non-White females, given gender and racial status disadvantages. As Ryff concludes, "Perhaps looking beneath the broad social structural factors to the life experiences and opportunities they afford or deny would provide a more promising avenue for explanatory research" (p.1079). Citing Coan, 1977, she argues that differences in ethnicity, culture, and class,

produce differences in the conception of well-being. These differences have been neglected in prior theories and studies of psychological well-being.

Winefield & Tiggeman, (1990), using Rosenberg's Self Esteem and Depressive Affect Scale, and the Nowicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale of Nowicki & Duke, 1974, found employed individuals show higher self-esteem, felt less external control and less depression than the unemployed. Blacks who tend to have higher unemployment rates than, compared to Whites, also tend to have as high, and sometimes higher, self-esteem scores (Holter, 1983; Richtman et al., 1985). This suggests some intervening or unaccounted for factor(s) affecting racial differences. The relevant attributes of well-being are not being tapped, or the construct is differentially defined in different racial, ethnic or cultural groups.

Amato & Zuo (1992) defined psychological well-being as happiness, depression and perceived physical health, and conclude that poverty correlates with lower well-being. Using the National Survey of Families and Households national probability sample, they examined the effects of poverty on the urban and rural poor populations. African-American males were more likely to be depressed in rural areas, but less likely to reside in a rural area. Women without children in urban areas had lower levels of depression. The urban poor were found healthier than the rural poor were. Poor African-Americans are viewed as happier and less depressed in rural areas because of closer social networks and more resources. Lower levels of psychological well-being were attributed to urban-poor African-Americans due to greater crime rates, substandard housing,

inferior schools, poor services, inadequate transportation, and a myriad of other ills endemic in urban areas. As African-Americans tend to reside in urban areas, and are often the poorest, the implications for psychological health will need to consider this proffered status of some Blacks. However, not all Blacks, even in urban poor areas will conform to the urban-poverty image presented in Amato & Zuo's study.

The trends found in their study for African-Americans were reversed for White Americans. As previously noted, the differential findings between Blacks and Whites suggest factors operating by race not investigated in this study. Issues of poverty are particularly relevant to the discussion of African-American women as they fall into the lowest economic stratum, have a higher non-married rate, higher single-parenthood rate, have less education, and more often reside in urban areas.

Winefield, Winefield & Tiggemann (1992) took a different approach to the study of well being although their operationalization of the construct of psychological well-being appears similar to others cited above. Self-esteem and depressive affect, response to a general health questionnaire, and financial distress are the measures used to operationalize well-being. They maintain that contact with others who care about you is associated with better "physical and psychological survival." Therefore, they stress social support, and state that "the original concept of social support referred to some benefit derived from social interactions that assists recipients coping with stressful life circumstances" (p.200). The differential impact of the types of help needed under different

circumstances, the different sources of help, and the difference between availability and adequacy of help were researched in prior studies. However, research could benefit from studying group characteristics (e.g., gender, race, age) when considering the above factors. "Physical and psychological survival" has and remains an issue for African-Americans. Social networks may be particularly pertinent to their survival, but how networking can be better effected is in need of examination and theory construction.

The Multi-Dimensional Support Scale of Neuling & Winefield, 1988, originally developed for use on cancer patients, predicted that the source of support for cancer patients was more significant as a well-being factor than type of support. This scale was later modified for use in the current study (Winefield, Winefield, & Tiggemann, 1992) with non-cancer diagnosed individuals. The subjects were 483 students, mean age 23.6 years old. The sample was from a school in the metropolitan area. Winefield et al., found that the type of support was insignificant compared to the source of support. And, that feeling understood and cared for by one's significant others (family and friends) were crucial to coping, and factored as the largest effect on well-being. Their final finding was that the social support scores correlated significantly with psychological well-being inferring that those who report higher psychological well-being also reported higher self-esteem, less depression and fewer psychological disturbances. The factors that affect "feeling cared for" manifest differently in individual and family expression and by race and culture. It has been shown that the attribution of beauty affects many areas of an individual's

life, and often opens or closes doors to economic and interpersonal opportunity. One determinant of feeling cared for (i.e., physical attributes) will be an area of focus in this work on African-American females.

Benefits derived from social support networks, particularly in the extended family, have been viewed as both impacting positively and negatively on Black family life (McQueen, 1971 & Stack, 1974 cited in McAdoo, 1977). The effect of social supports on mental health is therefore a relevant issue in the study of African-Americans and mental health.

Well-Being as an Affective Concept

Although the above research includes depression as a factor of the construct, psychological well-being, the definition of well-being is not limited to the affective dimension. Tetrick & LaRocca, (1977) and Menaghan (1989) both relate affect to role enactments (a cognitive dimension).

Tetrick & LaRocca's measures operationalize one dimension of the construct of well-being as responses to anxiety and depression based on items adapted primarily from Caplan et al. in 1975. Four items from Caplan et al.'s work on role ambiguity in 1975, and four items of House & Rizzo's role conflict of 1972 define another dimension of the construct defined as perceived stress. Job satisfaction, a third dimension, was measured using items of Hackman & Oldham from 1980 which included both job and global satisfaction. Understanding, prediction, and control of the work environment were measured by scales developed for the study based on 1986 definitions of Sutton & Kahn.

In their results, understanding, prediction, and control indicated no significant effect on the relationships between satisfaction and well-being, or role stress and well-being. Understanding, prediction, or control, and well being did not have a direct relationship. However, understanding prediction, and control did have a direct relationship to perceived role stress. This finding infers that individuals, who know what to expect from the work environment, have a predictable relationship to it, feel in control of their efforts, and have better mental health. Control was related to job satisfaction in that those individuals who were able to affect what happened to them on the job self-assessed as possessing greater psychological health. Because of racist practices, Blacks must constantly fail to anticipate what to count on from their jobs. Because of expected and manifested racism, and because Blacks are generally not in control of their job situations due to racial discrimination, overall psychological health has the potential to be affected. Perceived role stress was found to have a direct relationship with satisfaction and psychological well being, and satisfaction to have a direct relationship with psychological well being. Roles perceived as stressful affected satisfaction with the job and psychological health. Job satisfaction also influenced one's feelings of adequate mental health. However, knowing what to expect, and feeling in control on the job moderated the relationship between perceived role stress and satisfaction. Based on these findings and implications, it can be presumed that Blacks will be prone to negative affects of perceived institutional and intraracial racism, especially in the area of employment, job satisfaction and economic well being. When either of

these forms of racism hinder feelings of control on the job, or predictability of the job environment (which is often a structural component of institutionalized racism) mental health in African-Americans will be a related consequence.

Well-Being as a Cognitive Concept

The final general article reviewed defines well being as self-esteem that has several dimensions (Sheeran & McCarthy, 1992). Sheeran & McCarthy divide self-esteem into two parts: self-evaluation (judgment in comparison to a standard) and self-affection (feelings of personal worth). They maintain that success or failure is related to self-evaluations or one's judgment of him/herself in relation to a set of standards. Self-esteem is further deconstructed into two parts, private and public. Private self-esteem is defined as "one's view of self in relation to one's ideals, i.e., self-evaluation, p.118). "Public" or "social" self-esteem is "...the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his/her judgment of that appearance" (cited from Wylie, 1961 and Cooley, 1902, respectively in Sheeran & McCarthy, 1992 p.118).

Sheeran & McCarthy review social psychological theories that conceive well being as a function of public and private self-esteem. In this domain, they note symbolic interactionists, self-discrepancy, self-verification, and self-enhancement theories. Symbolic Interactionists argue that psychological well being can be accounted for by "social sources of self-knowledge" (p.119) and fall in the public esteem category. The second theory called self-discrepancy theory of Higgins is an intrapersonal process based on one's self-perspectives

(how one appears, the ideal, and, how one ought to appear), and is consistent with the notion of private self-esteem. In this system, one can take one of two self-perspectives: one's own or an attribution of how others see him/her. These "self-representations" and the discrepancy between them cause greater distress, the greater the discrepancy between them. A third social psychological theory cited is that of self-verification of Swann, 1983 and Swann & Predmore, 1986. This theory posits an interaction between public and private esteems, and the discrepancy between the positive and negative evaluations cause psychological discomfort. In this theory, positive private self-esteem is a greater determinant of well-being than negative public esteem. The final theory cited, Kaplan's (1975) self-enhancement theory suggests the only means of obtaining positive self-esteem is through both public and private components of esteem. If there is a negative evaluation in either the public or private domain, the individual will suffer some form of mental distress. These two last theories contain a basic difference in the effect of positive evaluations. In self-verification theory, positive evaluation is important as a confirmation of one's view of him/herself. In self-enhancement theory, positive evaluations bolster one's view of him/herself.

The participants in the Sheeran & McCarthy study were 48 employed and 40 unemployed males and females. Their results found a significant correlation between public and private self-esteem, but not enough of a correlation to confound them as independent components of self-esteem. Both the symbolic interactionists and self-discrepancy theories confirmed that significantly more unemployed than employed subjects fell into the low public/low private

categories. They also found that significantly more employed subjects fell into the high private/high public categories, than in the low private/low public category. Negative self-evaluations in either of these categories (public or private esteems) resulted in more depressive symptoms than if positively evaluated. The inferences of their findings reaffirm earlier empirical results that concluded that public and private dimension of self-concept are important in employment. The study also concluded that negative evaluations of others considered important to the individual were influential in the esteem of the employed and unemployed. There are a number of important considerations derived from this study for understanding the well-being of African-Americans. The question of standards for self-evaluation remains unclassified. The derivative of standards for individual or groups of Africans-Americans have not been answered in research. Whose opinions, beliefs, norms are important and whose ideals have been internalized. In a racist society, how much do social sources of self-representation contribute to self-esteem and well-being versus more interpersonal source? Where do self-ideals originate for Blacks? Who is considered more important versus whose opinion is considered more important may be more difficult to answer than the question suggests. These answers are certainly crucial to understanding esteem from the social psychological perspectives mentioned by Sheeran & McCarthy.

Well-Being and Family Relationships

The exploration of well-being and family relationships has interested developmental psychologists for many years (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). As a focus of this study, they examined familial and extrafamilial factors affecting well-being in adolescents based on attachment theory. Attachment theory hypothesizes a relationship between feelings of security and parental bonds between parent and child. Attachment begins in infancy and any threat to this attachment can result in psychological maladjustment. Therefore, behavior is organized in a manner that insures the perpetuation of the attachment bonds throughout life. Most research in the area of attachment has been performed with preschoolers, and early school-age children. However, adult attachment to their peers has been studied and found to be effected when the adult is experiencing anxiety or stress. The securing of comfort and availability of the significant figure are requisite for feelings of well being in adults (Weiss, 1982, cited in Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). However, contributions to mental health are also seen as, not based on availability of the relationship, but on the "perceived adequacy of the adults' relationships, especially in the presence of adversity..." (Henderson, 1977, cited in Armsden & Greenberg, 1987, p.429)

Armsden & Greenberg posited a correlation between psychological adjustment and the character of one's relationship with parents and peers. They also note a lack of research on parental influence and attitudes and well being. In their review of the literature, family relationships were found to influence self-esteem in its members (Mortimer & Lorence, 1980, cited by Armsden &

Greenberg, 1992). Family relationships, specifically between parent and child, and childrearing orientations were found to remain stable over time (Crandall, 1972; Roberts, Block, & Block, 1984, cited in Armsden & Greenberg, 1992). While attachment studies have not examined the relationship between parent-child attachment and skin color dynamics, the implications can be extrapolated from these findings.

Self-esteem and life satisfaction were significantly related to well being in this group of adolescents. Anxiety, depression, and resentment/alienation scores were also predicted by the quality of attachment. Undoubtedly numerous variables can affect the quality of parent-child attachments. If skin color is one of the variables that can affect attachment, as the limited research indicates, greater awareness of these dynamics will contribute to interventions that are more relevant for African-Americans.

Ishii-Kuntz (1990) divided the life span into five age groups: early adulthood (20-30), early middle age (31-40), middle age (41-50), late middle age (51-64), and the aged (65 and over). Life course theorists argue that adulthood is a time of structure building and reexamination of those structures at various points in the life span. Ishii-Kuntz drew inferences about how interpersonal interactions between family and friends for each of these stages. She tested her hypotheses using data from the 1978 Quality of American Life Survey. A national probability sample of 3,692 respondents 18 years of age and older were interviewed. The psychological well-being measurement consisted of five questions (two affective, two cognitive, and one combination of the two

domains). Social interaction was measured both qualitatively and quantitatively. Demographic variables were also included.

There were no significant differences across the age groups for social interactions. The frequency of family and friend interactions was not significantly related to psychological well being, but the quality of interactions was significantly related to psychological well being. Across adulthood, the more satisfied the individual is with interactions with family and friends, the greater the feelings of positive well being. There were, however, significant differences in the psychological well-being scores. The young were the least satisfied and gained the least enjoyment from their lives. The aged were the most satisfied with life and reported obtaining the most enjoyment from life. Early middle age adults were the happiest and most satisfied with themselves in general. Late middle aged adults were the least satisfied with life and themselves as a whole, and had the lowest happiness scores.

There are a number of implications for well being that can be deduced from these findings. The most striking is the impact of age on subjective feelings of well being. Careful consideration must be given to the developmental stage of the individual in the assessment of well being. The second finding of importance is the relationship between satisfaction with family and friends and psychological well being. It is a predictable relationship but one with far-reaching consequences. Satisfaction with family members, rather than mere acceptance, would appear to follow from these findings. The qualities that lead to satisfaction with self and others are definitive in obtaining a sense of well

being. This satisfaction with family and friends may relate to personal attributes, while satisfaction with self may relate to personal and group attributes. Satisfaction with group attributes, or racial identity attitudes, will be explored in relation to psychological well being in this study.

Summary

Although only two of the above studies includes race as a variable (Amato & Zuo, 1992; McCulloch, 1992), the implication for African-Americans can be extrapolated from the findings. The number of roles Blacks must play negotiating between two cultures can adversely affect well being. Poverty and unemployment, residence in predominantly urban areas, single-parenthood, female-headed households, lack of predictability of societal acceptance, and a sense of minimal control over one's circumstances, all decrease well-being and are considerations in the study of African-Americans.

Psychological Well-Being and Blacks

In research, there have been three eras consistent with mental health perspectives on the functioning of Black in America (Franklin & Jackson, 1990). In the first period, Blacks were considered primitive or "too uncomplicated" to have problems with self-esteem (a major construct in well being). For the individual, assessment of the self is effected through whom the individual perceives himself to be (self-concept), and the value placed on that ascription (self-esteem). Though there is an inseparable context to self and others' evaluation of the self in the formation of esteem, one's self-perception

determines esteem. During this earlier period, esteem was a non-issue in the research on Blacks. During the second period, 1940's-1960's, the self-rejection, self-hatred theories dominated. These theories asserted that low self-esteem in Blacks was based on internalized negative views resulting from political oppression. It was a logical assumption that because the larger society relegated Blacks to an inferior position that Blacks, in turn, should believe that they were inferior also. According to Franklin & Jackson, the current perspective on Black mental health began in the early 1970's. This period focuses on the inconsistencies in self-esteem levels found in various studies conducted on African-Americans. They explain these inconsistencies in numerous ways. One way was said to reflect the tendency of Blacks to answer in the extreme, suggesting they saw themselves as very worthy or very unworthy. Being shielded or protected within the family and community from the effects of societal racism was postulated as an answer to the riddle of adequate self-esteem found in Blacks. Another possibility is the complexity of the construct, and differences in the self-esteem construct between Blacks and Whites.

Franklin & Jackson also note the traditional focus on pathology, rather than well being, in the mental health field. This focus lessens the opportunity to understand the strength to survive in African-Americans. Franklin & Jackson's suggested approach for understanding mental health in Blacks "entails evaluating the normative experiences of Black people, an experience which must include the role of prejudice and discrimination" (p. 6). They contend that this approach does not negate behavioral principles based on universal

assumptions. However, the pathology approach fails to recognize other crucial variables affecting well being. Therefore, both approaches must be correlates for understanding the effects of oppression on the mental health of individuals of African descent.

Ellison & May, (1990) investigated the relationship between religion and geographical location with data from the National Survey of Black Americans (1979-80). Religious participation and overall quality of life were positively correlated. They also found that subcultural differences arose as a result of different religious groupings but religious factors contributed only moderately to life satisfaction. As with previous studies, socioeconomic status was not significantly correlated with life satisfaction. Formerly married individuals were less satisfied but there was no difference between the never married and married. Lack of marriage may not affect the well-being of Black females as predictable for White females. Southern Blacks reported more satisfaction than other Blacks from other locations.

Well-Being and African-American Females

Antecedents to well-being can be theorized as attachment and bonding (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987), supportive, caring environment (Winefield, et al., 1992), ability to understand, predict, and control one's life (Tetrick & La Rocca, 1987), gender role socialization (Ryff, 1989) and positive self-evaluation (Franklin & Jackson, 1990). Many antecedents and co-variates to well-being are active at various points in one's life and life circumstances (Ryff, 1989; Ishii-

Kuntz, 1990). These factors may interact with variables such as employment, poverty and socioeconomic status, age, religion, etc. to affect continuing well-being or the minimization of it.

Two national data sets, *Americans View their Mental Health*, 1976 and the *National Survey of Black Americans*, 1976, were analyzed to assess the importance of job characteristics to well-being at mid-life. The study was conducted as a comparison of Black and White women and men (Crohan, et al., 1989). They include three factors in well-being (perceived control, happiness, and life satisfaction). They define perceived control as a "dimension of mental health that represents individual's beliefs about their capacities to exercise control in their own lives" (Veroff et al., 1981 cited in Crohan et al., 1989, p. 227). The predictor variable, job characteristic, included occupational status, work commitment, job satisfaction, personal income and role stress. Role stress consisted of two components, role conflict and role overload. Role conflict is "the presence of incompatible expectations or demands placed on a role incumbent" (Burr, 1972 cited in Crohan, et al., 1989, p.227). Role overload, defined as "the lack of adequate resources required to comply with role expectations or demands" (Abdel-Halim, 1978 cited in Crohan, et al., 1989, p.228). Factoring contributing to role conflict with its "incompatible expectations" for Black women requires specific attention. Femininity and beauty, in the image of majority standards, may present gender role conflict for African-American women. Gender role conflict is "a psychological state in which roles have negative consequences or impact on the individual or on others (O'Neill, 1990,

cited in Sharpe & Heppner, 1991, p. 324). A "lack of adequate resources" follows when the resources, especially gender resources, are unattainable. Gender role conflict is inversely related to psychological well-being.

All women in higher prestige jobs felt more in control of their lives. Higher personal income predicted higher perceived control in Black women, but perceived control was negatively related to age. The paradox is that, due to racist values, it may take Black women longer to achieve high prestige jobs and income. These findings appear to imply that older women feel less in control of their lives (a logical outgrowth of continual living in a racist society). Black women make less income as they age and that accounts for the feelings of lesser control. Alternatively, the older Blacks had been accorded fewer opportunities for achievement than the younger Blacks in this sample. The conflict here may indicate an inadequate measurement, or a variable that needs reassessment. Tran et al., (1989) eliminated a self-efficacy factor from their initial well being measure because of lack of correlation. This component pulled for control of one's life circumstances and did not appear to be especially relevant in a well-being scale constructed for Black individuals. However, perceived control has been shown to be a significant factor in well-being (Ryff, 1989) and particularly in the mental health of Blacks (Franklin & Jackson, 19??).

Job satisfaction and marriage were also reported as important to life satisfaction in Black women. Happiness was related to being married and low feelings of role overload. However, for various reasons, Black women chose not

to marry at the rate White women marry. Yet they generally function out of at least two roles, parental and working (Coleman et al., 1987). While parenting, especially solo parenting, has shown to be a stressor for Black women (Seaborn Thompson & Ensminger, 1989), the role of work was shown to be significant for older Black women 40-101 years of age. Denial of work opportunities or the preparation for satisfying work will impact on the well-being of African-American women.

Life cycle events may affect the well-being of Black women more so than that of White women. Coleman et al., (1987) found differences in the predictors of well-being depending on developmental stage of the sample. The variables, perceived control, self-esteem and health interference were used to operationalize mental health. Older working women had higher self-esteem. For middle age women, income, health, and level of educational attainment were linked to positive psychological functioning. However, work, was the only variable to contribute significantly to well-being in both groups of women (middle-aged, and older women). Work is related to resources for many Blacks who do not have other non-income resources.

Social status and resource theories argue for the importance of such variables as marital status, income and educational level for determining psychological well-being. These variables are important in these theories because they have intrinsic value (Herzog et al., 1982 cited in Chatters, 1988). However, it has been observed that among Blacks, social status and resources can be unrelated to each other and to well-being (Jackson et al., 1986). Yet

status differences will be evident according to social stratification theory due to differences in age, race, and gender, and their differential access to resources (Fletcher & Lorenze, 1984; Herzog et al., 1982 cited in Chatters, 1988). The aspects of social status may be different by race and gender than investigated in traditional literature. One such difference may be in the expression of femininity. Black women have been represented with non-feminine profiles and have been labeled less feminine than any other group of women. They are presented with holding both highly feminine and highly masculine attitudes (Murray & Harrison, 1981 cited by Napholz, 1994). They have been termed androgynous. Androgynous refers to the presence of both highly masculine and feminine characteristics. Androgyny has been related to higher self-esteem (Bem, 1977 cited in Napholz, 1994). Also associated with androgyny are higher levels of psychological well-being, higher role consistency, and less guilt about expressing hostility (Napholz, 1994). Masculine sex roles have been associated with higher levels competence, assertiveness, rationality, coping, self-efficacy, and problem-solving ability, and lower levels of anxiety and strain. Masculine behaviors have been more highly correlated with psychological well-being than feminine behaviors (Sharpe & Heppner, 1991).

Another variable affecting psychological well-being in African-American women is household composition. There have been conflicting findings as to the benefits of extended households (McAdoo, 1977). Seaborn Thompson & Ensminger, (1989) conducted a longitudinal study of five types of household in 1967 and 1976. Household composition was found significant. Longitudinally, it

was found that another adult is important in the household for the well-being even when not a spouse. Significant negative effects were found for single parenting, low education levels. Positive effects were found for extrafamilial interpersonal relations. Psychological distress was not mediated by family members, but by friends who resided outside the household. However, Ellison & May, (1990) found that affective bonds between family members were more related to life satisfaction than bonds between family and friends. Because Seaborn Thompson & Ensminger used only females, it may be that aggregating the male and female responses caused a distortion of the findings. It may be that females' well-being is enhanced by friendships outside the family household, but for males the opposite may hold true. Church attendance and socioeconomic status were also predictors of psychological well-being.

Family Well-Being

Given the focus on negative mental health, Black individuals and Black families in America have been pathologized also. Theories of pathology directed towards Blacks have had social and political consequences, especially on the image of Black families (Frazier, 1966; Berger & Simon, 1974). Moynihan (1965), cited in Boyd-Franklin (1989), describes the Black family as a "tangle of pathology" (p.15). Yet, Black families are also viewed with positive characteristics (Billingsley, 1968; Guttman, 1976; Mathis, 1978; Nobles, 1978; Wilson, 1987; Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Pickett, Vraniak, Cook & Cohler, 1993). For example, Pickett, et al. (1993) conclude in their study that Black parents cope

with the stress of caring for a handicapped child better than White parents cope under similar circumstances. And, that self-esteem, a major component in the experience of well-being was also higher, for Black parents than for White parents.

Self-Esteem

The premise that self-acceptance, self-valuation, and self-esteem are aspects of well-being is documented in the literature. Self-esteem is an important indicator of subjective or psychological well-being for African Americans (Tran, Wright, Berg & Creecy, 1994). Their study suggests that self-esteem may play a particularly important role in the well-being of African-Americans and is correlated with self-efficacy, life satisfaction and strains.

Self-esteem is defined as the value, regard, or opinion one has of oneself. Research dealing with the assessment of self-esteem in African-Americans fit loosely into six arbitrarily assigned categories. These categories are not meant to be definitive, but illustrative of the focus and direction of research in this area.

Several studies ask, "Does affiliation with Whites affect the self-esteem of Blacks?" One of the studies that address this question, Banks (1984) found that Black 8-18 year olds living in a predominantly White suburban area were bi-cultural, had slightly more positive attitudes towards Blacks than towards Whites, and still felt positive towards themselves. Increased time in the White, more affluent community showed more positive attitudes towards the neighborhood and Whites, with a decrease in positive attitudes towards Blacks.

Krause (1983) using the research study data of Rosenberg & Simmons's (1972) to examine the effects of contact with Whites on Black self-esteem found no relationship between White contact and Black self-esteem on this particular group of elementary through high school children.

McRoy et al. (1984) looked at transracial adoptions of Black children and found no difference in those placed in Black vs. White homes. Exactly what this means is not evident because of the lack of disparity in the esteem levels of the two groups. It can be interpreted to suggest that Blacks and Whites, in general, tend to value or devalue Blacks to a similar degree.

Other studies suggest that geographical residence correlates with self-esteem. The Clarks (1947) concluded that northern children were more conflicted over race, which suggested conflict within the self and/or self-rejection, and lowered self-esteem. Powell (1985) inquired into the effects of desegregation vs. Segregation on self-esteem as a function of geographical location. The subjects from the southern segregated schools achieved self-esteem scores significantly greater than subjects from the northern segregated schools.

However, while not all studies support positive self-esteem, many do. Numerous studies and replications reflect the conflictual findings that Blacks, not only do not suffer overall lower self-esteem than Whites, but often have higher self-esteem than Whites (Simmons, 1978). Lay & Wakstein's (1985) analysis of their results indicated higher self-esteem in Blacks over Whites, even in subjects of the same academic achievement level. Richtman et al. (1985) determined that

Blacks (unless from low SES backgrounds) were higher in self-esteem than Whites. Calhoun et al. (1984) concluded that there was no significant difference in the esteem of Black and White subjects in an incarcerated inmate population of 11-18 year olds. These studies conflict with the logical expectation of researchers to find low self-esteem resulting from racism experienced by Black subjects. Black self-esteem, does not, according to the results of these studies, appear to be diminished significantly by racism. If it is, it is difficult to measure with the tools currently available.

Many of the above studies used as subjects a population of adolescents who were born between 1961 and 1973; during the time of the "Black is Beautiful" and Civil Rights movements, both of which were psychologically empowering events (however transitory).. If the Black movement did have an impact on the Black individual and family, it may have helped to produce children with adequate to positive racial self-regard. If the families perceived their own personal and racial images in a more positive light, they may have provided an atmosphere of positive racial acceptance and value for the future subjects.

Two traditionally crucial identity periods spanned this period for most of the subjects. The first is the time of early identification with the parents, particularly the mother. The second period encompassed, for many of these subjects, the beginning of adolescence. Many of the subjects were 12-18 years of age, which is the major time designated as the time of identity formation vs. Identity diffusion (Erikson, 1950). As a hypothesis, these children may have

been differentially impacted by both the “Black is Beautiful” movement and the almost concurrent Civil Rights movement. These movements showed Blacks in positive activity, resilient to the continuing onslaughts and assaults of racists, united in spirit with a cause, and winning squirmishes in the power struggle for racial equality.

In relation to gender, Richtman et al. (1985) found 11th grade females, Whites and lower SES individuals to have less self-esteem than Blacks, males and higher SES subjects. Holter (1983) after reanalyzing the 1975 Rosenberg & Simmons study concluded that higher self-esteem was evident in both Blacks and males over Whites and females.

The fifth area of empirical literature that investigated self-esteem in Black subjects derives from the question, “Do Blacks succeed/fail in various areas as a consequence of high/low self-esteem?” An individual’s ability to achieve (on the job, satisfaction in interpersonal relations, coping capacities, on achievement examinations, in academic subject matters, etc.) is often connected to the person’s level of self-esteem. Various results (Lay & Wakstein, 1985; Hare, 1981; DiCindio et al., 1983; Carrol et al., 1982; Kugle et al., 1983; and Lopez & Greenhaus, 1978) support the hypothesis that Black self-esteem is at least as high as that found in other ethnic/racial groups.

The final group of self-esteem research articles examines the relationship between racial identity and self-esteem. Wright (1985) administered a self-esteem, racial self-esteem, and family relations measure to 128 Black high school seniors who represented all economic levels. In this study, personal and

racial esteems were positively correlated. Blacks with higher self-esteem used Blacks as a reference group and advocated a positive Black ideology.

Parham & Helms (1985) tested the hypothesis that Blacks in the pre-encounter and encounter stages of Cross's (1971) Negro to Black Conversion model, would have lower self-esteem than subjects at the Immersion-Emersion and Internalization stages. The 166 Black undergraduate subjects, mostly from White universities in the Midwest, South, and West Coast, were given both the Racial Identity Attitude Scale and the Self-Regard subscale of the Personal Orientation Inventory. Results suggested that Pre-encounter and Immersion-Emersion subjects had lower self-esteem than Encounter and Internalization subjects did. This is significant as Blacks in the Encounter stage are assumed to still hold Pre-encounter attitudes, due to the lack of internalization of the new sense of positive racial identity. It may be that when inflicted a narcissistic injury (as in the encounter stage) one is forced to reassess who he is and can better see the positive characteristics that he possesses, not as a denial of worth, but in reaffirmation of worth. Since an Encounter propels one to look more closely at his belief, his belief about self worth may also be reassessed and reconfirmed.

Using a different measure, Houston (1984) in his study using 195 Black undergraduates assessed the subjects' response to a Black Consciousness Scale (BCS), a Feeling of Inadequacy Scale (FIS), and a draw-a-person test. There was no correlation between Black consciousness and esteem for females. Males showed higher esteem than females and a negative correlation between BCS and FIS scores. That is, the higher the Black consciousness Scale score,

the lower the Feelings of Inadequacy score. From the earliest empirical studies it has been demonstrated that gender impacts on racial self-assessments (Clark & Clark, 1947).

Theorizing about the continued assumption of Whites and Blacks that Blacks must of necessity have low self-esteem because of the effects of racism and the resulting inferior status accorded them, Rose (1983) points to different value systems that characterize Blacks. These values lead to different personality manifestations in Blacks and infer that different values upon which esteem may be based prohibit the comparison of these two groups. It would be tantamount to comparing apples to oranges.

Contrary to expectations, self-esteem, according to Smith, Burlew, & Lundgren (1991), does not appear to be strongly associated with Black consciousness. They did find a strong association however, between self-esteem and satisfaction with physical appearance.

Self-esteem was also found to be higher in Blacks than in Whites who have severely mentally ill offspring (Pickett, Vraniak, Cook & Cohler, 1993). Their study focused on the impact of caring for a severely mentally disturbed child and the parents' feelings of worth, capacity for handling difficult situations, and support systems. The results indicated that Black parents feel better about themselves and contend with difficulties better than Whites. Blacks also adjust more adaptively to the situation the longer they are under the stress of caring for the mentally ill child. These are unexpected results given the general expectation that Black should have minimal psychological resources due to the

adverse and especially the assumed debilitating effects of racism. One factor suggested explaining the differences between Black and White coping ability and self-esteem is the intra-racial differential expectations for achievement of the offspring. In a society where Whites, by definition, may feel entitled to more of everything than Blacks, Whites experience greater feelings of depression and defeat when their offspring cannot achieve as expected. It may also point to the strengthening of the Black individual that results from constantly dealing with stress and hardship, along with the repeated experience and acknowledgment that they can survive under such duress.

Interpersonal Relationships

Because people are social animals, their relationships to others are crucial to their mental well-being at all levels of relationship whether friendship, acquaintances, familial, or intimate.

Taylor (1990) conducted a study to investigate the relationship between marital satisfaction and racism. He used 96 Black couples from three Black areas in large northeastern cities. The data were collected in 1986. Couples were paid \$10.00 to participate and were from randomly preselected addresses. The median income of the couples was between \$13,000-14,000.00. Sixty-one to 64% of the subjects in the study had completed high school.

To assess marital satisfaction, The Marital Adjustment Test (MAT), a test developed by Lock and Wallace in 1959 was administered. The MAT is a 15-item self-report measure used to assess agreement or disagreement between

the spouses. The second measure, the Nadanolitization Inventory (NAD) was developed by Taylor, Wilson & Dobbins in 1972 and consists of 24 items used to determine the internalization of stereotypes of Blacks. Eight Black male and female undergraduate students conducted the interviews. One male and female were assigned a household in which the husband and wife were interviewed in separate rooms by the same sex interviewer.

Results show that husbands reporting more internalized racism reported less marital satisfaction. Internalized racism is predictive of marital satisfaction for males. The prediction of wives satisfaction from internalized racism scores for husbands and wives only approached significance. Internalized racism of wives, but not of husbands, was significant in accounting for marital satisfaction of wives. This pattern was also noted for husbands. That is, internalized racism of husbands, but not of wives, was significant in predicting marital satisfaction for husbands.

Since variance in marital satisfaction attributed to internalized racism was low for husbands ($R=4\%$) and wives ($R=3.6\%$), it was suggested that the relationship was false and that a third variable, possible socioeconomic status, was a causative factor for both marital satisfaction and internalized racism. After controlling for socioeconomic status, internalized racism and marital satisfaction lost its significant relationship for both husbands and wives. Further analyses showed a positive relationship between socioeconomic status and marital satisfaction and a negative relationship between socioeconomic status and internalized racism.

Extrapolating from interracial racism to intra-racial discrimination, it can be surmised that if socioeconomic status correlates negatively with internalized racism and marital satisfaction, it is probably necessary to look at the intraracial correlates of socioeconomic status. Light skin correlates with higher socioeconomic status in African-Americans. In replacing socioeconomic status with skin color, this may prove a fruitful intervening variable to study.

Statement of the Problem

The empirical literature supports the position that skin color is an important correlate of various areas in the lives of African-Americans. It has been shown to impact on racial identity, family socialization, with significance for self-esteem and achievement. The literature also supports that there are four to five basic racial identity attitude statuses that have psychological as well as social and cultural ramifications; and finally that these stages may indicate tendencies toward psychological well-being. Skin color has not been examined in relation to intergenerational family socialization. Family racial identity attitude status has not been examined in relation to any of the above variables.

Hypotheses

1. African-American women will attribute family power, beauty, and privilege to the skin color they believe was preferred by significant family members.
2. Perceived positive sentiments about the subject's skin color from significant family members during the time the subject was growing up will correlate with higher levels of psychological well-being.

- 3. Positive family skin color sentiments as recalled by African-American women will positively correlate with Preencounter and Internalization racial identity attitudes.**
- 4. African-American females self-defined as the lightest family member will have higher well-being scores than African-American females self-defined as the darkest family member.**
- 5. African-American females' racial identity attitude will be similar to their family's perceived racial identity attitudes.**
- 6. Families perceived as holding Internalization racial identity attitudes will be perceived as holding positive skin color sentiments toward light, medium, and dark skin shades.**

Definition of Terms

African-American refers to Black racial group members and their offspring, who identify with the historical experiences of the Black race in America.

African-American Family-Williams & Wright (1992) define the Black/African American family as "An intimate association of persons of African descent living in America who are related to each other by a variety of means including blood, marriage, formal adoption, informal adoption, or by appropriation; sustained by a history of common residence; and are deeply imbedded in a network of social structure both internal and external to themselves." (p. 28)

Blacks-individuals of African descent regardless of geographical location, ethnic or cultural grouping.

Black racial group membership (i.e., racial identity) refers to a prescribed categorization of persons of African descent based on physical characteristics and geographical descent.

"Browning of America" - The effect of the influx of non-White, non-Western European immigrants. The changing of the color of the majority of Americans from white to beige, brown, and Black.

Color Coding- a system that separates Blacks into distinct color divisions for the purpose of bestowing or denying privilege. It is defined by Bates (1994) as a systematic relic left over from slavery that is a form of psychological oppression.

Color demoralization- deflating the esteem of Blacks based on skin color valuation. It results from color coding by individuals or the larger society.

Color Tax- Attending a social event, the darker the partner of a light-skinned person, the more money he was “taxed” to enter. In this way the “color tax” functioned to keep darker and lighter Blacks in separate social circles.

Colorism-Intraracial discrimination and preferential treatment based on skin color (Berry, 1988).

Colorstruck-Intense preference for individuals of a particular color, traditionally those of lighter skin color.

Comb Test- Entrance into some Black societies and affairs was often contingent upon passing some form of test such as the comb test. In the “comb test,” the ease of a fine tooth-comb passing through one’s hair was used to judge suitability for admittance. If the hair snagged, the person was not allowed to attend the event.

Fictive kin - individuals related through choice, commitment, and affectional ties rather than by blood.

Genogram -The genogram, a pictorial family tree, is generally used to record information such as names, ages, relationships, gender, geographical location, occupations, etc. about the family over three generations.

“One-drop rule”-The unofficial law that states that even one drop of Black blood from perpetuity consigns the individual and all his or her descendants for an eternity to membership in the Black race.

Paper bag Test- In the paper bag test, the individual’s arm was placed inside a brown paper bag. If the arm was the darker of the two, the person was excluded from and unwelcome at the social event.

Passing- Assuming a white identity by an African-American person. Of necessity, in order to fool White society, the individual had to possess all phenotypic features of Caucasians.

People of Color- refers to all non-White peoples. Most frequently it is used interchangeably with African-American and Black.

Personal identity- Personal identity is defined as “that subjective sense of sameness and continuity that serves to guide the person’s life” (Phinney et al., cited by Freeman, 1994).

Psychological Well-Being- “Psychological well-being is considered a state internal to the individual-that is, how the individual is feeling inside (Kellan & Ensminger, 1980 cited by Seaborn Thompson & Ensminger, 1989) as distinct from how the individual is functioning in social roles” (Seaborn & Ensminger, 1989, p. 719).

Racial Identity-“identifying or not identifying with the racial group with which he or she is generally assumed to share racial heritage. ...racial identity partially refers to the person of black African ancestry’s acknowledgment of shared racial-group membership with others of similar as previously defined... (p. 5, Helms, 1993)

Racial Identity Attitude-One’s sentiments, feelings, views of, or perspective on, his or her concept of the self as a member of a particular race. Racial identity attitude includes the quality and extent to which one also identifies with the racial group.

Racial Socialization- Racial socialization according to Thornton et al. (1990) "...involves messages and actions that provide information on personal and group identity, interracial relationships, and social position related to race" (p.176).

Racialization-The imputation of divisions amongst people based on a fallacious concept called race. The division base is a dichotomization of American society into Black and White (Webster, 1992).

Self-esteem- Self-esteem is defined as the value, regard, or opinion one has of oneself.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter discusses the sample, the five criteria for participation, and the five instruments used in the study. The reliability and validity of the various measures, construction of the interview, and pilot studies are presented also in this section.

Subjects and Subject Selection Criteria

The sample for this study consisted of 100 females between 20 and 77 years of age who self-identify as African-American. A further criterion for participation in the study was that the subject and her mother must have been born and raised in the United States.

The subjects were African-Americans in order to limit the scope of historical variables impacting on family socialization, racial identity attitudes, skin color values, and psychological well-being. Only individuals of African descent with at least two generations in America were asked to volunteer.

The final requirement was that at least one sibling, fictive kin, or other extended family member lived in the same household during some part of the time the subject was being raised.

Notices of the study (See appendix A) were placed in designated locations such as schools, community libraries, fitness centers, and housing complexes.

The subjects were asked to volunteer to participate in a family social attitudes study composed of several parts that looked at the socialization processes in relation to skin color and well-being in African-American women. College students were asked to volunteer through their college instructors. Subjects were drawn from all socio-economic levels, professions and jobs, from college and non-college students. All participants lived in a large urban northeastern city.

In response to the posted fliers for participation in this study, future many participants asked if it were okay for a friend or friends to also fill out the measures. These requests led to the study being administered in a group setting. Groups were generally administered the measures in a participant's home, in a center. Individually administered measures were collected but not used as it was not feasible to test the difference between the group administered and the individually administered measures due to the small number of individually administered sets of data. Group sizes ranged from 3 to 12 subjects.

Instruments and procedures

The research author administered five measures to the subjects: The Color-Relationship Genogram, The Color-Relationship Index Parts I and II, the Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black Version, short-form, the Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black Version Family Adaptation, and The Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index.

The Color-Relationship Genogram (CRG) use was conceived by the research author based on the genogram used generally in systemic family therapy. The genogram was developed out of Murray Bowen's family systems theory. In his theory, members are organized and assume roles within the family based on a number of factors such as age, birth order, and gender. The member's position within the family will influence his functioning, relationships, and his or her role towards the next generation (McGoldrick & Gerson, 1985) (See Appendix D).

The genogram, a pictorial family tree, has been a useful tool in family therapy in the gathering of historical facts on family members. Sherman et al. (1991) describe the genogram as a "framework" for gathering important information such as names, ages, relationships, gender, geographical location, occupations, etc. It is generally used to record information about the family over three generations. This allows family issues to be placed in an historical context and for possible problem areas to be identified. Patterns within the family are easily delineated and traced, enabling the therapist to quickly assess the family situation. Besides being used in systemic family therapy to map various kinds of information, it has also been used by physicians to record family medical histories. Structural patterns as well as relational and emotional relationships have been assessed within the family using the genogram. However, it has not been used to note the skin color of family members. This use is a logical outgrowth of the function of the genogram. The genogram is often used to look

at, not only patterns, but at the structure of the family. Skin color is a structural as well as emotional variable in many African-American families.

McGoldrick & Gerson (1985) attempted to standardize the format and interpretation of the genogram based on family system's theory. Prior to this attempt, although the genogram was widely used, there was little consensus on the use of symbols and their interpretation, or what type of information to gather.

The genogram is a visual schematization of the generations in the family. All members of the same generation are represented on the same horizontal line. The information can be read horizontally to understand members of the same generation or vertically for intergenerational patterns. Besides being a source of family history, the genogram has been used to assist in the diagnosis of family problems and in the joining of therapists with the family (McGoldrick & Gerson, 1984).

The genogram, in this study, is being used to document the skin color of three generations of African-American family members of the subjects. "Family" will be defined to include nuclear, extended, and fictive kin. Boyd-Franklin (1989) notes that the definition of family, while defined by traditional family values, can include individuals with no blood or legal ties. It is noted that voluntary family membership (fictive kin) has the potential to influence the family functioning on many levels and in various ways. The examination of all possible influences related to skin color and racial identity issues has the potential to promote further understanding of these dynamics within the family. The intrafamilial socialization referred to in this study differs from direct parental

instilling of values. It is posited that members, besides parents, can subtly influence each others values and attitudes by the messages relayed to each other via interactions within the family. The nature of these messages may be overt and conscious, covert and implied, or unconscious and out of awareness.

The Color-Relationship Genogram (CRG) consists of two parts: the genogram and the five-point skin color codes. The subjects were shown the genogram schemata. The subjects were asked to state individuals she considered family (blood relatives or fictive kin), and to indicate their relationship to her. After noting the family member's names and ages, subjects were given a chart with skin color codes. She was then asked to assign a color code from the list to each person indicated as a family member on the genogram. The skin colors were defined according to the subject, on a five-point range. The colors are (1) Very Light, (2) Light Brown, (3) Medium Brown, (4) Dark Brown, and (5) Very Dark (see Appendix D). The skin colors will be coded as follows: VL for Very Light, L for Light Brown, M for Medium Brown, D for Dark Brown, and VD for Very Dark Brown. The skin color categories, Very Light and Light were collapsed due to the limited number of subjects in the Very Light category. They are referred to as Light skin subjects. The Dark and Very Dark categories were also collapsed for the same reason. They are both referred to as Dark skin subjects.

The CRG took approximately 15 minutes to complete and had been only administered prior to this study to ascertain the approximate amount of time

needed for completion. Conceived as an interview assessment tool, the CRG has not had reliability or validity determined. (see Appendix C)

The Color-Relationship Index (CRI) was written by the research author to be used in conjunction with the CRG. The CRI consists of a two-part questionnaire. The first part of the CRI contains 20 questions concerning general sentiments and relationships within the family as retrospectively remembered by the subject. Subjects indicated which family member is best described by each of the questions. The subjects' responses were entered on an answer sheet. Skin color was entered for each identified family member based on the skin color codes originally assigned to each member on the CRG. For example, if mother was assigned the code 1 for very light, then all answers of mother will also receive a "1". Based on pilot testing, the time for completion of the CRI, Part I is approximately 30 minutes. This measure conceived as a form of interview has not been examined for reliability or validity.

The second part of the CRI consists of 37 sentence completion questions. These questions were analyzed for family attitudes and themes toward the variety of skin colors in the family. (See Appendix I)

The third instrument used was the short form of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black Version (RIAS-B) (See Appendix D). This scale was developed by Janet Helms and Thomas Parham (1981) to assess racial identity levels consistent with the Cross (1971) model of Nigrescence, called the "Negro-to-Black" conversion. In the conversion from Negro to Black, individuals are propelled from the lesser Black-identified State of Preencounter, through

Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization racial identity attitude stages. The fifth stage, Internalization/Commitment was not included in the scale because it was seen as describing behavior that could potentially be found in the other four stages, although for different reasons. Although the scales are fairly independent, Helms (1990) maintains that it is important to understand the degree to which individuals hold attitudes from each scale. She suggests that probably all individuals have some degree of each attitude that is measured by the different subscales. However, one's attitude stage/status depends on the degree to which it predominates relative to the other three stages.

Helms (1990) states that scoring of the RIAS depends on how the subscale attitudes are operationalized. Discrete versus continuous, overlapping categories permits different scoring procedures. She points out that the different conceptualizations of scoring also permit different interpretations of the obtained results. This study applied both methods. The discrete method was used by totaling only the responses that "agree" or "strongly agree" with each item. The continuous method or degree to which the subject retains vestiges of the other stages was calculated also.

Developing the RIAS, items representative of the four stages were obtained by multidimensional scaling based on responses from a sample of 58 students at a Midwestern university (Helms, 1993). A factor analytic study was later performed on a sample of 250 college students. The subject's ages ranged from 17 to 72 and were equally divided between males and females. Subjects were drawn from all geographical areas of the United States (North,

South, East, West), from public and private colleges and universities, and from racially mixed (predominantly Black and predominantly White) college environments. The results suggested the scale was reliable with construct validity.

The validity of the RIAS-B has been addressed in several studies. Helms (1993) states that the scale can be used to predict characteristics that should be related to racial identity but not predict characteristics not related to racial identity. The related characteristics have been found to be self-esteem, affective states, and preference for therapist's race.

To assess construct validity, Helms & Parham, cited in Helms (1993) as in press, conducted a factor analytic study. They found that the four racial identity attitude types were "essentially" explained by four orthogonal factors that seemed to reflect the intended conceptualization of the four racial identity subscales.

Other studies (Brookins, Anyabwile, & Nacoste, 1992; Helms & Parham, 1993) were conducted to assess the structure of the instrument. Brookins et al. also obtained "essentially" four orthogonal subscales that corresponded to the subscales on the originally constructed scale. In their findings, the four subscales accounted for 38 percent of the variance.

Of twenty-one studies reviewed that used the RIAS as one of the measures (either as a dependent or independent variable), four (Martin & Hall, 1992; Parham & Williams, 1993; Watts, 1992; Duncan & Pryzwansky, 1993)

used other than college students as the sample. Most of the confirmed results from the remaining 17 studies can be generalized to college students.

The fourth instrument, the Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black Version Family Adaptation (RIAS-BFA) is a modified version of the RIAS-B (see Appendix E). RIAS-BFA was adapted for use in assessing retrospective family racial identity attitudes. Placing all questions in the past rather than the present effected a modification of tenses. In the RIAS-B the question are directed towards the individual subject and his beliefs about himself. In the family version, all questions are directed toward the subjects's recollection of family attitudes and beliefs. Consequently, the "I" has been changed to "My family". This change in subject and tense ("was" instead of "is") are the only modifications from the original RIAS-B.

The fifth instrument is The Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index (See Appendix F). A.J. Franklin (1996) developed this index from a broader survey called the National Survey of Black Americans: A Study of Black American Life (1979). Embedded in this scale is part of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale.

The Psychological Well-Being Index (Franklin, 1996), is a multidimensional index composed of following seven factors:

Happiness (Cronbach's Alpha .65), contains three questions.

Self-Esteem 1 (Cronbach's Alpha .64), composed of three questions phrased in the positive, derive from the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Index. The subject is asked to indicate if a statement is true for him/herself. A four-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (4) is one

alternative for scoring. As it was designed originally as a Guttman scale, it can, as an independent test, be scored by summing the responses also. The scale has a test-retest reliability of .88 for a sample of college students over a two-week period Silber & Tippet (1965) and an internal consistency coefficient of 92% obtained by Rosenberg (1979) as reported by Pyant & Yanico, (1991).

Blame for Bad Job (Cronbach's Alpha .70), also contains three questions based on a four point scale, from very important to not at all important.

Self-Esteem 2 (Cronbach's Alpha .68), contains four negative self-esteem questions in which the subject is asked to what degree the statement is not true. One question in this factor deviates from this scoring and has a five point scale from very often to never having such feelings about oneself.

Economic Well-Being (Cronbach's Alpha .63), contains four questions and subjects were asked to compare their financial status currently to how it was three years ago, and how much they worry about economic matters on this factor.

Role Performance (Cronbach's Alpha .61), is a four point scale from very well to not well at all that addresses the chances one has had to deal adequately with life's circumstances.

The final factor, Interpersonal Relations (Cronbach's Alpha .59) with three items addresses if one has had problems in relationships over the past month.

This index, with 40 items, addressed theoretical or empirical factors related to variables affecting mental health. Twenty-five items and seven factors

were obtained after a factor analysis. The item loadings were equal to or greater than 0.40. A single well-being quotient was developed by standardizing and scaling the seven factors. The scale standardization mean of zero has a standard deviation of one.

Three categories of well-being were created by grouping scores into the lowest (25%), the middle (50%), and the highest (25%) quartiles. As two of the items loaded equally on the seven factors, they were eliminated. After performing a varimax rotation, the seven factors accounted for 35% of the total variance.

This index was developed due to the dearth of instruments that assess normal functioning in African-Americans. A psychological index developed on a Black population may better capture the significance of variables influencing an individual's mental well-being. Well-being instruments developed on other groups, such as White college students, may not be as appropriate a measure for Black women (Pyant & Yanico, 1991).

In the development of The Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index, Franklin (1996) performed a regression analysis of the psychological quotient on the demographic variables and obtained a 19% variance attributed to these items. The results indicated that well-being was not predicted by gender, but by education, income, employment, age, and marital status. It can be concluded then that any factor(s) affecting these variables will, in turn, affect psychological well-being. And, because it was developed using a sample of African-

Americans, it should more accurately assess the factors of well-beings particular to this group.

Chapter IV

Results

The study of African American women reported here was carried out to determine the relationships between attitudes about skin color expressed by the family, the subjects' skin color, racial identity attitude, and psychological well-being. In this chapter, the results of the study are reported. The results have been organized under seven major headings. The first of these sections describes the demographic characteristics of the study sample. The remaining six sections correspond to the six research hypotheses.

Description of the Sample

The sample consisted of 100 African American women who ranged in age from 20 to 77 years. The average age in the sample was 42.6 years ($SD=13.4$ years), but most of the women (53%) were between 30 and 49 years of age. The majority of the women were born in the Northeast (77%) and lived in the Northeast at least from age 6-16 years (83%). They lived with both parents (71%) or with a single mother (20%). Family sizes ranged from 3 to 17 immediate family members, with five as the modal number (27%). The number of intergenerational family members recalled on the genogram ranged from 6 to 45. The mode is 24 members. The women were either in a professional occupation (33%), in middle management (17%), clerical or blue collar jobs (8% each), managerial positions (5%) or their own business (1%).

Table 1 presents frequency distributions on their marital status, employment status, educational level, and income. The data in Table 1 indicate that the modal category with respect to marital status was the "never married" category. Forty-six of the women who responded to this question (46%) reported that they had never been married. Only 25 of the women (25%) reported that they were currently married. Eight of the women were separated (8%) or divorced (18%), and three of the women indicated that they were widows (3%).

Seventy-two of the women (72%) reported that they were currently working, ten (10%) were retired. Eighteen of the women (18%) indicated that they were not working. The sample was generally well educated and prosperous. The modal category with respect to education was split between "some college" (23%), and "completed a master's" (23%). Eight of the women (8%) had some graduate school training, and another 17 of the women (17%) were college graduates with no graduate training. The modal category with respect to annual income was the \$30,000–49,999 category into which 31 of the women (31%) fell. Another 18 of the women (18%) reported annual incomes of \$50,000 or more.

The women were asked to rate their skin shade, as well as the skin shade of their mother and father. In addition, based on the ratings of the skin color of family members made in the genogram, each respondent was classified as: (1) having lighter skin color than anyone else in the family; (2) having darker skin than anyone else in the family; or (3) having neither lighter nor darker skin color

than anyone else in the family. Frequency distributions on these variables are presented in Table 2.

The data in Table 2 indicate that the modal self-rating for skin shade was medium. This response option was selected by 34 women (34%). The modal rating of mother's skin shade was also medium (40%). With respect to the modal rating of father's skin shade, forty-one respondents indicated that their father's skin shade was dark (41%).

Twenty-one of the respondents (21%) were classified as having lighter skin than any of their family members. Twenty-two (22%) were classified as having darker skin than anyone else in their family. Fifty-seven of the women fell into neither of these categories, indicating that they had at least one significant and known family member with the same skin shade as their own.

Table 3 data indicate that the majority of the women characterized themselves as holding the Internalization racial identity attitude (91%). The rest of the women indicated that they viewed themselves as holding Encounter (7%), Preencounter (0%), Immersion/Emersion (0%) attitudes, and two percent were in equal agreement with Preencounter and Internalization (1%) and Encounter and Internalization status (1%). The women were placed in the stage in which they agreed with the highest percentage of statements. For the perceived racial identity attitude of the family, Internalization was also the most frequently designated characterization (80%), followed by Preencounter (10%), Encounter (6%), Immersion/Emersion (1%), and the two mixed stages of Preencounter and Internalization (2%) and Encounter and Internalization (1%) attitudes.

Table 1
Respondents' Marital Status, Employment Status, Educational Level, and
Income Level

Variable	Value	n	%
Marital Status	Married	25	25
	Separated	8	8
	Divorced	18	18
	Never married	46	46
	Widowed	3	3
Employment Status	Working	72	72
	Not Working	18	18
	Retired	10	10
Educational Level	Grade School	9	9
	High School		
	Graduate	4	4
	Trade/Vocational	10	10
	Some College	23	23
	College (BA only)	17	17
	Some Masters	8	8
	Completed Masters	23	23
	Masters' plus	3	3
	Ph.D./Professional School	3	3

Table 1 continued

Income Level	Zero	15	15
	~~\$4-4,999~~	1	1
	5-5,999	2	2
	6-6,999	1	1
	7-7,999	2	2
	8-9,999	0	0
	10-11,999	1	1
	12-14,999	4	4
	15-19,999	7	7
	20-29,999	18	18
	30-49,999	31	31
	50,000 or more	18	18

Table 2

Respondent's Skin Shade, Skin Shade of Respondent's Mother and Father, and Respondent's Skin Shade in Relation to Others in Family

Variable	Value	n	%
Subject's skin shade	Light	33	32
	Medium	34	34
	Dark	33	33
Mother's Skin Shade	Light	34	34
	Medium	40	40
	Dark	26	26
Father's Skin Shade	Light	25	25
	Medium	30	30
	Dark	41	41
	Missing	4	4
Respondent's Skin Shade in Relation to Family	Lightest	21	21
	Darkest	22	22
	Neither	57	57

Table 3
Percentage of Subjects in Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization Stages and the Percentage of Family Members in Each Stage

Stage	RIAS-B		RIAS-BFA	
	n	Percentage	n	Percentage
Preencounter	0	0	10	10
Encounter	7	7	6	6
Immersion/ Emersion	0	0	1	1
Internalization	91	91	80	80
Preencounter/ Internalization	1	1	2	2
Encounter/ Internalization	1	1	1	1

Attributions of Power, Beauty, and Privilege

The first research hypothesis was concerned with attributions relative to power, beauty, and privilege of family members with light, medium, and dark, skin tones. On Part One of the Color Relationship Index, the women were asked to indicate which of their family members best fit each of 20 different descriptive statements. These statements represented several different dimensions, including power, beauty, and special treatment. Ten of the 20 items are indicative of power within the family. These include items: most successful(#1), go to for advice (#2), smartest (#4), most proud of (#6), want to be accepted by(#8), look up to and respect(#9), most reliable(#11), most capable(#17), most influential (#18), and represented family more closely (#20). One item was used to indicate which member was considered the most beautiful, prettiest or best looking(#5). A third set of statements was used to indicate privilege or the differential treatment of any family members. This category was divided into positive treatment (privilege): want to be with(#3), give special treatment (#7), misbehavior excused most often(#10), and say more positive things about(#19), and negative treatment (lack of privilege): criticize most often(#12), rarely ask for advice(#13), overlook most often(#14), unfairly treated most often(#15), and ashamed of (#16).

In order to test the statistical relationship between these attributions and skin color, the investigator recorded, for each respondent, the rated skin shade of each family member nominated for one of these statements signifying either

power, beauty, or special treatment. The number of light skin (light or very light) family statements was recorded, as were the number of medium skin family members nominated for these roles, and the number of dark skin family members (dark or very dark) nominated for these roles. The skin shade of each family member was obtained from the Color-Relationship Genogram (Appendix K) on which the subjects indicated all family members they recalled from the time they were growing up and the family members' skin shade.

Since the total number of family members and the proportion of family members in each of these skin shade categories varied substantially from one respondent to another, the likelihood of nominating an individual of a given skin shade for one of the roles was dependent upon the distribution of skin shades within each family. Therefore, it was necessary to weight the number of attributions assigned to family members in each skin shade group by a factor that would control for the likelihood of choosing individuals of a given skin shade by chance. This weighting was accomplished by multiplying the actual number of family members of a given skin shade by the inverse of the proportion of total family members in that skin shade category.

The resulting weighted number of power, beauty, and privilege descriptions assigned to light, medium, and dark-skin family members was subjected to a one-way, repeated measures analysis of variance. In this analysis, the within subjects independent variable was skin shade category, having the values light, medium, and dark. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 4, Table 5, Table 6 and 7.

The results of the power attribution analysis indicated no significant differences in power attributed to light, medium, and dark skin family members ($F=3.155$, $df=2$ and 198 , $p=.055$). The F-test was nearly significant at the .05 level, but narrowly missed a statistically significant level. When three individual paired-sample t-tests were used to compare the power attributions assigned to family members in the three skin shade groups, a single test was significant, that comparing power attributions assigned to medium skin color family members and dark skin family members ($t = 2.37$, $df = 99$, $p=.020$). Thus, there is some evidence that the women in the sample tended to attribute greater power to medium skin color family members than to dark skin family members. Attributions of power are greater by more than three for medium skin color family members than for dark skin family members, and by almost three for medium skin color family members than for light skin family members. However, given the nonsignificant result obtained in the repeated measures analysis of variance, the significant t-test must be regarded with caution. It is safest to conclude only that these results warrant further study of attributions of power to family members having different skin shades.

The results of the repeated measures analysis of variance comparing beauty attribution scores assigned to light, medium, and dark skin family members showed a significant difference ($F = 4.042$, $df = 2$ and 198 , $p = .005$) between the groups. Again, when three individual paired-sample t-tests were used to compare the beauty attributions assigned to family members in the three skin shade groups, two tests were significant, that comparing beauty attributions

Table 4
Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance Comparing Power Attribution Scores
Assigned to Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Family Members

Attributions of Power for:	Mean	SD
Light skinned family members	7.92	9.18
Medium skinned family members	10.74	9.47
Dark skinned family members	7.37	7.49

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Skin Shade	654.26	2	327.13	3.155
Error	20,530	198	103.69	

($p=.055$)

Table 5
Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance Comparing Beauty Attribution Scores
Assigned to Light, Medium, and Dark Skinned Family Members

Attributions of beauty for	Mean	SD
Light skinned family members	1.40	2.45
Medium skinned family members	1.04	2.02
Dark skinned family members	0.53	1.10

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Skin Shade	38.04	2	19.02	4.042*
Error	931.71	198	4.71	

(p = .005)

assigned to dark skin and medium skin color family members ($t=-1.99$, $df=99$, $p=.049$), and beauty attributions for dark skin and light skin family members ($t=-2.93$, $df=99$, $p=.004$). Women in the sample attributed less beauty to dark skin women. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 5.

The results of the third part of the first hypothesis concerning special treatment, (both negative and positive) of family members by other members are presented below. The results of the negative treatment analysis indicated a significant difference in negative treatment attributed to light, medium, and dark skin family members ($F=4.56$, $df=2$ and 198 , $p=.044$).

In another set of three paired-samples t-tests to compare attributions of negative treatment in the three skin color groups, two tests were significant. The pair comparing attributions of negative treatment for dark skin members and medium skin color members was significant ($t=2.397$, $df=99$, $p=.018$) as was the pair comparing negative attributions for dark skin members and negative light skin members ($t=2.374$, $df=99$, $p=.020$). Medium and light skin family members received almost three fewer indications of negative treatment than dark skin family members. The results of the analysis concerning negative treatment are presented in Table 6.

Table 6
Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance Comparing Negative Treatment Attribution Scores Assigned to Light, Medium, and Dark Skin-Toned Family Members

Attributions of Negative Treatment for:	Mean	SD
Light skinned family members	3.81	5.31
Medium skinned family members	3.71	5.84
Dark skinned family members	6.63	9.03

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Skin Shade	549.40	2	274.70	4.56*
Error	11.929.25	198	60.25	

(p=.044)

Table 7

Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance Comparing Positive Treatment Attribution Scores Assigned to Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Family Members

Attributions of positive treatment for	Mean	SD
Light skinned family members	3.90	5.25
Medium skinned family members	4.44	4.67
Dark skinned family members	3.21	3.23

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Skin Shade	76.55	2	38.27	1.48
Error	5121.74	198	25.87	

($p=.16$, ns)

The results of the repeated measures analysis of variance comparing positive treatment attribution scores assigned to light, medium, and dark skin family members indicated no significant difference in positive treatment between the groups ($F=1.48$, $df=2$ and 198 , $p=.16$). However, dark skin family members received, on the average, one fewer positive attribution than medium skin color family members. The results are presented in Table 7.

Family Perceptions of Subject's Skin Color and Well-Being

The second research hypothesis was concerned with the relationships between African American women's perceptions of the attitudes held by their family members toward people having the subject's skin color and the subject's psychological well-being.

On Part Two of the Color Relationship Index, the subjects completed sentences reflecting the attitudes, as perceived by the subject, of various family members toward individuals who were light skin, brown skin, and dark skin. There were 12 incomplete sentences with respect to people having each of these three skin shades. The sentences reflected the subject's perception of how the subject herself felt, how her mother and father felt, how her grandmother and her grandfather felt, and how the person(s) who influenced her the most about skin color felt. Each response was coded by the investigator as reflecting no opinion, a positive attitude, or a negative attitude. In order to assess how positive the family of each subject was toward people of each of the three skin tones, the number of sentence completions categorized as positive was counted.

The number could range from zero to 10 for each of the three skin shades. The resulting variables were named (1) family positive skin color attitudes toward light skinned people; (2) family positive skin color attitudes toward medium skinned people; and (3) family positive skin color attitudes toward dark skinned people.

Next, the investigator computed positive skin color attitudes for each member of the family listed on the Color Relationship Index Part II for light, medium, and dark persons. For each family member, and person(s) who influenced the subject the most about skin color, there were two incomplete statements for each of the three skin shade categories. Each response was coded by the investigator as reflecting no opinion, a positive attitude, or negative attitude. In order to assess how positive the individual family members of each subject was toward people of each of the three skin tones, the number of sentence completions categorized as positive was counted. The number could range from zero to 2 for each of the three skin shades. The resulting variables were named for each family member, and person(s) who influenced subject the most about skin color. The twelve resulting variables were named: (1) mom's positive skin color attitude toward light skinned people; (2) mom's positive skin color attitude toward medium skinned people; and (3) mom's positive skin color attitude toward dark skinned people, (4) father's positive skin color attitude for light skinned people, (5) father's positive skin color attitude toward medium skinned people, (6) father's positive skin color attitude toward dark skinned people, (7) grandmother's positive skin color attitude toward light skinned

people, (8) grandmother's positive skin color attitude toward medium skin people, (9) grandmother's positive skin color attitude toward dark skinned people, (10) grandfather's positive skin color attitude for light skin people, (11) grandfather's positive skin color attitude toward medium skin persons, and (12) grandfather's positive skin color attitude toward dark skin persons.

The frequency of "no issue" attitudes attributed to the family for light skin persons were: 44 out of 95 responses by the mother, 42 out of 78 responses by the father, 36 out of 69 responses by the grandmother, and 25 out of 49 responses by the grandfather. The following are the number of positive attributions by each family member for light skin persons: mother (51), father (36), grandmother (33), and grandfather (24). The following is the number of "no issue" attitudes attributed to the family for medium skin color persons: 41 out of 93 responses by the mother, 43 out of 78 by the father, 39 out of 67 responses by the grandmother, and 30 out of 49 responses by the grandfather. Positive attributions by each family member for medium skin color persons are as follows: mother (53), father (35), grandmother (28), and grandfather (17). The number of "no responses" for dark skin persons attributed to family members were: 55 out 93 responses by the mother, 55 out 76 responses by dad, 49 out of 68 responses by the grandmother and 36 out of 50 responses for the grandfather. The number of attributions of positive statements for dark skin persons were: mother (38), father (21), grandmother (17), and grandfather (14).

Prior to analyzing the data for the impact of positive attitudes on psychological well-being, the data was analyzed to assess the assumption of

differences in attitudes toward dark, medium, and light skinned persons. The variables, family attitude, and individual family member attitudes, were subjected to a repeated measures analysis of variance respectively, in which the within subjects independent variable was skin shade category, having the values light, medium, and dark.

The results of the one-way repeated measures analysis of variance comparing differences in positive family attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin individuals showed a significant difference ($F=27.497$, $df=2$ and 196 , $p=.00001$). When three individual paired-sample t-tests were used to compare family positive skin color attitudes assigned to the three skin shade groups, two tests were significant, that comparing the difference in family positive attitudes toward light skin and dark skin persons ($t=5.869$, $df=98$, $p=.0001$) and that comparing family positive attitudes toward medium skin and dark skin color persons ($t=6.230$, $df=98$, $p=.0001$). Women in the sample perceived their families as holding more positive attitudes toward light and medium skin color persons than toward dark skin persons. The results are presented in Table 8. While there are very significant differences in the perceived family attitudes, it must be kept in mind that the results do not refer to all of the families of the women in the sample. The number of families perceived to hold "no issue" toward skin color was almost 50%. This category "no issue" needs to be kept in mind.

Table 8
Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance Comparing Mean Differences in
Family Attitudes toward Light, Medium, and Dark Persons

Positive Family Attitude Toward	mean	SD
Light Skin Persons	4.29	3.03
Medium Skin Persons	4.00	3.32
Dark Skin Persons	2.37	2.63

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Skin Shade	211.657	2	105.83	27.497*
Error	754.34	196	3.85	

($p=.00001$)

Mom and Dad's Perception of Light, Medium, and Dark Skinned Persons

The results of mom's positive skin color attitude analysis indicated a significant difference in the number of positive statements about light, medium, and dark skin persons ($F=6.196$, $df=2$ and 182 , $p=.001$). When three individual paired-sample t-tests were used to compare mom's positive skin color attitude assigned to the three skin shade groups, two tests were significant, that comparing the difference in mom's positive attitude toward light skin and dark skin persons ($t=2.55$, $df=92$, $p=.012$) and that comparing mom's positive attitude toward medium skin and dark skin persons ($t=3.786$, $df=91$, $p=.0001$). Women in the sample indicated that their moms held more positive attitudes toward light and medium skin color than toward dark skin persons. The results of mom's attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin color individuals are presented in Table 9.

The results of dad's perceived positive skin color attitude analysis indicated a significant difference in the number of perceived positive statements about light, medium, and dark skin persons ($F=7.693$, $df=2$ and 150 , $p=.005$). When three individual paired-sample t-tests were used to compare dad's perceived positive skin color attitude assigned to the three skin shade groups, two tests were significant, that comparing the difference in dad's perceived positive attitude toward light skin and dark skin persons ($t=2.257$, $df=77$, $p=.027$) and that comparing dad's positive attitude toward medium skin and dark

Table 9
Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance Comparing Mean Differences in
Mom's Attitude toward Light, Medium, and Dark Persons

Mom's Positive Attitude toward	mean	SD
Light Skin Persons	.895	.905
Medium Skin Persons	.903	.885
Dark Skin Persons	.624	.820

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Skin Shade	4.72	2	2.36	6.20*
Error	69.28	182	.38	

(p=.0001)

Table 10

Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance Comparing Mean Differences in Dad's Attitude toward Light, Medium, and Dark Persons

Dad's Positive Attitude toward	mean	SD
Light Skin Persons	.731	.863
Medium Skin Persons	.731	.878
Dark Skin Persons	.421	.736

Source	SS	df	MS	F
skin shade	5.27	2	2.64	7.69*
Error	51.39	150	.34	

(p=.005)

skin persons ($t=-3.358$, $df=75$, $p=.001$). Women in the sample indicated that their dads held more positive attitudes toward light and medium skin color than toward dark skin color. Results are presented in Table 10.

Grandma's and Grandpa's Perception of Light, Medium, and Dark Persons

The results of grandma's perceived positive skin color attitude analysis indicated a significant difference in the number of perceived positive statements about light, medium, and dark skin persons ($F=9.03$, $df=2$ and 132 , $p=.002$). When three individual paired-sample t-tests were used to compare grandma's perceived positive skin color attitude assigned to the three skin shade groups, all three tests were significant, that comparing the difference in grandma's perceived positive skin color attitude toward light skin and dark skin persons ($t=-3.585$, $df=66$, $p=.002$), that comparing grandma's positive skin color attitude toward medium skin and dark skin persons ($t=2.67$, $df=66$, $p=.009$), and that comparing grandma's perceived positive skin color attitude toward light skin and medium skin color persons ($t=2.28$, $df=66$, $p=.026$). Women in the sample indicated that their grandma's held significantly different skin color attitudes toward each skin color category with the greater number of positive statements for light skin persons. Results are presented in Table 11.

The results of grandpa's perceived positive skin color attitude analysis indicated a significant difference in the number of perceived positive statements about light, medium, and dark skin persons ($F=8.71$, $df=2$ and 96 , $p=.005$). When three individual paired-sample t-tests were used to compare grandpa's

perceived positive skin color attitude assigned to the three skin shade groups, all three tests were significant, that comparing the difference in grandpa's perceived positive skin color attitude toward light skin and dark skin persons ($t=3.46$, $df=48$, $p=.001$), that comparing grandpa's perceived positive skin color attitude toward medium skin color and dark skin persons ($t=2.44$, $df=48$, $p=.019$), and that comparing grandpa's perceived positive skin color attitude toward medium and light skin color persons ($t=2.34$, $df=48$, $p=.024$). Women in the sample indicated that their grandpa's perceived attitude was significantly different between the three skin color groups, (light, medium, and dark). Grandpa's perceived attitude was most positive toward light, then medium, and least positive toward dark skin persons. The results are presented in Table 12.

Table 11

Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance Comparing Mean Differences in Grandma's Attitude toward Light, Medium, and Dark Persons

Grandma's Positive Attitude toward	mean	SD
Light Skin Persons	.855	.944
Medium Skin Persons	.627	.813
Dark Skin Persons	.441	.761

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Skin Shade	6.34	2	3.17	9.03*
Error	46.33	132	.35	

($p=.002$)

Table 12

Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance Comparing Mean Differences in Grandpa's Attitude toward Light, Medium, and Dark Persons

Grandpa's Positive Attitude toward	mean	SD
Light Skin Persons	.755	.855
Medium Skin Persons	.551	.765
Dark Skin Persons	.360	.631

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Skin Shade	3.69	2	1.84	8.71*
Error	20.31	96	.21	

($p=.006$)

Psychological Well Being and Perceived Family Attitudes toward Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Persons

Once the data analyses indicated a difference in the subjects' perceived family attitudes toward light, medium, and dark individuals, the women of each skin color was selected out of the total sample. First the 33 light skin women of the sample were selected to be used to compute correlations concerning attitudes toward light skin persons. The 34 medium skin color women of the sample, and the 33 dark skin women of the sample were also individually selected to compute correlations respective to them.

The first variable, family positive skin color attitude toward light persons was correlated with each of the factors of the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index. Family positive skin color attitudes toward medium skin color persons were correlated next, and then family positive skin color attitudes toward dark skin persons were correlated with the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index. The factors of the Index included Life Satisfaction, Self-Esteem (Positive Self-Esteem, Negative Self-Esteem, and Total Self-Esteem), Economic Well-Being, Perception of Opportunity, and Interpersonal Relationships. The Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index was scored according to the number of possible responses to a question. One point was assigned to each possible response. For example the first question on Life Satisfaction had four possible responses (Very Satisfied, Somewhat Satisfied, Somewhat Dissatisfied, and Very Dissatisfied) with a maximum score of four points. Low Scores indicate greater well-being and high scores indicate lower levels of well-being.

The data indicate four significant relationships for family positive attitudes toward medium skin color persons on the Positive Self-Esteem factor. These four significant relationships include an overall feeling of lower self esteem in the medium skin color subjects, the greater the number of positive statements toward medium skin color persons, $r=494^{**}$, $p<.01$, (Total Self-Esteem Factor). Medium skin color women in the sample, less often feel "useful to have around", $r=.439^{**}$, $p<.01$ (item 1), feel less often as "a person of worth", $r=.364^{*}$, $p<.05$, (item 2), and feel less often that as a persons, they "do a good job these days", $r=.427^{*}$, $p<.05$ (item 3). Thus, the data minimally supports the second research hypothesis when using the perceived family attitude. It can be concluded that the perceived positive skin color attitudes one's family held toward medium, but not light or dark skin persons, are related to overall aspects of self-esteem and therefore to psychological well-being. The correlations are presented in Table 13.

Psychological Well-Being and Mom and Dad's Perception of Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Persons

The variable, mom's perceived positive attitude toward persons with light, medium and dark skin color when the skin color corresponds to the subject's skin color, was correlated with the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index . The data indicate six significant correlations. The first, positive attitude toward light skin persons was related to light skin subjects' response to "Given the

Table 13

Pearson Correlations between Subject's Perceptions of Positive Family Attitude toward Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Colors when the Skin color Corresponds to the Subject's Skin Color, and the Subject's scores on the Franklin Indices of Psychological well-being

Franklin Psychological Well Being Index	Correlation with Positive Family Attitude toward					
	Light persons		Medium person		Dark persons	
	n	r	n	r	n	r
Life Satisfaction	33	-.123	34	-.001	33	-.112
Self-Esteem	33	.021	34	.089	33	.001
Positive Self Esteem	33	-.081	34	.494**	33	-.217
Item 1	33	-.014	34	.439**	33	-.014
Item 2	33	.193	34	.364*	33	-.230
Item 3	33	-.335	34	.427*	33	-.266
Negative Self Esteem	33	.058	34	-.181	33	.115
Economic Well-Being	33	-.303	34	.186	33	-.133
Perception of Opportunity	33	.145	34	.138	33	-.219
Interpersonal Relationship	33	.035	34	.026	33	-.161

*p<.05

**p<.01

chances you have had, how well have you done at being a good friend-a person your friends can count on?" Light skin women felt that they had done less well, the greater the number of perceived positive statements about light skin they attributed to mom, $r = .373^*$, $p < .05$ (Perception of Opportunity item 3). The greater the number of perceived positive statements by mom about medium skin color persons, the lower the medium color subjects total positive self-esteem, $r = .375^*$, $p < .05$ (Positive Self-Esteem Factor). Related to positive self-esteem, medium skin color women in the sample indicated that the greater the number of positive statements about medium skin color persons, the less often they felt that they could say that "As a person I do a good job these days", $r = .479^{**}$, $p < .01$. The greater the number of perceived positive statements attributed to mom about dark skin women, the higher the positive self-esteem of the dark skin women in the sample, $r = -.362^*$, $p < .05$ (Positive Self-Esteem Factor). The dark skin women in the sample felt that it was true more often that they are persons of worth, $r = -.383^*$, $p < .05$ (Positive Self-Esteem item 2), and that they felt it was true more often that "as a person I do a good job these days", $r = -.429^*$, $p < .05$ (Positive Self-Esteem item 3). Therefore, it can be concluded that mom's attributed positive skin color attitude toward light, medium, and dark skin persons, are related to some aspects of the subjects' psychological well-being. The results are presented in Table 14.

The variable, dad's positive attitude toward persons with the light, medium, and dark skin when the skin color corresponds to the subject's skin color, was correlated with the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index. The

data indicate two significant correlations for dad's positive attitude toward light skin persons, and one significant correlation for medium skin color persons. The first significant correlation was associated with light skin women in the sample. They stated that they worried less that their "family income will not be enough to meet (their) family's expenses and bills", $r = -.523^{**}$, $p < .01$ (item 6) and that "As a person I do a good job these days", the greater the number of positive statements attributed to dad about light skin persons, $r = -.512^{**}$, $p < .01$ (item 6 of Positive Self-Esteem Factor). The greater the number of positive statements attributed to dad about medium skin color persons, the lower the overall positive self-esteem of the medium skin color subjects, $r = .403^{*}$, $p < .05$ (Positive Self-Esteem Factor). Therefore, it can be concluded that dad's attributed positive skin color attitude toward light and medium, but not dark skin persons relates, at least minimally to aspects of these subjects' well-being. The results are presented in Table 15.

Psychological Well-Being and Grandma and Grandpa's Perception of Light, Medium and Dark Skinned Persons

The variable, grandma's positive attitude toward light, medium, and dark skin persons when the skin color corresponds to the subject's skin color, was correlated with the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index. The data indicate one significant correlation for light skin subjects, and three significant correlations for medium skin color subjects. Grandma's positive attitude toward light skin persons was associated with light skin subjects feeling that they had not done well overall, given the opportunities they had, $r = .494^{*}$, $p < .05$ (Total

Perception of Opportunity). Overall feelings of lower positive self-esteem in medium skin color women in the sample are associated with a greater number of positive statements attributed to grandma about medium skin color persons, $r=.493^*$, $p<.05$ (Positive Self-Esteem factor). Lower feelings of self-esteem in medium skin color women in the sample were particularly associated with feeling that it is not often true that "I am a useful person to have around", $r=.487^*$, $p<.05$ (items 1), the greater the number of positive statements about medium skin color persons. Medium skin color women in the sample also felt less often that it was true that they are "a person of worth", $r=.476^*$, $p<.05$ (item 2), the greater the number of positive statements attributed to grandma about medium skin color persons. Therefore, it can be concluded that grandma's perceived positive skin color attitude toward light and medium but not dark skin persons are related to some factors that contribute to the subjects' psychological well-being. The results are presented in Table 16.

The variable, grandpa's positive attitude toward light, medium, and dark persons when the skin color corresponds to the subject's skin color, was correlated with the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index. The data indicate eight significant correlations, two for light skin subjects, and two for medium color subjects and four for dark skin subjects. For light skin subjects, there was an association between the number of positive statements by grandpa and the subject's perception of opportunity. The greater the number of positive statements by grandpa, the less the light subjects felt they had done well, given the chances they had had, $r=.551$, $p<.05$, (Perception of Opportunity Factor). In

Table 14

Pearson Correlations between Subject's Perceptions of Mom's Positive Skin Color Attitudes toward Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Persons When the Skin Color Corresponds to the Subject's Skin Color, and the Subject's Scores on the Franklin Indices of Psychological Well-Being

Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index	Correlation with Mom's Positive Skin Color Attitude toward					
	Light Persons		Medium Persons		Dark Persons	
	n	r	n	r	n	r
Life Satisfaction	30	.109	33	.010	30	-.010
Self-Esteem	30	-.128	33	-.022	30	-.109
Positive Self Esteem	30	-.140	33	.375*	30	-.362*
Item 2	30	.108	33	.271	30	-.383*
Item 3	30	-.203	33	.479**	30	-.429*
Negative Self Esteem	30	-.104	33	-.244	30	.049
Economic Well-Being	30	-.111	33	.076	30	.044
Perception of Opportunity	30	.175	33	.217	30	-.303
Interpersonal Relations	30	.162	33	-.145	30	.001

*p<.05

**p<.01

Table 15

Pearson Correlations between Subjects' Perceptions of Dad's Positive Skin Color Attitudes toward Light, Medium, and Dark Persons When the Skin Color Corresponds to the Subject's Skin Color, and the Subjects' Scores on the Franklin Indices of Psychological Well-Being

Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index	Correlation with Dad's Positive Skin Color Attitude toward					
	Light Persons		Medium Persons		Dark Persons	
	n	r	n	r	n	r
Life Satisfaction	25	-.095	31	-.203	21	-.128
Self-Esteem	25	.028	31	.016	21	.159
Positive Self Esteem	25	-.198	31	.403*	21	.133
Item 3	25	-.512**	31	.280	21	-.028
Negative Self Esteem	25	.114	31	-.229	21	.135
Economic Well-Being	25	-.332	31	.199	21	-.074
Item 6	25	-.523*	31	.204	21	-.231
Perception of Opportunity	25	.029	31	.120	21	-.130
Interpersonal Relations	25	.015	31	-.073	21	.090

*p<.05

**p<.01

particular, light skin subjects felt they had done less well when asked, "Given the chances you have had, how well have you done in taking care of your family's wants and needs?", $r=.692^{**}$, $p<.01$ (Perception of Opportunity, item 1). Grandpa's positive attitude toward medium color persons was associated with the medium color subject's total lower positive self esteem, $r=.523^{*}$, $p<.05$, (Positive Self-Esteem Factor). The number of positive statements attributed to grandpa was specifically related to the medium color subject's feeling that it was true less often true that they are "a useful person to have around", $r=.484$, $p<.05$, (Positive Self-Esteem item 1). An association between the number of positive statements for medium color persons attributed to grandpa and medium color subjects feeling less often that they are "a person of worth" just missed significance, $r=.446$, $p=.056$, (Positive Self-Esteem item 2). The greater the number of positive statements attributed to grandpa about dark skin persons, the lower the dark skin subject's overall economic well-being, $r=.573^{*}$, $p<.05$ (Economic Well-Being Factor). Specifically, the greater the number of positive statements attributed to grandpa about dark skin persons, the more the dark skin subjects answered "yes" to "Over the past month or so have you had money problems?", $r=.639^{*}$, $p<.05$ (Economic Well-Being item 1), and the more the money problems upset them, $r=.662^{**}$, $p<.01$, (Economic Well-Being item 2. The greater the number of positive statements by grandpa for dark skin persons, the more dark subjects answered that job problems upset them, $r=.651^{*}$, $p<.05$,

Table 16

Pearson Correlations between Subject's Perceptions of Grandma's Positive Skin Color Attitudes toward Light, Medium, and Dark Persons When the Skin Color Corresponds to the Subject's Skin Color, and the Subject's Scores on the Franklin Indices of Psychological Well-Being

Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index	Correlation with Grandma's Positive Skin Color Attitude toward					
	Light Persons		Medium Persons		Dark Persons	
	n	r	n	r	n	r
Life Satisfaction	21	.015	25	.145	22	-.020
Self-Esteem	21	.000	25	.382	22	-.157
Positive Self Esteem	21	-.224	25	.493*	22	-.163
Item 1	21	.044	25	.487*	22	-.209
Item 2	21	-.096	25	.476*	22	-.076
Negative Self Esteem	21	.089	25	.116	22	-.114
Economic Well-Being	21	-.312	25	.331	22	-.059
Perception of Opportunity	21	.494	25	.028	22	-.173
Interpersonal Relations	21	-.126	25	.229	22	-.093

* $p < .05$

Table 17

Pearson Correlations between Subject's Perceptions of Grandpa's Positive Skin Color Attitudes toward Light, Medium, and Dark Persons when the Skin Color Corresponds to the Subject's Skin Color, and the Subject's Scores on the Franklin Indices of Psychological Well-Being

Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index	Correlation with Grandpa's Positive Skin Color Attitude toward					
	Light Persons n	r	Medium Person n	r	Dark Persons n	r
Life Satisfaction	17	-.136	19	-.052	14	-.117
Self-Esteem	17	.427	19	.327	14	.064
Positive Self Esteem	17	.400	19	.523*	14	.058
Item 1	17	.401	19	.484*	14	.144
Negative Self Esteem	17	.379	19	-.007	14	.045
Economic Well-Being	17	-.116	19	.147	14	.573*
Item 1	17	-.142	19	.050	14	.639*
Item 2	17	-.017	19	.369	14	.662**
Item 4	17	-.272	19	-.167	14	.651*
Perception of Opportunity	17	.551	19	.148	14	.052
Item 1	17	.692**	19	-.105	14	-.034
Interpersonal Relations	17	.159	19	.139	14	-.009

* p<.05

**p<.01

(Economic Well-Being item 4). Therefore, it can be concluded that grandpa's perceived positive skin color attitude toward light, medium, and dark persons are related to some factors that contribute to the subjects' psychological well-being. The results are presented in Table 17.

FURTHER ANALYSIS

Similarly, the investigator computed another variable for the subjects that reflected negative attitudes of various family members toward individuals who were of light skin, medium skin, and dark skin color. As stated above, there were 12 incomplete sentences with respect to people having each of these three skin shades. The sentences reflected the subject's perception of how the subject herself felt, how her mother and father felt, how her grandmother and her grandfather felt, and how the person(s) who influenced her the most about skin color felt. Each response was coded by the investigator as reflecting no opinion, a positive attitude, or a negative attitude. In order to assess how negative the perceived attitude was toward people of each of the three skin tones, the number of sentence completions categorized as negative was counted. The number could range from zero to 10 for each of the three skin shades. The resulting variables were named (1) family negative attitudes toward light skinned people; (2) family negative attitudes toward medium skinned people; and (3) family negative attitudes toward dark skinned people. These variables were used to explore their relationship to psychological well-being.

Negative Family Skin Color Attitudes

The investigator also computed negative skin color attitudes for each member of the family on the CRI Part II for light, medium, and dark persons. For each family member, there were two incomplete statements for each of the three skin shade categories. Each response was coded by the investigator as reflecting no opinion, a positive attitude, or a negative attitude. In order to assess how negative the subject perceived each individual family member to be toward people of the three skin tones, the number of sentence completions categorized as negative was counted. The number could range from zero to 2 for each of the three skin shades. The resulting variables were named for each family member, subject, and person who influenced subject the most about skin color. The twelve resulting variables were named: (1) mom's negative skin color attitude toward light skin people; (2) mom's negative skin color attitude toward medium skin people; and (3) mom's negative skin color attitude toward dark skin people, (4) father's negative skin color attitude for light skin people, (5) father's negative skin color attitude toward medium skin people, (6) father's negative skin color attitude toward dark skin people, (7) grandmother's negative skin color attitude toward light skin people, (8) grandmother's negative skin color attitude toward medium skin people, (9) grandmother's negative skin color attitude toward dark skin people, (10) grandfather's negative skin color attitude for light skin people, (11) grandfather's negative skin color attitude toward

Table 18

Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance Comparing Negative Attributions of Family Attitudes Assigned to Light, Medium, and Dark skin Persons

Attributions of Negative Family Attitudes for	Mean	SD
Light Skin Persons	1.58	1.81
Medium Skin Persons	1.35	1.72
Dark Skin Persons	3.36	2.88

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Skin shade	240.45	2	120.23	32.07*
Error	734.80	196	3.75	

($p=.00001$)

medium skin people, and (12) grandfather's negative skin color attitude toward dark skin people.

The frequency of "no issue" attitudes attributed to the family when summing negative attitudes for light skin persons were: 71 out of 95 responses by the mother, 62 out of 76 responses by the father, 60 out of 67 responses by the grandmother, and 43 out of 49 responses by the grandfather. The following are the number of negative attributions by each family member for light skin persons: mother (24), father (14), grandmother (7), and grandfather (6). The following is the number of "no issue" attitudes attributed to the family for medium skin color persons when summing negative statements: 74 out of 93 responses by the mother, 66 out of 77 by the father, 52 out of 66 responses by the grandmother, and 37 out of 49 responses by the grandfather. Negative attributions by each family member for medium skin color persons are as follows: mother (19), father (11), grandmother (14), and grandfather (12). The number of "no responses" for dark skin persons attributed to family members were when summing negative statements: 52 out 93 responses by the mother, 52 out 78 responses by dad, 44 out of 66 responses by the grandmother and 31 out of 50 responses for the grandfather. The number of attributions of negative statements for dark skin persons were: mother (41), father (26), grandmother (22), and grandfather (19).

Assumption of Negative Treatment

First the variable, family negative attitudes was subjected to a one-way repeated measures analysis of variance to compare mean differences in family

negative attitudes toward light, medium, and dark persons. The results of this analysis suggest a significant difference in the attitudes held by the subjects' families. A paired samples t-test was used to compare the family negative attitudes for light, medium, and dark skin individuals. Two of the t-tests were significant, that comparing the family negative attitudes for dark skin persons and light skin persons ($t=2.950$, $df=92$, $p=.004$) and family negative attitude for dark skin persons and medium skin color persons ($t=5.460$, $df=91$, $p=.0001$). The results suggest that family members hold more negative attitudes toward dark skin persons than toward light or medium skin color persons. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 18.

Mom and Dad's Perceived Negative Attitude toward Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Persons

The results of the repeated measures analysis of variance comparing mom's negative attitude toward light, medium, and dark skin persons indicated a significant difference in mom's negative attitude between the three skin color groups ($F=11.852$, $df=2$ and 182 , $p=.00001$).

A paired samples t-test was used to compare mom's negative attitude scores for light, medium, and dark skin persons. Again, two of the tests were significant, that comparing mom's negative attitude for light skin persons and dark skin persons ($t=-5.408$, $df=98$, $p=.0001$), and that comparing mom's negative attitude for medium skin color persons and dark skin persons ($t=-7.610$, $df=98$, $p=.0001$). The results of the analysis are presented in Table 19.

Table 19

Repeated Measures Analysis Variance Comparing Negative Attributions of Mom's Attitudes for Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Persons

Attributions of Negative Attitudes for	Mean	SD
Light Skin Persons	.370	.691
Medium Skin Persons	.272	.576
Dark Skin Persons	.696	.848

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Skin Shade	9.07	2	4.53	11.85*
Error	69.60	182	.38	

($p=.0001$)

Table 20

Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance Comparing Negative Attributions of Dad's Attitudes for Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Persons

Attributions of Negative Attitudes for	Mean	SD
Light Skin Persons	.250	.569
Medium Skin Persons	.182	.479
Dark Skin Persons	.558	.835

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Skin Shade	6.409	2	3.204	8.96*
Error	52.924	146	.358	

($p=.0001$)

A repeated measures analysis of variance was used to compute the difference in dad's negative attitude toward light, medium, and dark persons. The results of the repeated measures analysis of variance indicated a significant difference in negative attitudes scores between the groups ($F=8.961$, $df=2$ and 148 , $p=.0001$).

A paired sample t-test was used to compare dad's negative attitude toward light, medium, and dark skin persons. Again, two of the tests were significant, that comparing dad's negative attitude for light skin persons and dark skin persons ($t=-2.659$, $df=75$, $p=.010$), and that comparing dad's negative attitude for medium skin persons and dark skin persons ($t=-4.244$, $df=76$, $p=.0001$). The results of the analysis are presented in Table 20.

Grandma's and Grandpa's Perceived Negative Attitude toward Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Persons

A repeated measures analysis of variance was used to compute the difference in grandma's negative attitude toward light, medium, and dark persons. The results of the repeated measures analysis of variance indicated a significant difference in negative attitudes between the groups ($F=9.646$, $df=2$ and 130 , $p=.001$). A paired sample t-test was used to compare grandma's negative attitude for light, medium, and dark skinned persons. Again, two of the tests were significant, that comparing grandma's negative attitude toward light skin persons and dark skin persons ($t=-3.709$, $df=65$, $p=.0001$), and that comparing the grandma's negative attitude toward medium skin color persons

Table 21

Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance Comparing Negative Attributions of Grandma's Attitudes for Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Persons

Attributions of Negative Attitudes for	Mean	SD
Light Skin Persons	.136	.426
Medium Skin Persons	.303	.632
Dark Skin Persons	.561	.844

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Skin Shade	6.03	2	3.02	9.65*
Error	40.64	130	.31	

($p=.001$)

Table 22
Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance Comparing Negative Attributions of
Grandpa's Attitudes for Light, Medium, and Dark skin Persons

Attributions of Negative Attitudes for	Mean	SD
Light Skin Persons	.122	.331
Medium Skin Persons	.306	.585
Dark Skin Persons	.490	.711

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Skin Shade	3.31	2	1.65	8.20*
Error	19.36	96	.20	

($p=.007$)

and dark skin persons ($t=-3.400$, $df=65$, $p=.001$). The results of the analysis are presented in Table 21.

A repeated measures analysis of variance was used to compute the difference in grandpa's negative attitude toward light, medium, and dark persons. The results of the repeated measures analysis of variance comparing negative attitude scores toward light, medium, and dark skin persons indicated a significant difference in negative attitudes between the groups $F=8.197$, $df=2$ and 96 , $p=.007$).

A paired samples t-test was used to compare grandpa's negative attitudes for light, medium, and dark skin persons. All three tests were significant, that comparing grandpa's negative attitude toward light skin persons and dark skin persons ($t=-3.286$, $df=48$, $p=.002$), that comparing grandpa's negative attitude for medium skin persons and dark skin persons ($t=-2.644$, $df=48$, $p=.011$), and that comparing grandpa's negative attitude for light and medium skin color persons ($t=2.139$, $df=48$, $p=.038$). The results of the analysis are presented in Table 22.

All of the above analyses indicated a greater number of attributed negative statements by the family and individual family members to dark skin persons than to light or medium skin color persons.

Psychological Well-Being and Perceived Negative Family Attitudes

Once the data analyses indicated a difference in the subjects' perceived family attitudes toward light, medium, and dark persons, correlations were

computed for each of the variables with the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index. The variable, family negative skin color attitude when the skin color corresponded to the subject's skin color, was correlated with each of the factors of the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index. The well-being factors included life satisfaction, self-esteem (positive self-esteem, negative self-esteem, and total self-esteem), economic well-being, perception of opportunity, and interpersonal relationships. The Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index was scored as stated above. Low Scores indicate greater well-being and high scores indicate lower levels of well-being.

The data indicated eight significant relationships for family negative attitudes toward light, medium, and dark persons when the skin color corresponded to the subject's skin color. Thus, the data give some support to the second research hypothesis when using the perceived family attitude, and when the skin color corresponds to the subject's skin color. There are five significant correlations for medium skin color subjects. The more negative statements attributed to the family about medium skin color persons, the higher the medium skin color subjects' overall negative self-esteem, $r = .518^{**}$, $p < .01$, (Negative Self-Esteem Factor) and the lower the total self-esteem, $r = .534^{**}$, $p < .01$, (Total Self-Esteem). Specifically, the more negative statements attributed to the family about medium skin color persons, the more often the medium skin color subject felt that it was true that "I feel that my life is not very useful", $r = .348^{*}$, $p < .05$, (item 2). The more negative statements attributed to the family about medium skin color persons, the more medium skin color subjects

answered that it was true to the question, "I feel that I do not have much to be proud of ", $r = .394^*$, $p < .05$, (item 3), and the more they answered that they feel bad about themselves more often, $r = .537^{**}$, $p < .01$, (item 4).

For dark skin subjects, the greater the number of negative statements attributed to the family, the lower the dark skin subject's overall economic well being, $r = .393^*$, $p < .05$ (Economic Well-Being Factor). Specifically within the Economic Well-Being factor, the greater the number of negative statements attributed to the family, the more dark skin subjects answered "yes" to the question, "Over the past month or so have you had money problems", $r = .395^*$, $p < .05$ (item 1), and the more they answered "yes" to the question, "Over the past month or so have you had job problems", $r = .384^*$, $p < .05$ (item 3). It can be concluded that the perceived general negative skin color attitudes one's family held toward medium and dark skin but not toward light skin persons, are related to the medium and dark skin subjects's psychological well-being. The correlations are presented in Table 23.

Mom and Dad's Perceived Negative Skin Color Attitudes and Psychological Well Being

The variable, mom's negative attitude toward persons with light, medium, and dark skin color, when the skin color corresponded to the subject's skin color, was correlated with the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index. The data indicate four significant correlations, one for light skin subjects and three for medium skin color subjects. The greater the number of negative statements for

light skin persons attributed to mom, the better the light skin subject's overall interpersonal relationships, $r = -.450^*$, $p < .05$ (Interpersonal Relationship Factor).

For medium skin color subjects, the more negative statements attributed to the mother about medium skin color persons, the higher the medium skin color subjects' overall negative self-esteem, $r = .377^*$, $p < .05$ (Negative Self-Esteem Factor). Specifically on this factor, the greater the number of negative statements attributed to mom about medium skin color persons, medium skin color subjects said it was more often true that, "I feel that my life is not very useful", $r = .354^*$, $p < .05$ (item 2), and "I feel that I do not have much to be proud of", $r = .355^*$, $p < .05$ (item 3). Therefore, it can be concluded that mom's attributed negative skin color attitude toward light, medium, and dark skin persons are related to aspects of the subjects' psychological well-being. The results are presented in Table 24.

The variable dad's negative attitude toward persons with light, medium and dark skin color when the skin color corresponded to the subject's skin color, was correlated with the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index. The data indicate nine significant correlations. The more negative statements about light skin persons attributed to dad, the less the light skin subjects felt that they had taken advantage of the overall opportunities presented to them, $r = .765^{**}$, $p < .01$ (Perception of Opportunity Factor). Specifically in the Perception of Opportunity factor, the more negative statements attributed to dad about light skin persons, the less well the light subjects felt they had done when asked,

Table 23

Pearson Correlations between Subjects' Perceptions of Negative Family Attitude toward Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Colors when the Skin Color Corresponds to the Subject's Skin Color, and the Subjects' Scores on the Franklin Indices of Psychological Well-Being

Franklin Psychological Well Being Index	Correlation with Negative Family Attitude toward					
	Light Persons		Medium Persons		Dark Persons	
	n	r	n	r	n	r
Life Satisfaction	32	-.035	33	.154	33	.165
Self-Esteem	32	-.214	33	.534**	33	-.013
Positive Self Esteem	32	-.168	33	.217	33	.114
Negative Self Esteem	32	-.208	33	.518**	33	-.077
Item 2	32	-.206	33	.348*	33	-.278
Item 3	32	-.197	33	.394*	33	-.186
Item 4	32	-.208	33	.537**	33	.227
Economic Well-Being	32	.138	33	.232	33	.393*
Item 1	32	.030	33	.086	33	.395*
Item 3	32	.152	33	.101	33	.384*
Perception of Opportunity	32	.220	33	.081	33	-.027
Interpersonal Relationships	32	-.296	33	.145	33	.210

*p<.05

**p<.01

Table 24

Pearson Correlations between Subject's Perceptions of Mom's Negative Skin Color Attitudes toward Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Persons when the Skin Color Corresponds to the Subject's Skin Color, and the Subject's Scores on the Franklin Indices of Psychological Well-Being

Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index	Correlation with Mom's Negative Skin Color Attitude toward					
	Light n	Persons r	Medium n	Persons r	Dark Persons n	Persons r
Life Satisfaction	30	.016	33	.142	30	.117
Self-Esteem	30	-.100	33	.301	30	.766
Positive Self Esteem	30	-.123	33	-.029	30	.331
Negative Self Esteem	30	-.075	33	.377*	30	-.023
Item 2	30	-.040	33	.354*	30	.971
Item 3	30	-.179	33	.355*	30	.255
Economic Well-Being	30	.072	33	.109	30	.138
Perception of Opportunity	30	.213	33	.045	30	.109
Interpersonal Relations	30	-.450*	33	.296	30	.087

*p<.05

Table 25

Pearson Correlations between Subject's Perceptions of Dad's Negative Skin Color Attitudes toward Light, Medium, and Dark Persons when the Skin Color Corresponds to the Subject's Skin Color, and the Subject's Scores on the Franklin Indices of Psychological Well-Being

Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index	Correlation with Dad's Negative Skin Color Attitude toward					
	Light Persons n	r	Medium Persons n	r	Dark Persons n	r
Life Satisfaction	25	.127	31	.187	22	.018
Self-Esteem	25	-.071	31	.375*	22	-.136
Positive Self Esteem	25	-.192	31	-.002	22	-.101
Negative Self Esteem	25	-.012	31	.461**	22	.070
Item 3	25	.075	31	.428*	22	-.131
Item 4	25	-.018	31	.438*	22	-.040
Economic Well-Being	25	.177	31	.162	22	.364
Item 4	25	.309	31	.163	22	.445*
Perception of Opportunity	25	.765**	31	-.266	22	-.069
Item 2	25	.828**	31	-.157	22	-.119
Item 3	25	.686**	31	-.201	22	-.007
Interpersonal Relations	25	.093	31	.389*	22	-.177

*p<.05

**p<.01

“Given the chances you have had, how well have you done in the work or jobs you’ve had”, $r=.828^{**}$, $p<.01$ (item 2), and “Given the chances you have had, how well have you done at being a good friend-a person your friends can count on?”, $r=.686^{**}$, $p<.01$ (item 3). For medium skin color subjects, the more negative statements attributed to dad about medium skin color persons, the higher their negative self-esteem, $r=.461^{**}$, $p<.01$ (Negative Self-Esteem factor), and the lower their total self-esteem, $r=.375^{*}$, $p<.05$ (Total Self-Esteem). Specifically, the more negative statements attributed to dad about medium skin color persons, the more medium skin color subjects responded that it was more often true to the statement, “I feel that I do not have much to be proud of”, $r=.428^{*}$, $p<.05$ (item 3). The more negative statements attributed to dad about medium skin color subjects, the more often the medium skin color subjects said they felt bad about themselves, $r=.438^{*}$, $p<.05$ (item 4). In the interpersonal realm, the more negative statements attributed to dad about medium skin color persons, the poorer the medium skin color subject’s overall interpersonal relationships, $r=.389^{*}$, $p<.05$ (Interpersonal Relationship Factor).

For dark skin subjects, the greater the number of negative statements attributed to dad about dark skin persons, the more “job problems” upset them, $r=.445^{*}$, $p<.05$ (Economic Well-Being item 4). Therefore, it can be concluded that dad’s attributed negative skin color attitude toward light, medium, and dark persons, when the skin color corresponded to the subject’s skin color, are

related to various aspects of these subjects' well-being. The data are presented in Table 25.

Grandma and Grandpa's Perceived Negative Skin Color Attitudes and Psychological Well Being

The variable grandma's negative attitude toward light, medium, and dark persons, when the skin color corresponded to the subject's skin color, was correlated with the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index factors. The data indicate two significant correlations, one for medium skin color subjects and one for dark skin subjects. The greater the number of negative statements for medium skin color persons attributed to grandma, the lower the subject's overall self-esteem, $r = .464^*$, $p < .05$ (Total Self-Esteem). For dark skin subjects, the greater the number of negative statements attributed to grandma, the less well off the dark skin subjects felt they were when they were asked, "Compared to three years ago, do you think you are now better off financially, about the same, or worse than you were three years ago?", $r = .641^{**}$, $p < .01$ (Economic Well-Being item 5). Therefore, it can be concluded that grandma's perceived negative skin color attitude toward medium and dark, but not light skin persons, are related to some factors that contribute to the subjects' psychological well-being. The results are presented in Table 26.

The variable grandpa's negative attitude toward light, medium, and dark persons, when the skin color corresponded to the subject's skin color, was correlated with the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index factors. The data indicate four significant correlations, two for medium and two for dark skin

Table 26

Pearson Correlations between Subject's Perceptions of Grandma's Negative Skin Color Attitudes toward Light, Medium, and Dark Persons when the Skin Color Corresponds to the Subject's Skin Color, and the Subject's Scores on the Franklin Indices of Psychological Well-Being

Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index	Correlation with Grandma's Negative Skin Color Attitude toward					
	Light person		Medium Persons		Dark Persons	
	n	r	n	r	n	r
Life Satisfaction	21	-.180	25	-.146	20	.000
Self-Esteem	21	-.077	25	.465*	20	.033
Positive Self Esteem	21	-.012	25	.318	20	.286
Negative Self Esteem	21	-.094	25	.325	20	-.123
Economic Well-Being	21	-.265	25	.279	20	.370
Item 5	21	-.192	25	.192	20	.641**
Perception of Opportunity	21	.013	25	.302	20	.034
Interpersonal Relations	21	.065	25	-.341	20	.106

* p<.05

**p<.01

Table 27

Pearson Correlations between Subject's Perceptions of Grandpa's Negative Skin Color Attitudes toward Light, Medium, and Dark Persons when the Skin Color Corresponds to the Subject's Skin Color, and the Subject's scores on the Franklin Indices of Psychological Well-Being

Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index	Correlation with Grandpa's Negative Skin Color Attitude toward					
	Light Persons		Medium Persons		Dark Persons	
	n	r	n	r	n	r
Life Satisfaction	17	a.	19	.155	14	.283
Item 3	17	a.	19	.168	14	.585*
Self-Esteem	17	a.	19	.101	14	-.020
Positive Self Esteem	17	a.	19	.216	14	.053
Item 3	17	a.	19	.475*	14	.243
Negative Self Esteem	17	a.	19	-.039	14	-.056
Economic Well-Being	17	a.	19	.146	14	.245
Item 4	17	a.	19	.463*	14	.268
Perception of Opportunity	17	a.	19	.193	14	-.181
Interpersonal Relations	17	a.	19	-.255	14	.567*

* $p < .05$

note. a. is a constant

subjects. The more negative statements about medium skin color persons attributed to grandpa, the more medium skin color subjects answered "not often true" to the statement, "As a person I do a good job these days", $r=.475^*$, $p<.05$ (Positive Self-Esteem item 3). In the Economic Well-Being factor, the greater the number of negative statements about medium skin color persons attributed to grandpa, the more job problems upset medium skin color subjects, $r=.463^*$, $p<.05$ (item 4). For dark skin subjects, the more negative statements about dark skin persons attributed to grandpa, the less satisfied they reported themselves to be when asked, "How satisfied are you with your family life, that is, the time you spend and the things you do with members of your family?", $r=.585^*$, $p<.05$ (Life Satisfaction items 3). In the interpersonal realm, the greater the number of negative statements for dark skin persons attributed to grandpa, the more dark skin subjects indicated that they had interpersonal problems overall, $r=.567^*$, $p<.05$ (Interpersonal Relationship factor). The results are presented in Table 27.

Overall, the significant perceived family negative attitudes toward skin color when the skin color corresponded to the subject's skin color, suggest that different family members' attitude toward light, medium, and dark persons affect different areas of the subject's well-being.

In summation, the data indicate significant relationships between attitudes toward skin color and the subject's psychological well-being. Therefore hypothesis two is partially supported by the data.

Influence of Family Attitudes on Subject's Racial Identity Attitudes

The third research hypothesis was concerned with the relationships between family attitudes toward the subject's skin color and dimensions of racial identity as measured by the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS-B). Specifically the hypothesis was concerned with the relationship between family attitudes toward the subject's skin color and two dimensions of the subject's racial identity attitudes, the Preencounter and Internalization stages.

Family attitudes toward the subject's skin color were measured by the procedure described above. Racial identity attitude was measured in three ways. First, RIAS-B variables were computed representing the mean Preencounter, and mean Internalization scores, according to the standard RIAS scoring system. Second, the subject was placed in a RIAS-B stage depending on the highest mean RIAS-B score. This variable was called the highest RIAS-B score. A third set of variables were computed for the number of items on the RIAS-B that the subject agreed with. These variables were called the Preencounter and Family Internalization stages.

The variables, family positive attitude, mom's positive attitude, dad's positive, grandma's attitude, and grandpa's positive attitude for light, medium, and dark skin persons when the skin color corresponds to the subject's skin color, were correlated with the subjects' mean RIAS-B Preencounter and Internalization scores. There were no significant correlations for the family or significant family members. On further analysis, there were six significant correlations for negative attitudes. Overall family negative attitudes toward light

skin persons were related to the light skin subjects' mean Internalization score ($r=.506$, $p<.01$) and the number of items from the Internalization stage that the subject agreed with ($r=.387^*$, $p<.05$). The more negative statements toward light skin persons, the higher the mean Internalization score and the greater the number of Internalization stage items the light skin subjects agreed with. There were no other significant correlations.

Mom's negative attitudes toward light skin persons was associated with the racial identity stage in which the subject was placed by her highest mean stage score. The greater the number of negative statements by mom for light skin persons, the lower the racial identity attitude stage of the subject ($r=-.890^{**}$, $p<.01$). As a correlate, the more negative statements attributed to mom about light skin persons, the lower the light skin subjects' mean Preencounter score ($r=-.383^*$, $p<.05$) and the higher the light skin subjects' mean Internalization score ($r=.374^*$, $p<.05$). For medium skin color subjects, the more negative statements attributed to mom about medium skin color persons, the lower the number of Internalization stage items the subject agreed with ($r=-.377^*$, $p<.05$). There were no correlations for dark skin color subjects.

Relative Skin Color and Psychological Well-Being

The fourth research hypothesis was concerned with the relationship between the subject's skin shade relative to that of other family members and the subject's psychological well-being. Each subject was categorized as having a

Table 28
Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Franklin Psychological Well-Being Factors
by Subject's Skin Color in Relation to Other Family Members

Franklin Factor	Group					
	Lighter than all other family (n =21) mean SD		Darker than all other family (n =22) mean SD		Neither (n =57) mean SD	
Life Satisfaction	5.29	1.74	5.77	1.57	6.12	1.86
Self-esteem						
Positive	3.95	1.60	4.27	1.28	4.46	1.35
Negative	8.29	2.87	7.55	2.20	8.32	2.47
Economic Well-being	9.62	4.04	8.86	4.21	9.96	3.78
Perception of Opportunity	4.29	1.38	4.18	1.26	4.32	1.31
Interpersonal Relationships	7.05	3.29	7.59	4.47	7.84	4.52

Multivariate test: $F (6, 92) = .765, p = .686$

Table 29

Pearson Correlation between Subject's Mean Individual RIAS-B Scores and Subject's Mean Family (RIAS-BFA) Scores Indicated as Stage 1 (Preencounter), Stage 2 (Encounter), Stage 3 (Immersion/Emersion), Stage 4 (Internalization)

	Family (RIAS-BFA) Stage							
	Stage 1		Stage 2		Stage 3		Stage 4	
	n	r	n	r	n	r	n	r
Individual RIAS-B Stage								
Stage 1	100	.284**	100	.196	100	.221*	100	-.083
Stage 2	100	.178	100	.345**	100	.004	100	.056
Stage 3	100	.071	100	.295**	100	-.012	100	.104
Stage 4	100	-.017	100	.312**	100	-.089	100	.383**

*p<.05

**p<.01

skin shade that was (1) lighter than all other family members; (2) darker than all other family members; or (3) neither of these categories. A one-way multivariate analysis of variance was carried out to compare subjects in these three groups on the dimensions of psychological well-being measured by the Franklin Well-Being Scale. The data in Table 28 indicate no significant multivariate effect due to the subject's skin color in relation to the other members of the family. Family Racial Identity and Subject Racial Identity Attitudes.

Family Racial Identity Attitude and Subject's Racial Identity Attitude

The fifth hypothesis suggested that there would be a relationship between the racial identity attitudes that characterized one's family of origin and one's own racial identity attitudes. In addition to completing the RIAS for oneself, subjects also completed the RIAS according to their perceptions of the attitudes and beliefs of their family members. Each subject received a mean score for each racial identity stage for self and for family. Each subject was also placed in a stage based on her highest mean stage score.

The first variables, mean individual racial identity attitude score and mean family racial identity attitude score resulted in three significant correlations. The data indicate a significant relationship between mean racial identity attitudes held by the subject and their perceived family mean racial identity attitudes for all stages except the Immersion/Emersion stage. There were no individual Immersion/Emersion stages. The results of the correlations are presented in Table 29.

Table 30

Pearson Correlation between the Number of Individual RIAS-B Scores the Subject Agreed with and the Number of Family (RIAS-BFA) Scores Attributed to Family, Indicated as Stage 1 (Preencounter), Stage 2 (Encounter), Stage 3 (Immersion/Emersion), Stage 4 (Internalization)

	Family (RIAS-BFA) Stage							
	Stage 1		Stage 2		Stage 3		Stage 4	
	n	r	n	r	n	r	n	r
Individual RIAS-B Stage								
Stage1	100	.208*	100	.254*	100	.163	100	.072
Stage 2	100	.110	100	.294**	100	.140	100	.135
Stage 3	100	.069	100	.197*	100	.466**	100	.138
Stage 4	100	.016	100	.254*	100	.077	100	.438**

*p<.05

**p<.01

There was no significant relationship between the family's perceived racial identity stage and the individual's racial identity stage ($\rho = -.043$, $p = .67$).

The number of items within each stage of the RIAS-B and RIAS-BFA that the subjects agreed with was also counted and named as the variables, Individual Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization scores, and Family Preencounter, Family Encounter, Family Immersion/Emersion, and Family Internalization scores. The number of individual RIAS-B items that the subject agreed with was correlated with the number of Family RIAS-BFA items that the subject's family is remembered as having agreed with. There is a significant correlation between the number of items the subject agreed with and the number of items the family is attributed to have agreed with. Therefore, the data partially supports the hypothesis that one's personal racial identity attitudes are related to perceived family racial identity attitudes, but not necessarily to the family racial identity stage. The results are presented in Table 30

Racial Identity Attitudes and Perceived Positive Skin Color Attitudes

The sixth research question was concerned with the relationships between subjects' perceived family racial identity attitudes and their attributions of positive statements toward people with light, medium, and dark skin tones. Two groups were formed by combining Family Preencounter, Family Encounter, and Family Immersion/Emersion stages into one group and comparing them to

the Family Internalization stage on the attribution of positive attitudes towards subjects with light, medium, and dark skin persons.

An Independent samples t-test was performed on the two groups labeled stage 1 (Family Preencounter), stage 2 (Family Encounter), and stage 3 (Family Immersion/Emersion) for the first group and Family Internalization for the second group. There is a significant difference in the number of positive statements toward light skin color persons based on family racial identity attitude status. Internalization status families were perceived as holding fewer positive attitudes for light skin persons than the combined group (Family Preencounter, Family Encounter and Family Immersion/Emersion stage families). There was no significant difference in the two group's attitudes toward medium and dark skin persons). The combined group held more significantly different attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin persons. This hierarchy reflects the attitudes attributed to the grandparent's generation in which the order of most positive attitudes was light, medium, then dark skin persons with the fewest number of positive statements. Internalization status families were perceived as holding fewer positive attitudes for light and medium toned persons, but more positive attitudes toward dark skin persons. However Internalization perceived families did not hold significantly different attitudes toward light, medium, or dark skin persons. The data is presented in Table 31.

On further analysis, an Independent samples t-test was performed on the two groups labeled stage 1 (Family Preencounter), stage 2 (Family Encounter), and stage 3 (Family Immersion/Emersion) for the first group and Family

Table 31
Independent Samples T-Test Comparing Subject's Perceived Family Internalization Stage to the Subject's Perceived Family Preencounter, Encounter, and Immersion/Emersion Stages, on Positive Attitudes toward Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Persons

Positive Attitude toward	group				
	Stages 1, 2, 3 (n=17)		Family Internalization (n=79)		t
	mean	SD	mean	SD	
Light Skin	6.24	3.47	3.94	2.81	2.93**
Medium Skin	4.41	3.50	3.95	3.34	.52
Dark Skin	1.47	2.10	2.60	2.74	-1.59

**p<.01

Table 32

Independent Samples T-Test Comparing Subject's Perceived Family Internalization Stage to the Subject's Perceived Family Preencounter, Encounter, and Immersion/Emersion Stages, on Negative Attitudes toward Light, Medium, and Dark Skin Persons

Negative Attitude toward	group				
	Stages 1, 2, 3 (n=17)		Family Internalization (n=79)		t
	mean	SD	mean	SD	
Light Skin	1.29	1.76	1.67	1.85	-.770
Medium Skin	2.77	2.82	1.09	1.24	3.86**
Dark Skin	6.06	3.15	2.85	2.54	4.53**

**p<.001

Internalization for the second group. There is no significant difference in the number of perceived positive statements toward light skin color persons based on the two groups. However, there are significant differences in the perceived negative attitudes for medium and dark skin color persons based on family racial identity stage. Compared to the combined other three racial identity attitude stages, the Internalization stage families were perceived to hold fewer negative attitudes for both medium and dark skin persons. For light skin persons, Internalization stage families were perceived to hold more negative attitudes than did the other three combined, but not significantly more. The results are presented in Table 32.

Paired sample t-tests were used to compare family stages 1, 2, and 3, for perceived positive attitudes for light, medium, and dark skin persons. All three of the tests were significant, that comparing family stages 1,2, and 3 for perceived positive attitudes toward light skin persons and perceived positive attitudes toward medium skin color persons ($t=-2.47$, $df=16$, $p=.025$), that comparing the family stages 1,2, and 3 for perceived positive attitudes toward dark skin color persons and perceived positive attitude toward light skin persons ($t=-4.83$, $df=16$, $p=.0001$), and that comparing dark skin and medium skin color persons ($t=-3.57$, $df=16$, $p=.003$).

Paired sample t-tests were used to compare family Internalization perceived positive attitudes for light, medium, and dark skinned persons. Two of the tests were significant, that comparing family Internalization perceived

positive attitudes toward light skin persons and perceived positive attitudes toward dark skin persons ($t=-4.29$, $df=78$, $p=.0001$), and that comparing the family Internalization perceived positive attitudes toward medium skin color persons and perceived positive attitude toward dark skin persons ($t=-5.09$, $df=78$, $p=.0001$).

The mean perceived positive attitude toward light skin persons by Preencounter families was 7.5 statements. The mean number of perceived positive attitudes for medium skin color persons was 4.4 and the mean number of perceived positive attitudes by Preencounter families for dark skin persons was 1.5.

Paired sample t-tests was used to compare family Preencounter perceived positive attitudes for light, medium, and dark skin persons. All three of the tests were significant, that comparing family Preencounter perceived positive attitudes toward light skin persons and perceived positive attitudes toward medium skin color persons ($t=3.12$, $df=9$, $p=.012$), and that comparing the family Preencounter perceived positive attitudes toward dark skin color persons and perceived positive attitude toward light skin persons ($t=-5.15$ $df=9$, $p=.001$), and that comparing family Preencounter perceived positive attitudes toward dark skin and medium skin color persons ($t=-2.42$, $df=9$, $p=.038$).

Chapter V

Discussion

This chapter examines the results of the study, its limitations, and implications for future research and clinical practice in the context of well-being in African American women.

Skin Color Socialization as a Family Phenomenon

The initial assumption, that there is a degree of socialization around skin color in families, was in part addressed in the responses of the 100 women in this study. Most of the women indicated that they were influenced by various members of the family (74) when asked to complete the sentence, "The person(s) who influenced me the most about skin color was (were)...". 29 women stated that their mothers were the major person to influence them about skin color; 12 indicated the father, 11 indicated mother and father equally, 8 indicated grandmother, 1 indicated grandfather, 1 indicated grandparents equally, and 12 indicated other family members. Seventeen indicated that non-family persons influenced them the most about skin color. The remaining 9 indicated: no answer (1), self (4), and no one (4). As almost all indicated that someone influenced them about skin color with the majority identifying that person(s) as a family member, awareness and importance of skin color are a facet of African American family socialization. As noted above, the family members expressed a neutral attitude toward skin color. However, when the family members took a

position on skin color (other than neutral), the percentage is almost consistent with that found in Parham & Williams (1993). Parham & Williams (1993) found 50% of the subjects reported receiving messages (neutral or negative) about race, while 20% reported that race was rarely or never discussed at home. This finding supports Boyd-Franklin's (1991) premise that skin color issues may originate in one's family of origin. This finding is contrary to the belief that there is a direct influence by such sources as the media in intraracial issues. Societal and media influence seems to take a less direct route in their influence on African American skin color issues and socialization. Hall (1995) offers an explanation for family skin color socialization practices. He writes of a phenomenon that he labeled "The Bleaching Syndrome". In The Bleaching Syndrome, African Americans attempt to assimilate into American society by modeling themselves after the values of the dominant society. He based this premise on Kitano's domination model. In this model, individuals in the minority status model themselves after the "master status." Modeling the "master status" is important as it is the means to obtaining the privileges of full membership in a society in which one group of people control the means to what Hall calls "full assimilation" into the majority culture. Part of modeling after the dominant culture (equated with obtaining full membership and privileges within it) requires the internalization of its values. Since the majority culture fears individuals of dark skin color, so must African Americans seeking assimilation in American society. This societal stance puts a strain on intraracial relationships. The question becomes, "How does one obtain membership in society and remain

cohesive as a group?" There is another point to consider: where does one project the unacceptable qualities projected onto the race? Because of the fear projected onto darkness by the larger society, darker individuals are a ready target. Darker individuals look more different from the projected American ideal of how people should look. Those who do not meet the ideal are often outside the full privileges of assimilation into American society. Families have to reject the dark to feel as though they are adhering to the ideals that permit them full assimilation in American society. Hall (1992) goes on to relate the *Morrow v. the Internal Revenue Service* case in which a light skin African American woman accuses another African American (her dark skin supervisor) of discriminating against her because of her lighter skin color. While the court did not agree with the plaintiff who brought the case to court, psychologists may not be able to dismiss the assumptions of skin color bias as easily. Psychological damage resulting from skin color bias may be missed by mental health professionals because of the extent to which being "colorstruck", "colorism", "color coding", and "color demoralization" are silent intraracial phenomena.

Ward (1985) posits that direct racism has been replaced with symbolic racism. In symbolic racism, racism is disguised under rubrics of voting patterns, anti-affirmative action stances, "no room at the hotel" and other such discriminatory behaviors. Racism in these instances is silent as the perpetrator never voices an anti-Black opinion or insult. If the larger society disguises racism while maintaining racism, then the expressions of intraracial racism may also be disguised. In one sense, this form of disguised racism may take the form

of using only light skin females as love interests in Black music videos. No one says outright that darker women aren't beautiful enough to be chosen as a love interest (or to be in the music video) but the message comes across just the same. This disguising may lead some to feel that racism has been diminished but Ward (1985) notes that racism has remained steadfast despite changes in how people express racism. As a reflection of the larger society's position, then family perpetuation of racism should also remain. This more symbolic form of racism is not conscious and Ward states that because it is generally unconscious, it is harder to identify. Even within some families, skin color bias may fall within those parameters (unconscious behaviors) which may then precipitate unacknowledged difficulties within the family setting. There is no venue for discussing unconscious behaviors within the family setting because the nature of unconscious behavior is to be out of awareness. The resistance to admitting to something that is unconscious contributes to its entrenchment. If intraracial racism is generally unconscious behavior, then attempts at dialoging about it will be met with resistance also.

Aselfine (1978) notes that respect and loyalty within the African American community are higher than in dominant society communities. Black children are socialized to attribute respect and loyalty to family members. Respect and loyalty may be keys to why skin color bias remains a family rather than public issue. If it is disloyal to discuss skin color bias within the family, then to remain loyal is to remain mute. Respect for family members, especially parents and grandparents, may also motivate the family member to remain mute on internal

skin color issues. This attitude of loyalty may make it more difficult for the mental health professional to identify the core issues in treatments in families where skin color differences are active but unacknowledged. If skin color bias is acknowledged at home, loyalty to family may prevent the patient from bringing this issue to therapy.

Protection of the race image may also motivate one to keep skin color bias an internal matter. In the larger society, many White individuals maintain that they are unaware of the persistence of interracial racism. Some even refute its continued existence. If Blacks are then seen as discriminatory toward other Blacks then it is possible that Black society, not White society will become the culprit in the perpetuation of racism. It then becomes the case of "blaming the victim." Also, in a society where Blacks are already defamed, it may be viewed as more difficult to "air the dirty laundry" as it only contributes to the pile of negativity already leveled against them. Exposing skin color bias may be seen as aligning with Whites against Blacks to continue to view them in an undeserved manner. Racism becomes a "Black problem" not a societal problem. However, if the sequelae of intraracial racism is to be addressed clinically, there is a need for its presentation for resolution in the form of research, theory, and clinical strategies for treatment.

African Americans may also fear that knowledge about Blacks will be used against them. The Black community has learned through experience that researchers are generally not their allies, but are ready to create in the minds of Americans more negative stereotypes about them.

Skin Color and Attributions of Power, Beauty, and Privilege

Hypothesis one: “African American women will attribute family power, beauty, and privilege to the skin color they believe was preferred by significant family members.”

The first hypothesis contained three components; attributions of relative power, beauty, and privilege as they relate to light, medium, and dark skin family members. The first component of hypothesis number one, power attributed to family members, just missed significance ($p=.055$). Just one paired samples *t*-test was significant; that comparing power attributions assigned to medium-skin color family members and power attributions assigned to dark-skin family members. This finding was unexpected. The author expected the comparisons between attributions of power assigned to light skin family members and the attributions of power assigned to dark skin family members to have the highest significant difference. Yet attributions of power for dark and light skin family members were comparable, (7.37 and 7.92 respectively). The author has no theoretical basis and little rationale for the finding that medium skin color family members were viewed as holding more power within the family. The following are proposed for consideration: medium skin color family members may be viewed as more powerful because they do not receive the negativity projected onto light skin family members nor the negativity projected onto dark skin family members. As one subject stated, while filling out the CRI, Part Two, “medium brown skin people are in the middle, I don’t have anything bad to say about them.” Medium skin color persons may present less of a threat to either light

skin or dark skin individuals. It may be that skin color issues within the community are dichotomized in a similar manner as racialization (Webster, 1992) is in American society. Webster's (1992) concept of societal dichotomization into Black and White groups may be reproduced within the Black community between the lightest and darkest individuals. The two ends of the skin color pole become lightening rods for feelings, projections, and attributions.

Another possible consideration may come from the findings in Seltzer and Smith (1991). Seltzer and Smith (1991) found that medium skin color persons graduate from high school at a higher rate than either light or dark skin persons. Education is highly valued and is a contributor to status in African-American communities. Given the trend that medium skin color persons graduate more often, they may be seen as more powerful simply because of the value placed on education. Being in the "middle" on the skin color continuum may also make medium skin color persons less of a target from both the Black and White communities. However, the findings in this study are not consistent with researchers such as Hughes & Hertel (1990) or Okazawa-Rey, Robinson & Ward (1987) in which light skin persons were found to be in positions indicative of power (more education, higher incomes, higher status jobs) even when controlling for family background factors.

Another possible factor is the manner in which the subjects designated the skin color of family members. In this study, the subjects defined the skin shade parameters for light, medium, and dark skin colors. This study became as

much about the perception of skin color and related factors as it was about skin color and related factors. Because the women in the sample were allowed to define skin color, the author observed that the “light” category included women whose skin color appeared as dark as the color of coffee without milk, to as light as the color of coffee with extra milk. A similar manner of defining skin color was observed in designations of medium, and dark skin subjects. One female whom the author would have coded at least dark, turned to the author and stated, “One day my father turned to me and said, you know, you’re actually light.” It is assumed by the author that since women coded themselves in this subjective manner, the family members were coded in a similar manner. This subjectivity has its drawbacks. However, the author was more interested in examining the subject’s experience of skin color, than in examining her actual skin color from a particular objective skin color criterion. In certain cases the author had the opportunity to observe other family members during the group home administrations. Some family members with similar skin color were coded with different skin color codes. The author would have placed these family members in the same skin color category. There may be confounding of family position and skin color with the need to see particular family members in a certain way, with loyalty to particular family members, and emotional attachments. For example, one subject coded a brother as medium, and a sister as dark, when there appeared (to the author) to be little discernible difference in their shading. The brother was closer to the age of the subject, a pal, and more admired. This phenomenon of coding persons with similar shading differently was observed in

several other cases. Also it was observed by the author, that a portion of the lighter women in the sample tended to code themselves darker and darker subjects tended to code themselves lighter from the author's own subjective coding perspective. Most of these lighter subjects coded themselves medium, darker subjects coded themselves medium, and at times, light. And finally, family member status (mother, father, aunt, uncle, etc.) may have impacted on the subject's "power" choices, irrespective of feelings regarding a particular skin shade. Nuclear family members such as parents are probably seen as more powerful than other family members because they are more powerful from the child's point of view.

In family dynamics, there is a need in the child to trust that the parents are powerful enough to protect her from harm and danger. The child's first trust is in the parent's power. Even when that power is abused, the child still needs to experience the parents as powerful so that she may feel safe and protected. For psychic health, positions of power may need to be attributed to mother and father, regardless of skin color and the reality of the child's protection by them from hostile forces.

Skin Color and Attributions of Beauty

When the subjects were asked to compare attributions of beauty, the repeated measures analysis of variance comparing beauty scores assigned to light, medium, and dark skin family members showed a significant difference. The women in the sample attributed more beauty to light skin women. This

result is consistent with and mirrors societal views. To fully grasp the import of this finding however, is to understand the benefits of "beauty" in American society. People who are considered more beautiful are privy to greater benefits in many forms. In her review of the literature Perkins (1996) notes that a number of researchers list the benefits of being considered beautiful. "Physically attractive males and females have been found to be happier and more successful, and are perceived to be smarter and warmer in relation to their less attractive counterparts", cited from Cash (1990). Attractive children are seen as more intelligent, receive better grades, and as possessing greater social skills. Bonding between infant and mother is affected by degree of attractiveness of the baby. Attachment theory, and the many psychological perspectives that emphasis mother-child relations may need to consider the effects of skin color on mother-child relationships in African American dyads. And Perkins continues, "Fathers exhibit more antipathy toward their less attractive children." This perspective of the father adds an added burden to families in which the father may be absent part of the time. Rejection by the father, particularly an absent father may be particularly painful to a child who may already see herself as the reason for the parents' separation. Individual and family therapy clinicians need to develop the tools for assessing the possibility that the patient's difficulties are related to family skin color dynamics.

Although it has always been believed that African American women were more concerned with skin color than African American males, Robinson and Ward's study on adolescents (1995) resulted in the opposite conclusion. African

American adolescent males were twice as likely to want to be lighter in skin color (40%) than African American adolescent females (20%). Clinical theory and practice needs to integrate the findings from studies in which darker women are found less attractive than lighter or medium skin color women, and the Robinson and Wade (1995) study in which males prefer to be lighter. What do these findings suggest in terms of self concept and interpersonal relationships? Given these dynamics, the ability to identify, intervene and ameliorate psychological issues based on "colorism" are ends that need further exploration. From this and other studies, it appears that African-Americans may have internalized American society's ideal of beauty, which is based partly on the degree of skin pigmentation (Carter, 1995). Carter theorizes that the societal reaction to the physical features of Blacks affects African Americans intraracially. Carter's above stated premise is supported in this study. The finding that light skin persons are considered more beautiful or better looking than darker skin persons is also consistent with Boyd-Franklin's (1989) position that Black families have identified with White American beauty values.

Russell et al. (1992) review studies that suggest that light skin African American women "beautiful women" are in greater economic positions because they are more likely to be chosen as partners by successful African American males. But not only more marketable as marriage partners, they are more likely to be hired and employed in majority member establishments. Light skin women are also more likely to marry light skin men (homogamy) or to be married to successful dark skin men (hypergamy). While beauty of the light skin may seem

the basis for marriage, in essence, status is more the underlying issue. Light skin brings more status as light skin is closer to the skin color or beauty ideal of the ruling majority.

What of family dynamics around light skin and supposed beauty? The literature on skin color notes that Black families often inquire about the color of a newborn family member. Before some babies open their eyes, they are already pegged as “cute” or not. Russell et al. (1992) related the incidents of some young girls in an agency that services pregnant adolescents. When the girls had their babies and returned to the agency, the light skin “cute” ones were cooed over while the dark skin ones were rejected and ignored. Beauty is already a significant issue for the newborn. The director of the agency noted that most of the girls had fantasies of having light skin babies.

What of other motivations for assessing skin color? African American Family members understand that skin color matters in the larger society and is often a contributing factor in the child’s success. Assessing future skin color may be viewed as a means for understanding the potential context of the child’s life in relation to skin color. Concern that darker children will be mistreated may elicit a more caring and protective attitude from the family. Some families may breathe a sigh of relief that the child may not have to endure taunts because of its skin color. At birth the concern is not as likely to be for beauty but for acceptable of the child. As noted above, skin color is not as important because of any beauty issue, but because it acts as a key to open other doors to success.

Mental health professionals in such institutions may not even be aware of the implications of such behaviors of the girls. Parents may participate in inspections of the child's body to ascertain the color it will eventually end up for various reasons. In the same adolescent social service agency noted above by Russell et al., a dark skin adolescent had a baby by a Puerto Rican and the baby was light skin as many African American babies are at birth. When she first saw her newborn she inspected it for future skin color by checking the ears, around the finger nails, the genitals and knuckles. When she saw that these areas were dark, it is written that she exclaimed, "Oh, my God, my baby has been touched by the tar brush", (p.95). What makes these behaviors even more destructive is that they are not acknowledged for what they are. Issues brought to treatment years later may not acknowledge, or the therapist may be unaware of the legitimacy of such issues and therefore fail to address them. Therapists may see these skin color issues as a resistance to the "real" therapy. It is important for all kinds of therapists, individual and family, to understand the potential for underlying skin color bias reactions in their patients. Helping adolescent girls (in this case) and other African American patients to understand the implications of their behavior by discussing the issues openly might help to minimize the frequency of rejections and pain based on skin color.

Skin Color and Attributions of Negative and Positive Treatment

The third part of the first hypothesis examined positive and negative treatment in light, medium, and dark family members by other family members.

Dark-skin family members were perceived as receiving more negative treatment than either light or medium skin color family members. Darker family members were "rarely asked advice," "overlooked or ignored more often", "felt treated unfairly more often," and was the member "the family felt most ashamed of". The author has previously theorized that African-American family life, on some levels, may be a "microcosm" of the majority society. In other words, some American societal values are reproduced in African American communities. The values that contribute to "provisions and privileges" are most likely to be reproduced. While maintaining many of their traditional values, African Americans as a mini American subculture may reflect the majority values toward skin color. Skin color can affect the degree to which one obtains "provisions and privileges" when acting in the larger society. This theory has been expressed in elements of Hall's "The Bleaching Syndrome" referred to above. The "microcosm" theory is consistent with Stryker & Serpe's (1982) concept (cited in Campbell, 1996) of the mutual influence of "society" and the "self". They discuss how "society" and the "self" contribute to how each is defined and perceived. The process of mutual influence creates the "microcosm" within the African American community. Similarly, Iwawaki et al., (1978) maintain that societal attitudes towards darker skin color are prevalent and that the attitudes can negatively affect intra and intergroup relationships. In the intra group effect the individual begins to act as though he/she believes the values of the majority group even when it conflicts with his/her own original group values. This ownership of societal values over the individual's original values becomes the

venue for the creation of the microcosm. In many areas of family functioning, however, African Americans do not reflect the majority values, such as in family structure (Billingsley, 1968), family discipline, respect and loyalty (Aseltine, 1978), and the roles of males and females.

The findings suggest that dark skin family members experience treatment similar to that accorded darker skin Blacks in the larger society. Not only have darker skin individuals rarely been asked advice in the larger society, there was a time when dark skin Blacks were not asked for advice from other light skin African Americans. Russell et al. (1992) write about the challenges facing the Blacks in the early 1900's. In a compendium of writings on the "American Negro problem," six of the seven contributors invited to make "scholarly contributions" were Mulattos. In the same work, W. E. B. DuBois wrote an essay in which other Blacks were asked to help produce individuals capable of leading the American Negro. Of the twenty-three individuals called upon by DuBois to help in this endeavor, twenty-two were mulattos. This list of men and two women is known as the "Talented Tenth" which refers to individuals in the top 10% of the "Negro population". These individuals were to "produce a college-educated class whose mission would be to serve and guide the progress of the masses", (p. 31). The masses were mainly the darker members of the "Negro population." Today, some darker African Americans are in leadership positions such as political leaders in Congress and on the Supreme Court. But there are still more light skin African Americans giving the advice and speaking for darker African

Americans. The family to some degree still seems to reflect this phenomenon and underlying societal preference.

It has been noted that in the larger society darker skin African Americans are still treated more unfairly than lighter African American in such areas as in hiring practices, restaurants, obtaining taxi rides, and in a host of other circumstances.

Just as the dark skin babies of young adolescents were ignored in the agency, darker African Americans may be privy to the same treatment in society and in some African American families given the results of this study. This finding suggests two perspectives toward darker Blacks. Ignoring them suggest that they are "invisible" (Franklin, 1990). The other perspective implied is the lack of capacity and a devaluation of the person's worth.

Both individual and family therapists need to be aware of the depth and complexity of skin color dynamics when working with African Americans. Opening the subject for dialogue is a first step in the validation of the phenomenon. Lack of validation is probably another great contributor to the psychic distress of women who come to therapy. African American therapists who may not have handled this issue in their own families of origin may be unable to do so in treatment. Unresolved issues about skin color on the part of African American therapists have the potential to play themselves out to the detriment of the patient. Transference issues must be acknowledged in order for the patient and therapist to form an alliance and work through the issues brought

to treatment by the patient. If the therapist cannot hold her own pain around skin color bias, she will be unable to tolerate the pain of the patient.

Regarding positive treatment, there was no significant difference in treatment attributed to family members in relation to light, medium, or dark family members. This finding does not support the greater status and privilege attributed to light skin persons (Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Seltzer & Smith, 1991). Societal privilege and family privilege do not reflect an equivalent dynamic. Family dynamics are probably more complex than societal dynamics in the dispensing of privileges. Despite the lack of significant difference in attributions of positive treatment, medium skin color family members received one more positive attribution than did dark skin family members. The questions used to assess positive treatment on the CRI Part I may have been less precise and less indicative of positive treatment, especially the question, "Whose misbehavior did family excuse the most often?" This question can be interpreted in more than one way. The subject may have interpreted the behavior as excused out of fondness or because the perpetrator was seen as hopeless. This lack of clarity would, in turn, could have contributed to the results.

In summary, the results of the data analysis for the first hypothesis suggest a relationship between the skin color of various family members and attributions of beauty, attributions of negative treatment, and to a limited extent, attributions of power. Attributions of positive treatment did not, in this study, relate to any particular skin color within the family. For the women in this sample, skin color was a powerful determination of beauty and negative

treatment. Support is given for the various theories of intraracial discrimination and bias in African American families. As in previous generations and social climates, light skin African Americans are still perceived as more beautiful than darker African Americans, and darker African Americans are perceived as having received more negative treatment. There is the suggestion that skin color issues have not changed significantly over the past century.

Perceptions of Family Skin Color Attitudes and Psychological Well-Being

Hypothesis Two: Perceived positive sentiments about the subject's skin color from significant family members during the time she was growing up will correlate with higher levels of psychological well-being.

The second research hypothesis, perception of attitudes held by the subjects' family members toward people having the subjects' skin color and the subjects' psychological well being, is multilayered and somewhat complex. The subjects were asked to retrospectively surmise the attitudes their family members held toward light, medium, and dark skin persons. The data were analyzed to reflect not only the family as a whole, but also the attitude of the mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, subject, and others. To further complicate the findings, the psychological well-being measure, The Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index is itself multifactored. It was at the discretion of the author to eliminate a total well-being score as the individual items and factors seemed to better capture the subjects' psychological experiences of well-being. And finally, the author decided to test the assumption that the family and

family members were perceived as holding significantly different attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin persons.

Assumptions of Differential Skin Color Attitudes

The analyses of the assumption of skin color attitudes are based on those family members perceived to hold positive attitudes toward skin color. This is important in order to place the results of the analyses in the proper context. Approximately 50% of the responses of family members were perceived to indicate a positive attitude toward skin color.

In testing the assumption that family members are perceived to hold different attitudes toward light, medium, and dark persons, the results of the repeated measures analysis of variance showed differences in perceived attitudes held by the family and individual family members. The pair-samples t-tests performed indicated significant mean differences by paired skin color categories. For the family as a whole, there were significant mean differences in the number of positive attributions for light skin persons and dark skin persons, and significant differences in the number of positive attributions for medium skin color persons and dark skin persons. There was no mean significant difference between the number of positive attributions for light skin persons and the number of positive attributions for medium skin color persons. Attributions of negative family attitudes toward light, medium, and dark persons were also significant to a similar degree and with the same skin color categories as positive family attitudes. The main difference is that there were more positive

attributions to light and medium skin color than negative attributions. According to the women in this sample, dark skin persons received more negative statements than positive statements. Lightfoot & Foster (1970) theorized that families were the major racial socializers of children so that what children learn about Blackness begins in the home and community. This point has already been discussed above, but the assumption of skin color bias based on theory and clinical cases is supported by the memories of the women in this study. However, skin color bias was not perceived as a universal or near universal issue for the women of this sample. The frequency of perceived “no issue” to the incomplete sentences about skin color indicated that the family members either verbally or behaviorally did not make distinctions among the different skin shades on a universal level. Between 44% to 50% of the family members of the subjects who responded to the incomplete sentences were perceived to hold a “no issue” attitude toward skin color.

As the attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin persons are perceptions of the subjects, how does one account for these perceptions. First, if the perceptions are inaccurate, the subjects have created their perception or interpretation of family member attitudes. Distortions may be due to faulty memory, lack of understanding of the actual dynamics, or fantasies how the subject would like the dynamics to have been. Why re-create in fantasy the reality of the larger society’s racial bias on an intraracial level? If the results are based on faulty perceptions, what are clinical implications of such attributions? If the subjects’ perceptions are mostly accurate, they would support the

sentiments often expressed in lay magazines targeted to African Americans such as *Ebony* and *Essence*. Given that the subjects' perceptions may be mostly accurate, below are considerations for the results of this study.

"Colorism" (Berry, 1988) is given some validation in the results of this study in that it was perceived that at least half of the families hold differential skin color attitudes. The distinctions made between light, medium, and dark skin persons for power, beauty, and treatment suggest that "Colorism", "Color Coding", "Color Demoralization", and "Color Struck" concepts (Berry, 1988; Marriott, 1991; Russell et al., 1992) are functioning to various degrees in the African American communities from which this sample of women derive.

And as stated above, Marriott (1991) remarked that and I repeat, "...some experts would say that a concern with skin color is understandable if not completely acceptable" (p.122) Because of its damaging effect, skin color bias is not acceptable on any level. It is, however, understandable that these values may have filtered down to the Black family structure.

Particularly for the "Identified Patient" in family therapy, and in individual child treatment cases, it behooves the therapist to explore the family dynamics around skin color (in families with multiple skin shades) when dealing with people of color. More importantly, is how to address the issues that may arise with understanding, and how to sensitively interpret any blame projected onto a family member.

Mom and Dad's Perceived Skin Color Attitudes

The results of mom's and dad's attributions of positive and negative attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin persons basically reflect the finding of the family as a whole toward light, medium, and dark skin persons, as noted above. Both mom and dad were perceived to hold more negative attitudes toward dark skin persons than toward either light or medium skin color persons. Mom's perceived attitude toward medium skin color persons was slightly more positive than toward light skin persons, but not significantly so. Mom was also perceived to hold a lower percentage of "no issue" responses than other family members. This is unexpected in that the literature suggests that light skin persons generally are seen in a more positive light than other skin shades. This may be an emerging phenomenon in that the women in this sample often equated light and medium skin color attitudes in their parents' generation. The disparity was always between light and medium on one side and dark skin persons on the other side. This equating of light and medium skin color persons, however, applies only to the parents' generation. Russell et al. (1992) also noted that during the 1960s Black is Beautiful era light and medium skin color women sided together against darker women. This observation by Russell et al. is supported by the results in this study. Despite the proclaimed advances in the Black is Beautiful era, dark skin women were still the ones ignored for dates and left home on weekends during this momentous time.

For dad, light skin and medium skin color persons were perceived equally positively, even to receiving the exact mean number of positive statements. Dark skin persons were perceived significantly less positively.

While the results of this study are based on the perceptions of the women of the sample and may not reflect the actuality of skin color distinctions within the family, interpretations will be offered under the assumption that the perceptions are basically accurate as noted above.

The women believe that their parents did not hold more positive attitudes toward light than toward medium skin color persons. It is difficult to understand why the parents' generation is perceived to hold more positive attitudes toward medium skin color persons, and not toward darker persons. The parents' generation is the adult generation of the 1960s. The average age of the subjects is 42.6 years old, making them on the average about 12 years old in 1968. The average subject was entering adolescence. Age 12-13 is a time when adolescents are beginning to formulate an identity that is very often different from the family's identity. There is often a rejection of the traditional when children first begin to negotiate this period. If these adolescents were to rebel against skin color values in their parents' generation, which values would they rebel against? How did going through a social revolution during adolescence impact on African American women in general and the sample women in particular? While parents were redefining their racial selves, the women of the sample were beginning to define their personal selves in the midst of a refining of theirs and their parents' racial reference group. As parents are

seen as embracing and identifying with light and medium skin colors, psychologically this act can be seen as identifying with the most desirable part of oneself, but why not the alliance of medium and dark skin persons on one side and light skin persons on the other side. It is probable that darkness still equated with undesirable parts of oneself, reinforced by societal views about darkness, especially in the midst of an era focused on skin color. Ingrained, entrenched, and even unconscious feelings about oneself as a racial being are not swept away in the onslaught of a social tidal wave. Time is needed to erase and replace a new self image whether racial or personal. Skin color is a personal attribute as well as a group attribute. Understanding skin color from both perspectives remains to be examined.

If Hall's (1995) theory of the need to bleach oneself in order to assimilate into the larger society is placed in the intra instead of interracial context, the shift of medium skin persons to the camp of light skin persons is understandable. It is however, another manifestation of continued color bias. Lighter skin persons may welcome the alliance with medium skin color persons as they too have had their difficulties being "Black." Medium skin color persons may see the alliance as reaching a certain personal level of acceptability and status generally afforded only to light skin persons. If light skin persons do have and have access to higher income occupations, higher educational levels, higher status jobs, and live in better neighborhoods as suggested by the literature, then allying with them may be seen by medium skin color persons as a means to those same provisions and privileges. An alliance with darker skin persons would not have

been seen as an advancement in terms of gaining more provisions or privileges in the Black community. Therefore, alliance with dark skin persons would not be seen as a means to assimilation into the larger society.

From a more clinical perspective, it must generate anger, resentment, jealousy, envy, disappointment, denial, and all the unhealthy emotions possible to perceive mom and dad as holding less positive attitudes toward the color of your skin. This finding does not mean, however, that mom and dad actually held negative attitudes toward the subjects themselves. Perceptions of patients in psychotherapeutic treatment are, however, very important and not easily dismissed. How does a child handle the perception that her skin color is unacceptable to mom and dad? Does the child fantasize that she meets the parents' criteria for acceptability and denies her true self? Bradley & Sanders (1997) at a conference spoke of a preadolescent African American female who participated in their skin color study. When asked to describe herself, the young female described herself as White of skin with blond hair and blue eyes. In reality, the young girl possessed none of these attributes. The young girl was not psychotic either. It was her fantasy to possess such majority American attributes. Nevertheless, the discussion of negativity toward persons with your own skin color has psychological ramifications that need further examination.

Grandma's and Grandpa's Hierarchical Skin Color Perceptions

Grandma's negative attitude follows the pattern of the rest of the family but grandma's positive attitudes produced a significant difference among all

three possible skin color pairs. Grandma was perceived as holding the most positive attitude toward light skin persons, which was significantly different from her attitude toward medium toned persons, which was significantly different from her attitude toward dark skinned persons. Grandma's hierarchy of positive attitudes toward skin color (light, then medium, and finally dark) more closely reflect the hierarchy of the majority society mostlikely consistent with societal (and family) sentiments when she was growing up. However, the hierarchy is based on 1/3rd of the subjects' perceptions of grandma and almost 1/4th of the perceptions for grandpa. This attribution of a skin color hierarchy appears to be a carryover from earlier times when the lightest of skin shades were valued over medium and dark skin colors. It is significant that only 1/4th to 1/3rd of the responses from this generation were perceived to differentiate among the skin shades. Given the premise of self-hatred interpreted from the Clark studies (1939, 1940), it can be presumed, based on these findings, that much progress has been made in intraracial attitudes. There are positive attitudes toward all skin shades, even though the number of perceived positive statements varied by skin color. Mom and dad, a generation later (in most cases) are perceived to reflect a more current perspective in which persons of light and medium shades may have been viewed in a more egalitarian manner. This finding suggests that the African-American families of the women in this sample are perceived by their own family members as more preferential toward some skin colors (light and medium) than they perceive their parents' generation to have been.

Grandpa's attitude toward light, medium, and dark skin persons is perceived as even more conservative than grandma's. Grandpa's paired sample t-tests indicate a significant difference in his perceived positive and negative attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin persons. Grandpa's perceived skin color hierarchy follows the expected direction (light, then medium, then dark) and the number of negative statements reverse the order of the positive skin color hierarchy with dark skin persons at the top receiving the most negative statements, then medium, then light skinned individuals receiving the least number of negative statements. This perceived difference between light and medium skin color individuals is not found in the parents' generation. As noted above, although there are differences in the number of negative statements toward different skin shades, very few family members were perceived to hold negative attitudes in general. These results are based on the number of perceptions attributed to family members which were very few as noted above. The paucity of negative attributions needs to be kept in mind when reading the results. Caution should be used in attempting to generalize these results. Grandma's and grandpa's perceived attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin persons enable one to see the perceived family change in attitudes from the grandparent's generation to the parent's generation.

Grandma and grandpa's perceived skin color attitudes (but not the parents') are reminiscent of Seltzer & Smith's (1991) theory of class stratification in the African American community. The process of class stratification is part of the process of "diffuse status characteristics" (Berger, et al., 1977 cited in

Hughes & Hertel, 1990) in which individuals are relegated to higher status position with no rationale for the attribution of higher status except that of skin color (in this study). They propose that light skinned Blacks occupy the highest status positions. Many of the qualitative responses of the women in the sample suggested the above process at work.

It may be that grandma and grandpa's perceived hierarchy of skin color attitudes is dated, and remains a relic more in individuals of their generation than of their children's generation. As the mean age of the sample of women is 42.6 years of age, most of the grandparents were probably born by the beginning of the second decade of the century. At that time, Blacks were still segregated and devoid of basic human rights which was particularly blatant in the Southern part of the country. Most of the Blacks in professional positions were mulattos and darker Blacks still occupied menial job positions for the most part. Lighter Blacks were more highly educated and were better off economically. Lighter Blacks were also more likely than darker Blacks to have wealth inherited from White ancestry. Medium skin color persons and darker persons did not generally share in the privileges accorded lighter Blacks.

Grant (1994) maintains that this phenomenon is a relic left over from slavery. The parents of this sample of women may still hold preferential attitudes about skin color that pervaded their parent's generation. These parents were socialized by their parents who were socialized in an era when Blacks were deprived of basic freedom and rights. To protect themselves and their progeny, Blacks had to assume a more submissive position in relation to

Whites. The deference shown to Whites was often a protective mechanism to prevent retaliation in the form of beatings, lynching, home burnings, and other brutalities. This was particularly true in the south. These parents socialized their children in the values that helped them to survive. As parents do socialize their children, their attitudes, values, and judgments become ingrained over time. These entrenched values are probably only negligibly modified with each succeeding generation, despite changes in the social climate. The consequences of these attitudes continue to affect the succeeding generations. Socialization itself is a conservative process. It is like taking one step backwards and two steps forward each generation. There is movement, but one does not get very far that way. The pull in socialization is back to the parents' values as their values are what the person is socialized to believe in. Grant points out that well-being will be affected by the victims of "color coding". Positive and negative self esteem were often affected by attitudes toward skin color. The results in this study are consistent with Grant's above stated premise.

As medium skin color persons were attributed as occupying much of the status formerly retained for lighter skin persons only, this finding may presage or indicate a change in the larger society's reaction to medium skin color persons. Or, the subjective nature of the skin color scoring may have distorted the results. However, given the high percentage of "no issue" responses to skin color attitude, the effect of the movements of the 1960s may be subtly affecting change in skin color attitudes. It may not be on the revolutionary level, but more

elusive and entrenching. The process of internalizing the philosophy of the 1960s appears to be in effect without causing much attention to the process.

Overall, the results of these analyses suggest that some, but not the majority of the women of the sample, perceived major differences in the way significant family members perceived light, medium, and dark skin persons.

The perception of the women of the sample is that there are lingering family positive and negative skin color attitudes. The sample helped to answer the question, "Are there still family member differences in attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin persons?" Ninety-six of the women perceived an attitude toward skin color by at least one family member. However the women gave various reasons why they could not complete all of the incomplete sentences on skin color for all family members. Some women were not in contact with their fathers while growing up, some grandparents deceased before the subject was either born, or old enough to assess an opinion from them, and some family members were perceived as neutral, or having no issue around skin color. Results should be considered in this context.

What are the implications of perceived or actual intraracial skin color bias on the development of the child? At the earliest age, the process of bonding may be impeded or even prevented if the mother does not accept the child because of his/her skin color. At this earliest period, the failure in mother-child bonding is a setup to damage the developing ego, creating the basis for later psychological illness. In less severe cases, the need to over please, to placate, or overachieve, to prove one's worth, may occupy the psyche of the individual.

Hostility and pain, confusion as to worth, rejection and feelings of abandonment may plague the individual for years to come. The child's identity integration may be impeded or remain confused over time.

Attachment to parents in the form of insecure attachments may also occur due to ambivalent feelings of the parents when the child is not the desired skin color.

Creating the "identified patient" in the family may also be the an effect of intraracial skin color bias. It is easier to project undesired qualities onto the child who does not meet the parents' narcissistic or fantasized image of what their child should look like.

Family Skin Color Attitudes and Psychological Well-Being

The author also examined the data reflecting the whole family's perceived attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin persons, and how these general perceived family skin color attitudes might affect the subjects's psychological well-being. This variable, perceived family positive attitude toward the light, medium, and dark skin colors was determined by summing perceived positive attitudes from all family members. This family variable measured the extent of perceived family attitudes toward the three skin colors.

There were four significant items between perceived positive attitude toward light, medium, and dark skinned persons and psychological well being. Perceived family attitudes toward medium skin color persons were related to the medium skin color subject's overall lower level of positive self-esteem, the less

useful the subjects felt, the less they felt like persons of worth and the less they felt that they did a good job.

General perceived family positive attitudes appear to relate only to the lower well being of the medium skin color subjects. It is difficult, once again, to interpret a finding that is contrary to logic. Why should perceived positive statements about the skin color relate to feelings of lower self esteem rather than higher self esteem? There are a couple of conjectures as to the underlying dynamics given the accuracy of the perceptions. One is that that medium skin color persons may feel that they do not deserve the positive attitudes directed toward them. It may be that they feel they cannot live up to the undeserved praise generally directed toward light skin persons, and that they do not feel they deserve the praise because they are not light skin. Another conjecture is that there is a significant discrepancy between reality and perception. It is possible that the statements were not as positive toward medium skin color persons as the medium skin color subjects recalls. The medium skin subject's recollection may tend toward the fantasy that her skin color (and by extension herself) was the most valued. It is also possible that the subject's perception of her skin color is not accurate but her recollection of the sentiments toward her are accurate. In this case there would still be an erroneous relationship between the attitude toward medium skin color persons and the medium skin color subject's perception of her self-esteem.

Mom and Dad's Perceived Positive Skin Color Attitude and Psychological Well-Being

Mom's perceived positive attitude toward medium skin color persons also related to medium skin color subjects' positive self-esteem and the feeling that they did not do a good job. Pyant & Yanico (1991) maintain that cognitive beliefs and attitudes about oneself affects one's psychological well-being. It appears that even mom's positive attitude toward medium skin color persons does not override the medium skin color subject's lower assessment of herself. There may be other factors that impact more strongly on the subject's beliefs about herself than do mom's perceived positive attitudes. Negative statements appear to be more powerful and more virulent than positive statements for this group of subjects. However, mom's perceived positive attitude toward dark skin persons was related to higher positive self-esteem for the dark skin subjects. The dark skin subjects also felt that they were persons of worth and that they did a good job, the greater the number of perceived positive statements by mom for dark skin persons. To account for the difference in outcome between medium and dark skin color subjects, other factors need to be examined. One factor is that medium skin color subjects are probably more likely than dark skin subjects to be in a nuclear family with light skin persons. This is based on this sample of women whose dark skin fathers married light skin women significantly more often than not. The progeny are more likely to be in a family with a light skin mother, at least. If it is true that Blacks are socialized to lighten the race, then it is more likely that medium skin color children will be produced in a family with at least

one light skin person. It may be that positive attitudes toward light skin persons may impact on the medium skin color subject's psychological well-being. A person may not necessarily need to hear negative statements about her skin color, but rather hearing positive statements about another skin color may have a more detrimental impact. Mixed skin color households may be more likely to produce lower levels of well-being if one skin color is perceived as more positive than another.

Dad's perceived positive attitude related to light skin subjects feeling that they did a good job. They also worried less that they could not meet the family bills. Dad's perceived positive attitude toward medium skin color persons was associated with lower positive self-esteem for medium skin color subjects.

It is difficult to interpret why positive statements toward persons with one's skin color would result in lower levels of well-being for the subjects. It must be assumed that there are other factors affecting the medium skin color subjects' well-being that are not captured in this study. This is particularly baffling because positive attitudes toward light and dark skin persons resulted in higher levels of well-being for light and dark skin subjects generally. There is some suggestion in the literature that medium skin color subjects are more conflicted about their skin color. They are not light enough to be light with its privileges and not dark enough to have a consolidated Black identity. This finding may reflect that dynamic. It was also found that more medium subjects were the same color (16) or darker (10) than lighter (8) than their mothers. It may be worthwhile to explore whether skin color relative to nuclear family member's skin

color (especially mom and dad's) has an impact on well-being. Not the subject's skin color alone, but her relative skin color in the nuclear family may be acting to affect the results of this study. If relative skin color in relation to nuclear family members relates to skin color bias, then the subject's relationship to her family would help to explain the results. Armsden & Greenberg (1992) maintain that family relationships affect self-esteem levels. Relationships based on other factors may be affecting the self esteem of this sample of women. It needs to be noted here that although there were negative relationships between self esteem and attitudes toward skin color for some subjects, the association was modest and the self esteem of the subjects was generally high to adequate for all skin shades. Skin color did not differentiate the subjects in the area of psychological well being.

It appears that persons in the "middle" may fare more poorly when it comes to the bolstering self-esteem in relation to skin color. Medium skin color subjects may be more conflicted from more variable treatment. There are a number of questions that may help to understand the medium skin color subject's experiences. What does the person in the middle expect and react to? What if the medium skin color subjects had a parent that was darker or lighter and felt stigmatized in relation to the parent because of the more or less positive attitudes toward the parent? In the family environment, who and what is the skin color competition (if any) that the child is being compared to? If it is a parent, the psychic conflict will be greater than if a sibling or other family member. These are just questions to indicate the complexity of the skin color issue that

families may have to deal with and that the mental health profession needs to examine.

Based on the responses of some of the women in this study, families may unwittingly transmit skin color values to their children, not by talking directly about the child, but by talking about individuals of the child's skin color or by treating them differently. Also talking about, treating or behaving toward skin color as though there is an inherent value in one skin color over another skin color may create confusion, conflict, and lower feelings of esteem. Realistic assessments of the child's strengths may lead to higher levels of esteem than praise based on skin color. When children live in family with a range of skin colors, the child is engaged in silent socialization. In silent socialization the child is in the midst of values and attitudes that are unspoken but acted out through non-verbal messages and behaviors. When a child consistently observes either negative, positive, or neutral treatment directed toward one particular skin color, the child is being silently socialized. This type of socialization may be more detrimental than expressed intraracial values because of the lack of explanation, interpretation, or analysis of the situation. The child's fantasy is left to conjure an explanation. If the child is privy to remarks or conversations about skin color, it may be necessary to find out how the child understands praise or derogation based on skin color. Racial remarks, jokes, and stories may inadvertently cause a different psychological reaction than the family expected. Monitoring the focus of remarks about individuals may help to

minimized the associations between skin color and attitudes that are often related undeservedly.

Grandma and Grandpa's Perceived Skin Color Attitude and Psychological Well Being

Grandma's and grandpa's perceived positive attitude toward light skin persons affected light skin subject's perception that they had not taken advantage of the opportunities presented to them. Specifically, grandpa's perceived positive attitude was associated with the subject's feeling that she had done less well in taking care of her "family's wants and needs". It may be difficult to live up to the positive messages transmitted to individuals if the individual feels that she has not earned the praise. It may be that light skin subjects feel that they have failed to live up to the expectations and privileges bestowed upon light skin persons by family members and community. Grandma's and grandpa's perceived positive attitude toward medium skin color persons was associated with overall lower positive self-esteem, feelings that the medium skin color subject is not useful to have around and for grandma only, that it is less often true that the subject is a person of worth. Medium skin color subjects' well-being may reflect the grandparents' generational negative attitude toward medium skin color. The women in the sample may have remembered the negative statements toward skin color more strongly than they remembered the positive statements.

Dark skin subjects were affected in the area of economic well-being. The greater the number of perceived positive statements for dark skin persons, the

lower the dark skin subject's overall economic well-being. Medium skin color subjects indicated that they had money problems "over the past month or so" and that it upset them more, the greater the number of positive statements about dark skin persons attributed to grandpa. Also the greater the number of perceived positive statements attributed to grandma about dark skin persons, the more job problems upset dark skin color subjects. Darker skin persons traditionally have been hypothesized to hold lower status and lower income jobs than lighter persons. Grandparents, particularly the grandfather may be instrumental in the subjects' feeling of greater financial security. Lighter subjects may also come from more financially secure backgrounds or just feel more secure based on the personal privileges accorded them. Grandparents of lighter subjects may be financial resources for lighter subjects in a way that darker grandparents are not for darker subjects. This conjecture is based on Hughes & Hertel's (1990) study in which lighter subjects came from higher income homes.

Family perceived negative attitudes toward medium skin color individuals were related to medium skin color subjects in the areas of overall self-esteem and negative self-esteem. Overall negative self-esteem is higher, as are feelings for medium skin color subjects that "I feel that my life is not very useful", "I feel that I do not have much to be proud of", feeling "bad" about themselves more often.

Negative Skin Color Attitude and Psychological Well Being

The number of negative attributions by family members was many fewer than positive attributions. Most of the family members were perceived to hold “no issue” attitudes as noted above. Few of the family members expressed negative attitudes. However, when negative attitudes were expressed, there were significant differences in the attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin persons.

Again, dark skin subjects’ economic well-being is related to perceived family negative attitudes toward dark skin persons. The more negative statement about dark skin persons attributed to the entire family, the lower the dark skin subjects’ overall economic well-being, the more they answered “yes” to, “Over the past month or so have you had money problems?”, and to “Over the past month or so have you had job problems?”

Mom’s perceived negative attitude toward light skin persons is associated with better interpersonal relationships for light skin subjects. There is a kind of paradoxical effect in this study around interpersonal relationships for light skin subjects. The more light skin subjects receive positive statements, the more their interpersonal relationships appear to suffer. But, when they receive negative statements, their level of overall interpersonal relationships are better. It may be that some negative statements motivated the light skin subjects to try to improve their relationship with others. Perceived positive statements may lead them to believe that they are entitled to everyone’s adoration. In that case, they do not have to work on their relationships in order to have good relationships. Light

skin women in this sample also receive far fewer negative statements than did darker subjects.

Perceived negative statements for medium skin color persons by mom, once again affected the medium skin color subjects' overall negative self-esteem and feelings more often that their lives are not very useful and that they do not have much to be proud of.

Dad's perceived negative attitude toward medium skin color persons, was associated also with overall lower feelings of self-esteem, overall negative self-esteem, particularly feelings that, "I do not have much to be proud of", and that they more often feel "bad" about themselves. Medium skin color subjects also had poorer overall interpersonal relationships. For light skin subjects, dad's negative attitude toward light skin persons, was associated with overall feelings that light skin subjects had not taken advantage of the opportunities presented to them, had not done well in the work or jobs they have had, and had not been "a good friend-a person your friends can count on?" For dark skin subjects, they indicated that job problems upset them more often, the more negative statements attributed to dad about dark skin persons. It is reasonable to conclude that negative statements will have a negative effect. Why the negative effect is in different areas of psychological well being is not clear. Does being in the skin color middle incline medium skin color subjects to difficulties with both ends of the color continuum?

Grandma's perceived negative attitude toward medium skin color persons was associated with overall lower self-esteem for medium skin color subjects,

while grandpa's negative attitude toward medium persons was related to medium skin color subjects feeling that it was true less often that they did "a good job these days". Grandma's perceived negative attitude toward dark skin persons related again to dark skin subjects feeling that they are worse off today than three years ago while grandpa's perceived negative attitude toward medium skin color persons related to medium skin color subjects indicating that job problems upset them more, the greater the number of negative statements.

Summary

As emphasized above, the perceived positive attitudes are attributed to about half of the families of the women of the sample. For negative attributions, the percentage decreases significantly below that of positive attributions. While interpretations were attempted for the results, the results must be placed in the appropriate context numerically, and used with caution. If taken out of these contexts, major distortions in imputations of skin color attitudes can result. As a clinical issue, the issue is worthy of further investigation because of the pain that skin color attitudes can cause to African Americans even if it is directed to a small portion of African Americans.

Economic well-being of dark skin subjects appears to be particularly vulnerable to perceived family negative attitudes and perceived family member attitudes. Lighter women may not be as detrimentally affected economically by perceived family negative attitudes as medium and dark skin persons. The families of light skin subjects are more likely to be better off financially and better able to act as a resource for them. As stated above and suggested in the

literature, lighter skinned persons may hold higher status and higher income positions than darker persons. Darker individuals may also need more economic family support than lighter subjects to achieve or experience economic well being. For dark skin subjects, psychological well being was more often related to economic well-being than to any other factor on the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index.

Perception of opportunity was most related to skin color attitudes for light skin subjects. Perception of opportunity seems to be a vulnerable area for them. Light skin subjects felt that they did not often take advantage of the opportunity presented to them. This may have been the result of an attempt to live up to others' expectations. If light skin persons are not doing better than darker persons, the light skin person may experience it as a failure. Skin color may be perceived as conferring privilege, or status. If the light skin subject does not live on a level indicative of privilege and status, the light skin subject may feel personally responsible for not taking advantage of the opportunities presented to her.

Perceived skin color attitudes toward medium skin color persons related overwhelmingly to the medium skin color subjects's lower feelings of self-esteem. One conjecture is that the esteem of medium skin color subjects is related to receiving fewer positive statements from all members of the family about their skin color than light skin subjects received about their skin color. It may be that discussing another skin color in a positive manner affects the self-

esteem of persons of another skin color not being discussed in a positive manner.

Bradley & Sanders (1997) at a symposium discussed the detrimental affects of family skin color discrimination. Many of the well-being relationships cited above are related to negative skin color attitudes in the family. Many distortions in the image of their subjects occurred because of the negativity associated with the subject's particular skin color.

Bates' (1994) hypothesis that there are damaging effects from intrafamilial skin color discrimination is also supported in this study. The extent of bias based on negative attributions needs further exploration. This study does not support extensive negative bias directed toward any particular skin color, but any amount of perceived negative treatment deserves examination and theory development to guide attempts at amelioration.

Family Attitudes toward Skin Color and Racial Identity Attitude Stage

Hypothesis three: Positive skin color sentiments, as recalled by African American women, will positively correlate with Preencounter and Internalization racial identity attitudes.

Perceived family (the whole family) positive and perceived positive family members's (mother, father, grandmother, and grandfather) attitude toward light, medium, and dark skin persons, when the skin color corresponded to the subject's skin color, did not correlate with any one of the RIAS-B stages, mean scores, or agreement with RIAS stage items. There was no relationship between

perceived positive skin color attitudes and the RIAS-B scores, in this group of women.

Analyzing further, perceived family negative attitudes and perceived negative family member attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin persons, when the skin color corresponded to the subject's skin color resulted in six significant correlation. Perceived negative attitudes appear to motivate and become incorporated in the psyche of the subjects in a way that perceived positive attitudes did not. It may be as simple as the example in which one is called smart and one is called stupid. The impact of the two statements is decidedly different. There may be nothing to do if one is smart and it may not increase or decrease positive feelings toward the one who made the remark. However, being called stupid elicits a variety of responses, some of which must be concealed for the subject's psychic safety. Negativity from the family may need to be repressed (an unconscious act) or suppressed (a conscious act). However, the negative feelings may continue to influence the person's feelings and behaviors.

Perceived family negative attitude toward light skin persons was related to light skin subjects' mean Internalization scores and to the number of Internalization items they agreed with. The more the subject perceived the family as holding a more negative attitude toward persons of her skin color, the higher her Internalization scores. As Internalization is basically pro-Black, embracing this stage suggest a possible overcompensation for being light, or maybe for not being Black enough. The light skin subjects may have felt the

need to prove that they are really as Black as darker skin subjects. This stage was theorized to indicate a reduction in anxiety about being Black (Cross, 1991). For this group of women, this stage does not suggest a reduction in anxiety about being Black but possibly an increase in anxiety about being light skin in a Black world. The anxiety around being a particular color within the intraracial setting may be less resolved than the anxiety around being Black in the interracial setting. Black-White relations are constantly presented (even if distorted at times) by the media, at conferences, and in other more personal forms of communication. There is often little opportunity to alleviate this type of anxiety because it is not dialogued by family members in an honest and open manner in most families. This suggests a pattern that results in the squashing of one's true self in favor of a false self. At times it is difficult to know or understand one's true self. There may be little understanding of one's true potential which leads one to doubt the achievements that come through hard work and determination. Such individuals may never be in touch with their true selves.

The more it was perceived that the family suggested that there was something wrong with light skin, the more light subjects may have tried to prove that they were truly Black. The qualitative statements (in the CRI Part II) attributed to the family concerning light skin persons suggested that light skin persons believed that they were better than darker skin Blacks. The following are statements given to complete the sentences about light skin persons, "My grandmother felt that light skin people should be around her all the time." "My

grandfather felt that light skin people were to be admired-after all—they were close to White.” The same “grandmother felt that dark skin people should go away!” Grandma also felt that “dark skin people were O.K. as neighbors, that’s it!” The exclamation marks belong to the subject. The person in this subject’s family who influenced her the most about skin color felt that “light skin persons should run everything” and that “dark skin persons should just not be around” “Light skin persons were to be admired and dark skin people were not to be considered”. The subject herself was of medium skin color with a light skin father and a medium skin color mother. Maternal grandma was dark, maternal grandpa was medium, paternal grandma was very light and paternal grandfather was very dark. In the great grandparents' generation, there were one white, two very light, one light and one medium great grandparent. The entitlement carried over from that generation was probably still influential in the grandparents but also in the subject’s own generation. The subject herself responded to the incomplete sentence that “Growing up, I felt that light skin people should be wealthy and have cars” and that “light skin people were very lucky.” She goes on to say that “Growing up I felt brown skin people were jealous of light skinned people.” Remember that the subject is herself self-designated as medium brown skin in color. There is a belief in entitlement attributed to light skin persons that is not attributed to darker skin persons. On the CRI II the completed sentences about light skin people from the subjects were typically, “Thought they were better than darker one. Even my sister who is very light thought it and still thinks it.”, “get a tan”, “Stop trying to pass for White”, “Not think they are superior to

darker tones". Because of these perceived negative attitudes, lighter skin subjects may have tried to prove that they are Blacker than Black, or at least as Black as any one else, by embracing the most pro-Black attitudes. The allying of light skin subjects with a more pro-Black stance is reminiscent of identification with the aggressor. The more perceived negative statements by other Blacks directed toward light skin subjects, the more light skin subjects profess to adhere to the most pro-Black orientation. There is safety or at least imagined safety in identifying with those professing the negative attitude, (e. i., darker African Americans).

Mom's perceived negative attitude toward light skin persons was related to the subjects' highest racial identity attitude stage score. The more mom was perceived as negative toward light skin persons, the lower the racial identity attitude stage of the light skin subjects, the lower their mean Preencounter score and the higher their mean Internalization stage score. These findings appear paradoxical in that the subject's racial identity stage is low, but mean Internalization score is high. This finding is reasonable when it is remembered that there were no Preencounter stage subjects. The lowest stage for this sample of women was the Encounter stage which includes a Black consciousness and a challenge to one's prior positive image of herself. Light skin subjects who receive negative statements from the mom may experience the negative statements as an "encounter" such as a Preencounter Black might experience an "encounter" as a result of her interaction with the values of the larger society. This reaction to negative statements may feel particularly like an

“encounter” because light skin persons received more positive statements from the family as a whole than did medium or dark skin persons. There may be an expectation of more positive treatment by many light skin persons. The negative statements the family did attribute to light skin color may have jolted the light skin subject, but also formed the anger that placed them in the Encounter stage. The finding in this study is contrary to the findings in Hughes & Hertel’s (1990) study in which there was a significant correlation between dark skin color, not light skin color, and Black identity. In their study, darker Blacks were more inclined to assert more Black ideology and assume a Black identity. It needs to be remembered also that there were no Preencounter stage or Immersion/Emersion stage subjects in this study. Therefore, because the higher the number of mom’s perceived negative statements about light skin persons the lower the racial identity attitude stage, the stage the attitudes related to is the Encounter stage. When mom was perceived as negative toward light skin persons, those light skin subjects were more likely to be Encounter stage subjects.

In summary, it may be that perceived negative statements about light skin, a less likely phenomenon for many light skin persons in this group, resulted in the “encounter” that often propels Preencounter stage persons to reconsider his/her relationship to Black and White reference groups.

Medium skin color subjects did not follow the same processes as light skin subjects in relation to mom’s perceived negative attitude toward persons of their skin color. The more negative statements attributed to mom about medium

skin color persons, the fewer items at the Internalization stage the medium skin color subjects agreed with. Medium skin color subjects may have turned away from the heavily Black rhetoric when the Black mom seemed negative toward persons with their skin color. She may have adopted the mother's negative attitude toward medium skin color (and possibly herself) and either adopted a pro-dark skin Black or a pro-light skin Black preference. It is possible that medium skin color subjects are more secure in their Blackness (when skin color defines Blackness) than light skin subjects. Light skin subjects may have attempted to prove their Blackness by aligning with more pro-Black statements than medium skin color subjects aligned with. Lighter skin color subjects may hold onto their Blackness when demeaned by embracing , more so than medium skin color subjects, pro-Black sentiments.

Mom's impact on socialization and as bearers of culture are emphasized by the results of the study. Mom's attitude toward skin color is basically the attitude attributed to the family in general.

Both the reaction by the light and dark skin subjects, though different in their manifestation, supports Grace's (1988) conclusion that in shaping ethnic identity, family values were of major importance. Ward (1985) also maintains that the roots of prejudicial attitudes are in the family. It may be semantics, but the women of this sample expressed more what they thought their families felt positive about rather than negative. These results also need to be placed in the appropriate context. The majority of the subjects' (91%) scores on the RIAS-B placed them in the Internalization stage. Positive attitudes toward Blackness

appear to supersede attitudes toward skin color. This suggests bonds toward Blackness that hold the subjects more together than differences that separate them.

Subject's Relative Skin Color and Psychological Well-Being

Hypothesis four: African American women self-defined as the lightest family member will have higher well-being scores than African American females self-defined as the darkest family member.

Hypothesis four examined the relationship between the subject's skin color relative to that of other family members and the subject's psychological well-being. It is an unexpected finding that there is no significant difference in the well-being of the subjects based on their self-perceived skin shade relative to other family members. One consideration is that the women in the sample self-designated their skin color. The question remains, "Do family members perceive the subject's skin color similarly to the way the subject perceives her skin color? What of the unconscious fantasy to be lighter or darker than one is? What of actual misperceptions in skin color? Is there a general family consensus on relative skin colors within the family? And if the family does concur with the subject's self-designated skin color relative to other family members, how does the family's concurrence affect the subject's well-being, as measured by the Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index?

Another possible explanation for the finding of non-significance for relative skin color, is the criteria for inclusion in the lightest or dark skin color categories. There needed to be just one other family member

intergenerationally, with a lighter skin color, or darker skin color for the subject to be excluded from the lightest or darkest categories. For example if a subject were the only medium and lightest skin color person in her nuclear family or her grandparents' families, she would not be considered the lightest if a light skin great, great grandmother was included on the genogram. The criteria may have been too strict, and broad. Relative skin color may be more impactful if examined in relation to significant nuclear family members such as mother and father. What happens if the subject is lighter than all nuclear members. What if the subject were lighter than a particular parent? What if lighter and not the parent's skin color choice? What if the subject is darker than the parents, the parent's skin color choice, but not society's skin color choice? Studies in this area conducted would help to clarify the many possibilities for skin color relationships and how they may affect the subject's well being.

Because the age spanned from 20-77 in this study, the predictors of well being for different age groups may have confounded the results. Coleman et al., (1987) found that there were different well-being predictors depending on the developmental stage of their subjects. Another area of exploration that might help psychotherapists understand African American patients is theory based on generational attitudes and developmental stages. Developmental changes in attitudes concerning skin color were brought to the author's attention several times during the pilot study for the dissertation. Older subjects in a senior citizen's center often remarked that they had grown past "colorism" and now accepted people on a different basis. These seniors stated that if a person of

any color befriended them, even White people, they would befriend them also. They stated that they no longer concerned themselves with how people looked but with how they were treated by the person. This remark was never made by young or middle aged subjects. This attitude may contribute to the paucity of negative skin color statements attributed to grandparents.

According to Ishii-Kuntz (1990), well being is also related to age, with the young enjoying life the least while the aged enjoyed life the most. Skin color issues may also be a generational factor. Both well being and skin color issues may be better understood from an age and developmental perspective. It may be that the subjects themselves have moved away preferential skin color attitudes affecting them in any significant manner. Or, the number of "no issue" attributed family member attitudes have significantly affected the sample's well being.

Individual and Family Racial Identity Attitudes

Hypothesis five: African American females' racial identity attitude will be similar to their family's perceived racial identity attitude.

Seventy-five percent of the families produced women in the sample with the same racial identity stage, Internalization. The subjects perceived 10% of the families as in the Preencounter stage. The Preencounter families produced no Preencounter stage women in this sample. The mean age of the subjects may help to explain this particular result. Many of the women came through the revolution of the 1960s as either a parent or a child. Choosing a more pro-Black

perspective may have resulted from the ideology of those times. Nine of the ten Preencounter families produced Internalization stage subjects. The sixties can be seen as an Immersion/Emersion time for Blacks resulting from the many "encounters" between Blacks and Whites. It may be that because the race went through the encounter and Immersion/Emersion stages the subjects of the Preencounter family had worked through those stages in the sixties' movements. These subjects were then ready for the Internalization stage perspective. The tenth family produced an Encounter stage subject. There were six Encounter-perceived families who also produced no Encounter stage women in this sample. Five of the Encounter perceived families produced Internalization stage subjects and one produced an Encounter/Internalization subject. There was one Immersion/Emersion stage family in this sample. The Immersion/Emersion family produced one Internalization stage subject. The remaining three families were equally considered to fall into the Preencounter/Internalization stage (2%) and in the Encounter/Internalization stage (1%). Preencounter/Internalization and Encounter/Internalization stages had means scores in both stages that were identical. The two Preencounter/Internalization families produced one Internalization, and one Preencounter/Internalization stage subject. The Preencounter/Internalization stage subjects are unusual in that there is usually a negative correlation between the Preencounter and Internalization stage scores. This stage may indicate the conflict about "American" identity felt by some African Americans. Biculturalism may meet its pathological extreme in the Preencounter/Internalization subjects. These subjects may be prototypes of the

types of individuals who are potential psychotherapy patients. This is based on the usual negative correlation between the Preencounter and Internalization stages. These two stages appear to measure items at the opposite ends of a continuum. Holding an equal mean score for both may suggest an unresolved identity conflict that is more extreme than usual. The subject may have been unable to reconcile these disparate aspects of identity leading to greater confusion as to who she is. The Encounter/Internalization family produced one Encounter stage subject. The subject from the Encounter/Internalization family reverted to the Encounter stage with fewer leanings toward reconciliation between the encounter experience and a more integrated interpretation of her experiences as an African American. Subjects may have been able to work through their family's racial identity attitude in conjunction with the support of the African American community political and social events (e.g., the Black is Beautiful and the Civil Rights movement). Subjects with the greatest strength are probably those who could move onto the next level of development. There may be the need for greater concern for subjects who failed to move forward in racial identity attitude development unless they are recycling through the same stages after having passed the stages once before.

Due to the unpredictability of the movement from family racial identity stage to subject racial identity stage, there is no significant correlation between the family racial identity stage and the subject's racial identity stage ($\rho = -.043$, $p = .67$). This finding suggests the possibility of spin-off stages from the family stage that mimic recycling by the individual. Parham (1989) theorizes that

individuals can recycle back through the racial identity attitude stages, suggesting that reaching the different stages is not linear. As a speculation, individuals may recycle from their earlier family stage to various stages as an individual. That is, the child probably originally incorporated the family's racial identity values but at some point, acquired its own values toward or away from the family values.

The relationship between the subject's stage and the family's stage suggests no relationship between their racial attitudes. However the subjects' mean racial identity attitude scores and the number of items that each generation agreed with does suggest that the parents influenced the subjects, at least to a minimal degree. If the subjects' s perceptions of their parents' racial identity attitudes are fairly accurate, the results suggest a progression from 10% of their families holding Preencounter attitudes and 80% holding Internalization attitudes to women in the sample holding 0% Preencounter attitudes and 91% Internalization attitudes. The change in attitudes may be viewed as part of the continuing processes that became evident in the movements of the 1960s.

Family and Individual Mean Racial Identity Attitude Scores

The relationship between the mean family racial identity attitude score and the subject's mean racial identity attitude score is significant for all stages except the Immersion/Emersion stage. The relationships between the number of racial identity attitude stage items the subject agreed with and the number of

family racial identity attitude stage items the subject attributes to the family are also significant.

It may seem paradoxical that there is no correlation between the family racial identity stage and the individual's stage, but there are correlations between the mean family stage score and the mean individual stage score and the number of items agreed with by family and subject. Subject mean scores are just that. The family and subject may have similar mean scores but the highest mean score was the basis for placement in the family and individual racial identity attitude stages. This correlation tells us that the higher the family score, the higher the individual score. It does not tell us whether the placements in the stages will be the same. For the number of items agreed with, a similar process is in effect.

Why are the findings significant for the mean scores and number of items agreed with? There are two possible explanations. One, the subjects may have been unable to separate their racial identity attitude from that of their family's. Over time, the subjects could have reinterpreted the family attitudes consistent with their own. Memory may have become murky, confounding the subject's perspective. Or, the families actually influenced the subjects, producing like-minded persons. It is the author's premise that families inculcate values in their offspring that are passed down over the generations (Bowen, 1978). In this case, family values may have been accepted to a moderate degree. It is not known to what extent family values become inculcated when the values are negated or distorted by societal values. Most family values are probably

resisted by the individuals only, if there is any resistance. For African Americans, family values, particularly positive racial and skin color values, find resistance on the societal level also.

Perceived Positive Skin Color Attitude and Family Internalization Stage

Hypothesis six: Perceived Internalization stage families will be seen as holding positive skin color sentiments toward light, medium, and dark skin persons.

The final hypothesis was concerned with the relationship between the family attributions of positive statements toward light, medium, and dark skin persons, and the family's perceived racial identity attitude stage. The research question specifically asked if families holding Internalization attitudes were perceived as holding the most positive skin color attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin persons. The results of the independent samples t-test suggest that families perceived as holding the Internalization racial identity attitude (to a greater extent than holding any other racial identity attitude) do not hold more positive attitudes toward the three skin shades. Compared to the combined group, the combined group holds significantly more positive attitudes toward light skin persons than do Internalization stage families. There is no significant difference in the two group's positive attitude toward medium and dark skin persons. And, the results indicate that families holding Internalization racial identity attitudes are perceived as holding significantly less positive attitudes toward light skin persons than the families perceived to hold the other three attitudes. There is a significant difference in the skin color attitudes between the

Family Internalization group and the combined three racial identity attitude stages for light skin persons. There is no significant difference in the attitudes of the Family Internalization group and the combined racial identity attitude group for medium and dark skin persons. It was expected that because the individual Internalization stage person is hypothesized to have come to terms with his racial reference group, Internalization perceived families would be perceived to have come to terms with differences in skin color within the racial reference group. The results of this study do not support that hypothesis.

Within group differences are greater however in the combined group than for the Family Internalization stage. For the Combined group, there is a significant difference for the three pairs of positive attitudes (light and dark, light and medium, and medium and dark skin colors). For the Family Internalization group, there is a significant difference in attitudes for light and dark and medium and dark skin colors. There is no significant difference in attitudes toward light and medium skin color persons (3.94 and 3.95 respectively).

Considering theory, it was expected that a more positive attitude toward light skin persons, and a more negative attitude toward dark skin persons would characterize Preencounter stage families. That premise receives some support from the results of this study. There was a significant within subjects difference in positive attitudes toward light, medium, and dark persons for Preencounter stage families. This difference reflects the hierarchical order attributed to the grandparents of the subjects in this sample with significantly more positive attributions for light, then medium, and the least for dark skin persons.

Encounter stage families also gave more positive statements for light and medium skin color and fewest for dark skin color. Theoretically, this result is justifiable. Encounter stage families are probably post-Preencounter families such as individuals. However, it was also expected that Internalization perceived families would give more positive statements overall than the other racial identity attitude stage groups, or at least equally positive for all skin color groups. That Internalization perceived families did not respond in the expected direction is an indication of the need for theory concerning family racial identity attitudes and attitudes toward skin color. For Internalization perceived families, there was less disparity in the number of positive attributions among the skin shades. Feelings toward the three skin shades were more similar than was found in the combined group.

Negative attitudes produced greater differences by family racial identity attitude stage. Although there was no difference in attitude between the two groups for light skin persons, there were significant differences between the groups for medium and dark skin color persons. Internalization stage families were perceived as holding significantly fewer negative attitudes toward both medium and dark skin color persons compared to the combined group.

Within differences indicated a significant difference among all three pairs of skin color attitudes for Internalization stage families. There were fewer negative attributions toward medium skin color and the most for dark skin color. This is unexpected as stated above because of the higher level of racial identity development attributed to Internalization stage individuals. For the combined

within subjects difference, there was no significant difference in attitudes for light and medium skin colors. There were differences comparing attitudes toward light and dark skin color persons and medium and dark skin color persons' attitudes. If Preencounter families are taken alone, there is a significant within subjects difference for all three pairs of skin color attitudes. The mean negative attitude toward dark skin persons was 7 times higher (7.1 negative attributions) than for light skin color persons (1 negative attribution) and almost twice as high for medium skin color persons (3.7 negative attributions).

In summary, the sixth hypothesis is not supported because of the variability in attitudes toward light, medium, and dark skin persons imputed to Internalization stage families. Attitudes, though significantly different within internalization stage families, are not as extreme as they are within the combined group (mostly Preencounter attitudes). It is evident here that theory relevant to individual functioning may not be relevant to family functioning. Families are more complex than individuals and theory would have to take that difference into consideration.

Limitations of the study

There are several factors that may have contributed to the unexpected findings in this study. The first concerns the measures used for data collection. The author was given permission to adapt the Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black Version in order to collect data concerning retrospective family racial identity attitudes. The RIAS-B scale was used in this manner on only one other

occasion-the pilot conducted by the author to assess the feasibility of using the RIAS-B for family racial identity attitudes. Therefore, there is no context in which to place the results of this study. Racial Identity Attitude theory is about individual racial identity attitude development issues, not family racial identity attitude development, a more complex theory to formulate. Researchers note that some African-Americans families (particularly families with very light skin members) do function out of differential racial identity attitudes. These attitudes affect their relationship with darker skin color African-Americans (Gatewood, 1990; Wood, 1994).

A second factor that may have affected the outcome of the results is working with retrospective memories. The author conceived and developed the Color-Relationship Index, Part I and Part II to be used to measure retrospective memories. Research with data collected retrospectively has its own set of validity issues. The Color-Relationship Genogram was used in conjunction with the Color-Relationship Index, Part I. The color-relationship genogram also required the subject to remember the skin color of family members during the time she was growing up.

As mentioned previously, another factor that may have affected the results was the subjective nature of the research. The women in the sample were allowed to choose their skin color and the skin color of their family members. They were given no guidelines on the skin color variations subsumed under light, medium, and dark skin shades.

Another factor that may have contributed to the result is that the women in the sample are not representative of the general African American population. They have higher than average incomes, are more highly educated, come basically from two parent families, and are greater risk takers. Psychological research addressing the concerns of African-American women comparable to this sample is limited, if available at all. These results are therefore not generalizable to most African-American women.

The small sample size in some of the data analyses, for example the selected family member variables, also may have affected the results.

Finally, the complexity of skin color relationships cannot be captured without examining many other factors that were unrelated to the hypotheses in this paper. What of the person's well being when the person who influenced the person the most about skin color has a positive view of her skin color? A negative view of her skin color? These questions remain to be researched.

Implications for theory, research, and clinical practice

This paper only begins to address the development of skin color family socialization theory. Who may be most vulnerable and therefore more likely to be affected by skin color bias? How does it affect individuals at different stages of development? How does skin color discrimination interact with the social climate to produce psychological difficulties? Development of such theory may be a useful goal in order to understand the application of the results of this study. Some of the results in this study do not support other studies on skin

color. How can theory expand to include these results. The subjects of this study were all women. What of the effects of skin color bias on African American males? How do male and female perspectives diverge and converge? Are there major differences in the its impact? How do these skin color values affect relationships between African American males and African American females?

Family therapy theory, except for the work of the above mentioned few theorists, does not sufficiently explain the interplay of family dynamics and skin color or racial identity attitude issues. Racial identity attitude theory does not include family dynamics. Are there families for whom skin color is not an issue and why not in a society whose foundation is based on the attempted extermination of peoples of color? How do their psychological processes differ from those who are affected by skin color? What of family racial identity attitude theory? It is known since the end of slavery that there have been Black communities based on racial identity attitudes and skin color. There are families whose basic orientation is based on their racial identity attitude. Where and how do these family racial identity attitudes differ from individual racial identity attitudes? What are the implications for psychological well being? Theory is needed to further guide research in this area.

Research is needed to further examine the consequences of skin color differences within African-American families. Research needs to explore skin color as a psychodynamic issue along with issues of transference, countertransference, defense mechanisms and coping strategies, ego

development, attachment and bonding, and issues relating to the self and self concept. The nuclear family members' attitudes and the attitudes of non-family persons who influence individuals, how do their attitudes interact? Why isn't family the main skin color influence for all African Americans? How stable are these values? Replication or similarly conceived studies are needed to clarify unexpected directions in this study.

Except in a few instances, skin color bias is not addressed as an issue in clinical treatment of African Americans. This is the area that could benefit the most for those affected by "colorism". Intraracial and interracial therapy dyads may at times be affected by unacknowledged skin color issues. Discussion of skin color differences may be a necessary prelude to effective treatment in such cases. These issues needs to be viewed as any other valid psychotherapy issue and explored in as meaningful a manner. Clinical training programs could benefit by adding courses that include this topic and help the therapist better understand the process during supervision. But prior to that, as there is an inherent assumption that psychotherapists will recognize or identify "colorism" at work, psychotherapists themselves need to be clear or at least willing to explore this issue when it is relevant for themselves. For women who have been the focus of negative skin color attitudes, there is the need to open the venue for discussion and amelioration of the issues.

Racial identity attitudes are probably not addressed in therapy either and discussions of race may be seen as resistance to the treatment, or projections.

Training and education of mental health professionals are a primary concern if African American patients are to be understood in their total complexity.

Summary

There are many questions left unasked and unanswered in this exploratory paper. What of the subjects who perceived their families as having "no issue" around skin color? What does that mean for family socialization practices? How does it relate to psychological well being factors?

What can be said of the implications of the findings? There is the probability that African American skin color dynamics mimic skin color dynamics on the larger societal level in some African American families to different degrees. So long as the larger society remains racist, so too will that attitude express itself in some families. This will remain a relic of slavery as a paradigm of success. That is success has been associated with Whites and controlled by White society and institutions so that to approach whiteness is to approach success. To adhere to societal values is to be part of the success. Adherence to racist values by African Americans may be indicative of the intense need to succeed in American society.

Social, cultural, and political events of the times will probably continue to insinuate themselves into the households of African Americans. It is unrealistic to expect African American families to live inside a society but outside its values. How Blacks interpret, accept or reject the larger society's values will influence the functioning of Black families. If the acquisition of "provisions and privileges"

determines underlying values, societal values will need to change before Blacks families can feel liberated enough to follow their own cultural values.

Another interpretation of the findings is that Blacks have made progress and continue to progress from the demonstrations of the 1960s. Differences in attitudes attributed to grandparents and parents reflect a perceived change in skin color attitudes. The percentage of "no issue" responses attributed to family members, especially in relation to negative attributions, suggest that there was little self-hatred in Blacks, or that there has been immense progress in the alleviation of it.

Changes in racial identity attitudes from what the subject attributes to her family when she was growing up to her own racial identity attitude also supports positive change in racial attitudes. It is possible that the "encounters" of the 1960s help to influence the subject to discard her family's less Black-oriented Preencounter stage attitude and adopt a more Black-oriented stage attitude such as Internalization.

Self-esteem, as noted by Franklin & Jackson (1990) seems to be a Major component of psychological well being in African Americans. Self esteem may also be a very vulnerable area for those affected by skin color bias.

Further exploration should provide needed perspectives on the relationship between skin color socialization, racial identity attitude, and psychological well being in African American women.

Appendix A: Posted Flier

**Willing to Share Your Experience as an
African-American Female?**

Are you willing to participate in a study?

yes?

**WHO: African-American Females born and raised in
the UNITED STATES and**

- 1. Your mother was born and raised in the
United States.**
- 2. You lived with at least two other people
at some time while you were growing up.**

AGE: 20 years of age and older.

**TOPIC: African-American Families and Social Attitudes
Affecting their Feelings of Well-Being.**

**INTERESTED: please contact:
Charlene V. Draper**

TELEPHONE: number (212) 348-9479

Appendix B: Consent Form

THE CITY COLLEGE
of
THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
CONVENT AVENUE at 138 STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10031

Consent Form

I am conducting a study as a partial fulfillment of the requirement for a Ph.D., in clinical psychology at the City University of New York at City College.

This project examines social attitudes held by you and your family as African-Americans. As an African-American female, you are being asked to voluntarily participate. Your identity will remain anonymous, as names are not a required part of the project. The information you give will remain strictly confidential.

As part of the project, you will be given one genogram and four questionnaires to fill in. These items take about 1½ hours to complete.

Your participation will help to contribute important information about African-American females to the field of psychology. It will increase information that comes out of the total African-American experience to become available to others interested in this topic. Your participation will also help gain an understanding of ways to assist other African-American females who share your concerns.

There is little risk to yourself if you choose to participate. However, if uncomfortable or unpleasant emotions arise, I will be available to discuss them with you. Signing this consent form indicates agreement to voluntarily participate in this project. As a volunteer, however, you are free to end your participation at any time.

Thank you for your participation.

Person conducting project: Charlene V. Draper

Telephone number: (212) 650-6602

Signature of Participant

Signature of Ph.D. Candidate

Professor Anderson. J. Franklin, Ph.D.

Appendix C: Color-Relationship Genogram

Instructions

Part I

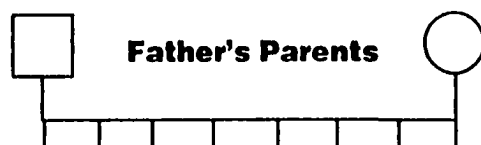
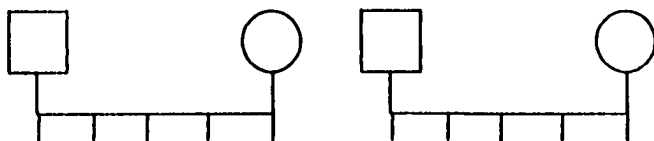
(Holds genogram for subject to see) This is a genogram used to record information about families. (Gives genogram to subject) Please write in the names of people (mother's, father's, etc.) you remember as family during the time you were growing up. For example, next to the word "Mother", please write in your mother's first name only, and present age. Next to "Father", write in your father's first name and age. Underneath the parents, there are short lines for the other people who lived with you when you were growing up such as sister, brothers, cousins, and friends. Please write in the first name only of each person and his or her age. Draw a square or circle under the name and age of each member. Males are shown with squares and females are shown with circles. Please include anyone the family considered family whether they were related to you by blood or not. Include also family members of your grandparent's and great-grand parent's generation on both your mother's and father's sides. A second page is provided in case there is not enough space to list the family members on the first page. Here is a sample if you need assistance. I will also answer any questions you may have.

Sample

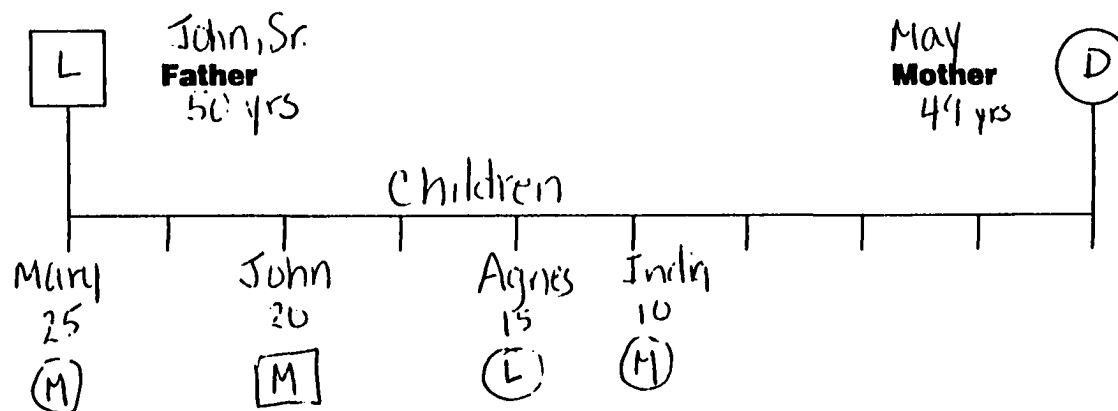
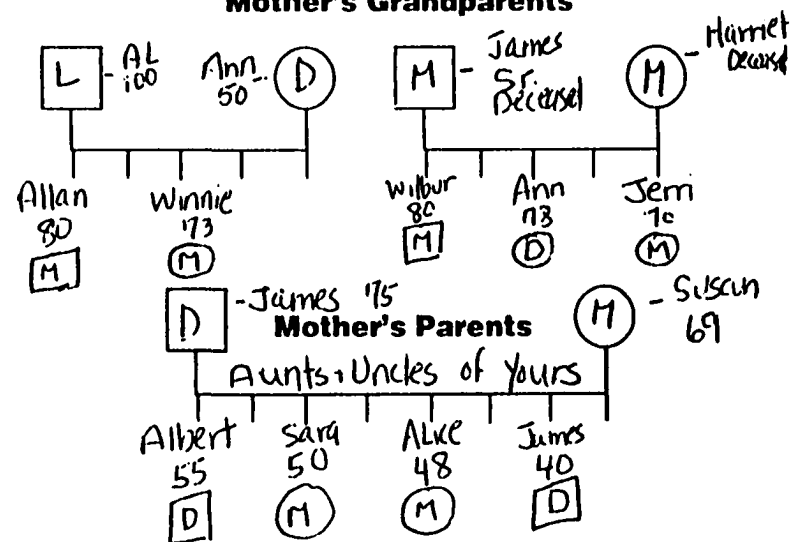
Color - Relationship Genogram page 1

ID # 1
 Self designated color red
 Color category ☐ I ☐ U ☐ M ☒ D
 Time began: _____
 Time ended: _____

Father's Side Father's Grandparents



Mother's Side Mother's Grandparents



Appendix E: Color Relationship Genogram

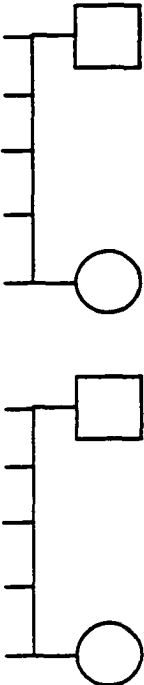
Color - Relationship Genogram

page 1

ID # _____
Self designated color _____
Color category: ☐ L ☐ M ☐ D
Time began: _____
Time ended: _____

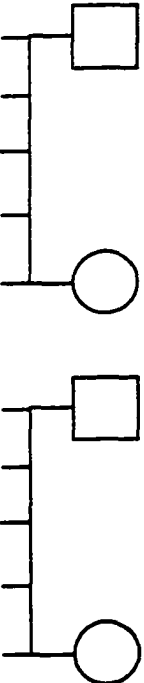
Father's Side

Father's Grandparents



Mother's Side

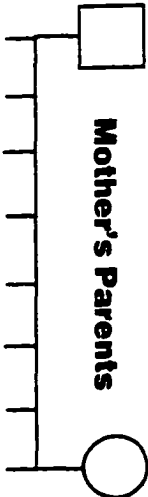
Mother's Grandparents



Father's Parents



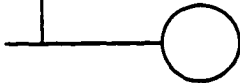
Mother's Parents



Father



Mother



Part II

Appendix F: Family Member's Skin-Color Coding Chart

VL = VERY LIGHT

L = LIGHT BROWN

M = MEDIUM BROWN

D = DARK BROWN

VD = VERY DARK BROWN

Here is a sheet with five skin colors and codes listed on it. The skin colors and codes are : VL = Very Light, L = Light Brown, M = Medium Brown, D = Dark Brown, and DV = Very Dark Brown. These colors are defined according to how you think of them. For example, you decide what “very light” means.

There are five steps to follow to complete the genogram:

1. Look at the genogram and the family members you listed as part of your family during the time you were growing up.
2. Look at the color codes (VL to VD).
3. Choose the skin color code that comes closest to each member's color.
4. Write in the color code on the genogram next to the person. (See sample) If you do not see the exact skin color, choose the skin color code that comes closest. If you do not remember the exact color, write in the color code that comes to mind.

Is that clear?
5. Remember to give everyone a skin color.

Appendix G: Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black Version, Short Form (RIAS-B)

SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE (FORM B)

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement. On the space provided next to each number, please write in the number that describes how you feel.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

-
- ___ 1. I believe that being Black is a positive experience.
 - ___ 2. I know through experience what being Black in America means.
 - ___ 3. I feel unable to involve myself in White experiences and am increasing my involvement in Black experience.
 - ___ 4. I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy.
 - ___ 5. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people.
 - ___ 6. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.
 - ___ 7. I feel comfortable wherever I am.
 - ___ 8. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks.
 - ___ 9. I feel very uncomfortable around Black people.
 - ___ 10. I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities.
 - ___ 11. I often find myself referring to White people as honkies, devils, pigs, etc.
 - ___ 12. I believe that to be Black is not necessarily good.

Appendix G: Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black Version, Short Form (RIAS-B) continued

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

___ 13. I believe that certain aspects of the Black experience apply to me, and others do not.

___ 14. I frequently confront the system and the man.

___ 15. I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (art shows, political meetings, Black theater, etc.).

___ 16. I involve myself in social action and political groups even if there are no other Blacks involved.

___ 17. I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways which are similar to White people.

___ 18. I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black perspective.

___ 19. I have changed my style of life to fit my beliefs about Black people.

___ 20. I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings.

___ 21. I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent.

___ 22. People, regardless of race, have strengths and limitations.

___ 23. I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black.

___ 24. I feel guilty and/or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people.

___ 25. I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become part of the White person's world.

___ 26. I speak my mind regardless of the consequences (e.g., being kicked out of school, being imprisoned, being exposed to danger).

Appendix G: Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black Version, Short Form (RIAS-B) continued

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

___ 27. I believe that everything Black is good, and consequently, I limit myself to Black activities.

___ 28. I am determined to find my Black identity.

___ 29. I believe that White people are intellectually superior to Blacks.

___ 30. I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths.

Appendix H: Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black Version Family Adaptation (RIAS-BFA)

SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE -FAMILY ADAPTION

This questionnaire is designed to measure families' social and political attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement. After each question, circle the number that describes how you feel your family felt when you were growing up.

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. My family believed that being Black was a positive experience.	1	2	3	4	5
2. My family knew through experience what being Black in America meant.	1	2	3	4	5
3. My family felt unable to involve itself in White experiences and increased its involvement in Black experiences.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My family believed that large numbers of Blacks were untrustworthy.	1	2	3	4	5
5. My family felt an overwhelming attachment to Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
6. My family involved itself in causes that would help all oppressed people.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My family felt comfortable wherever it was.	1	2	3	4	5
8. My family believed that White people looked and expressed themselves better than Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
9. My family felt very uncomfortable around Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
10. My family felt good about being Black, but did not limit itself to Black activities.	1	2	3	4	5
11. My family often found itself referring to White people as honkies, devils, pigs, etc.	1	2	3	4	5

**Appendix H: Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black Version Family
Adaptation (RIAS-BFA) continued**
SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE -FAMILY ADAPTION

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
12. My family believed that to be Black was not necessarily good.	1	2	3	4	5
13. My family believed that certain aspects of the Black experience applied to us and others did not.	1	2	3	4	5
14. My family frequently confronted the system and the man.	1	2	3	4	5
15. My family constantly involved itself in Black political and social activities (art shows, political meetings, Black theater, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
16. My family involved itself in social action and political groups.	1	2	3	4	5
17. My family believed that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways which were similar to White people's.	1	2	3	4	5
18. My family believed that the world should be interpreted from a Black perspective.	1	2	3	4	5
19. My family changed its style of life to fit its beliefs about Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
20. My family felt excitement and joy in Black surroundings.	1	2	3	4	5

**Appendix H: Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black Version Family
Adaptation (RIAS-BFA) continued**
SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE -FAMILY ADAPTION

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Uncertain	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
21. My family believed that Black people came from a strange, dark and uncivilized continent.				1 2 3 4 5	
22. People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations is an idea my family agreed with.				1 2 3 4 5	
23. My family found itself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black.				1 2 3 4 5	
24. My family felt guilty and/or anxious about some of the things they they believed about Black people.				1 2 3 4 5	
25. My family believed that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems was to become part of the White person's world.				1 2 3 4 5	
26. My family spoke its mind regardless of the consequences (e.g., being kicked out of school, being imprisoned, being exposed to danger).				1 2 3 4 5	
27. My family believed that everything Black was good, and consequently, it limited itself to Black activities.				1 2 3 4 5	
28. My family was determined to find its Black identity.				1 2 3 4 5	
29. My family believed that White people are intellectually superior to Blacks.				1 2 3 4 5	
30. My family believed that because it was Black, it had many strengths.				1 2 3 4 5	

Appendix I: Franklin Psychological Well-Being Index

Directions: Please read each statement. After each statement, indicate how you feel or how often it is true for you by choosing one of the answers listed. If you wish to comment further, please do so on the extra paper provided at the back. Please indicate the question number you are commenting upon. Please answer each question. Thank you.

1. In general, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Would you say that you are:

_____ Very Satisfied _____ Somewhat Satisfied

_____ Somewhat Dissatisfied _____ Very Dissatisfied

2. Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days? Would you say that you are:

_____ Very Happy _____ Pretty Happy _____ No Too Happy

3. How satisfied are you with your family life, that is, the time you spend and the things you do with members of your family? Would you say that you are:

_____ Very Satisfied _____ Somewhat Satisfied

_____ Somewhat Dissatisfied _____ Very Dissatisfied

4. I am a useful person to have around.

_____ Almost Always True _____ Often True

_____ Not Often True _____ Never True

5. I feel that I'm a person of worth.

_____ Almost Always True _____ Often True

_____ Not Often True _____ Never True

6. As a person I do a good job these days.

_____ Almost Always True _____ Often True

_____ Not Often True _____ Never True

7. I feel that I can't do anything right.

_____ Almost Always True _____ Often True

_____ Not Often True _____ Never True

8. I feel that my life is not very useful.

_____ Almost Always True _____ Often True

_____ Not Often True _____ Never True

9. I feel that I do not have much to be proud of.

_____ Almost Always True _____ Often True

_____ Not Often True _____ Hardly Ever True

_____ Never True

10. How often do you feel bad about yourself?

_____ Very Often _____ Fairly Often

_____ Not Too Often _____ Hardly Ever

_____ Never

11. Over the past month or so have you had money problem?

_____ No (skip question 12) _____ Yes

12. How much did that upset you?

_____ A Great Deal _____ A Lot

_____ Only A little _____ Not At All

13. Over the past month or so have you had job problems?

_____ **No (skip question 14)**

_____ **Yes**

14. How much did that upset you?

_____ **A Great Deal**

_____ **A Lot**

_____ **Only A Little**

_____ **Not At All**

15. Compared to three years ago, do you think you are now better off financially, about the same, or worse than you were three years ago?

_____ **Better**

_____ **Same**

_____ **Worse**

16. How much do you worry that your total family income will not be enough to meet your family's expenses and bills?

_____ **A Great Deal**

_____ **A Lot**

_____ **Only A Little**

_____ **Not At All**

17. Given the chances you have had, how well have you done in taking care of your family's wants and needs?

_____ **Very Well**

_____ **Fairly Well**

_____ **Not Too Well**

_____ **Not Too Well At All**

18. Given the chances you have had, how well have you done in the work or jobs you've had?

_____ **Very Well**

_____ **Fairly Well**

_____ **Not Too Well**

_____ **Not Too Well At All**

19. Given the chances you have had, how well have you done at being a good friend-a person your friends can count on?

_____ **Very Well**

_____ **Fairly Well**

_____ **Not Too Well**

_____ **Not Too Well At All**

20. Over the past month or so have you had family or marriage problems?

_____ **No (skip question 21)**

_____ **Yes**

21. How much did that upset you?

_____ **A Great Deal**

_____ **A Lot**

_____ **Only A Little**

_____ **Not At All**

22. Over the past month or so, have you had problems with people outside your family?

_____ **No (skip question 23)**

_____ **Yes**

23. How much did that upset you?

_____ **A Great Deal**

_____ **A Lot**

_____ **Only A Little**

_____ **Not At All**

24. Over the past month or so, have you had problems with your love life?

_____ **No (skip question 25)**

_____ **Yes**

25. How much did that upset you?

_____ **A Great Deal**

_____ **A Lot**

_____ **Only A Little**

_____ **Not At All**

10. Do you expect to return to your job? 1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No
11. Are you looking for a job? 1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No
12. How long have you been laid off from your job?
1. ☐ Six months or less
2. ☐ More than six months
13. Have you ever worked for pay? 1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No (go to and do question 17-21)
14. What was the last job you had? _____
15. How long ago was that? _____
16. What happened to that job? 1. ☐ Company went out of business
2. ☐ Quit
3. ☐ Fired
4. ☐ Back to school
5. ☐ Other (Specify) _____
17. Which of the following are reasons you are not working at present:
1. ☐ Raising children or other family responsibilities.
 2. ☐ Have a physical disability.
 3. ☐ Drawing welfare or other benefits.
 4. ☐ Going to school.

5. ☐ **Want to work but can't find a job.**
6. ☐ **Don't want to work a full-time job**
7. ☐ **Other (Specify)** _____
18. **How many grades of school did you finish?** _____
19. **Have you had any other schooling?** 1. ☐ **Yes** 2. ☐ **No**
20. **What kind of schooling?** _____
21. **What was your personal income in 1996?** _____

Appendix K: Color-Relationship Index Part I

This is an index of memories of family relationships. The index has two parts. In the first part you will answer questions about the time you were growing up and about the people you listed on the genogram as your family. I want you to write on the answer sheet which family member the question best describes, as you remember it. You can select a person as often as needed. Remember to choose only those persons you listed as family on the genogram. Please add any additional comments on the attached sheet.

- 1. Which person did family members consider the most successful?**
- 2. Which family member did most go to for advice?**
- 3. Which family member did most want to be with?**
- 4. Whom did others consider the smartest member of the family?**
- 5. Which person did most family members consider the prettiest or best looking?**
- 6. Which person was the family most proud of (for any reason)?**
- 7. Which person did most family members give special treatment?**
- 8. Which person did family members want to be accepted by?**
- 9. Which family member did most of the members look up to and respect?**
- 10. Whose misbehavior did family excuse the most often?**
- 11. Whose opinion did family members consider the most reliable?**
- 12. Whom in the family did family members criticize the most often?**

- 13. Which person did family member rarely ask for advice?**
- 14. Which person did family members ignore or overlook most often?**
- 15. Which person felt treated unfairly more often by family members?**
- 16. Who was the family most ashamed of (in any way)?**
- 17. Whom did the family see as the most capable member?**
- 18. Which family member could influence most of the family's decisions?**
- 19. To whom did the family members tend to say more positive things?**
- 20. Which person represented more closely how the family thought of itself?**

The Color-Relationship Index Answer Sheet

1.	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____
7.	_____	_____
8.	_____	_____
9.	_____	_____
10.	_____	_____
11.	_____	_____
12.	_____	_____
13.	_____	_____
14.	_____	_____
15.	_____	_____
16.	_____	_____
17.	_____	_____
18.	_____	_____
19.	_____	_____
20.	_____	_____

Additional Comments:_____

This image shows a single page of white paper with horizontal black lines, resembling notebook paper. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

Appendix L: Color-Relationship Index Part II

In this part of the index, I would like you to recall feelings concerning skin color that you became aware of during the time you were growing up. You may have heard them, saw them acted out, or just sensed that that was how people felt. Please complete the sentences below.

1. Growing up, I felt that light skin people should _____

2. Growing up, I felt that brown skin people should _____

3. Growing up, I felt that dark skin people should _____

4. Growing up, I felt that light skin people were _____

5. Growing up, I felt that brown skin people were _____

6. Growing up, I felt that dark skin people were _____

7. I sensed my mother felt that light skin people should _____

8. I sensed my mother felt that brown skin people should _____

9. I sensed my mother felt dark skin people should _____

10. I sensed my mother felt that light skin people were _____

11. I sensed my mother felt that brown skin people were _____

12. I sensed my mother felt that dark skin people were _____

13. I sensed my father felt that light skin people should _____

14. I sensed my father felt that brown skin people should _____

15. I sensed my father felt dark skin people should _____

16. I sensed my father felt that light skin people were _____

17. I sensed my father felt that brown skin people were _____

18. I sensed my father felt that dark skin people were _____

19. I sensed my grandmother felt that light skin people should _____

20. I sensed my grandmother felt that brown skin people should _____

21. I sensed my grandmother felt that dark skin people should _____

22. I sensed my grandmother felt that light skin people were _____

23. I sensed grandmother felt that brown skin people were _____

24. I sensed my grandmother felt that dark skin people were _____

25. I sensed my grandfather felt that light skin people should _____

26. I sensed my grandfather felt that brown skin people should _____

27. I sensed my grandfather felt that dark skin people should _____

28. I sensed my grandfather felt that light skin people were _____

29. I sensed grandfather felt that brown skin people were _____

30. I sensed my grandfather felt that dark skin people were _____

31. The person(s) who influenced me the most about skin color was (were) _____

32. He/she (or they) felt that light skin people should _____

33. He/she (or they) felt that brown skin people should _____

34. He/she (or they) felt that dark skin people should _____

35. He/she (or they) felt that light skin people were _____

36. He/she (or they) felt that brown skin people were _____

37. He/she (or they) felt that dark skin people were _____

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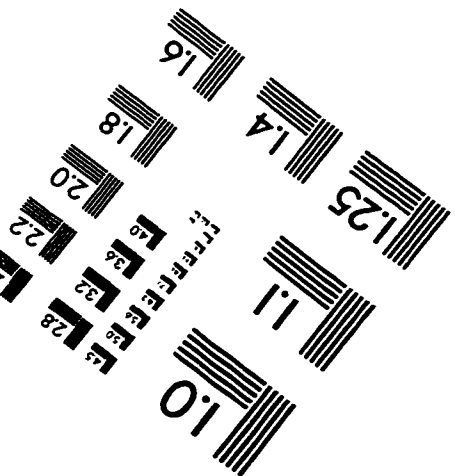
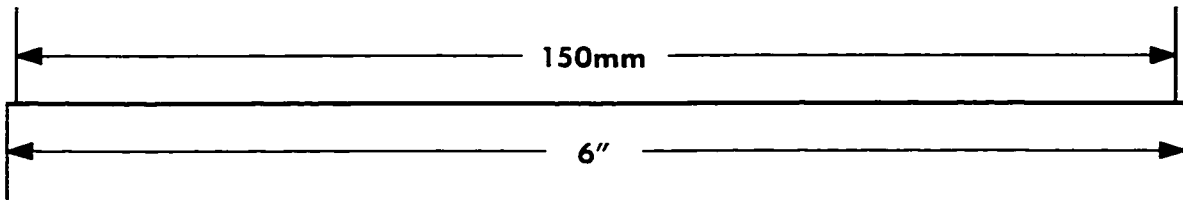
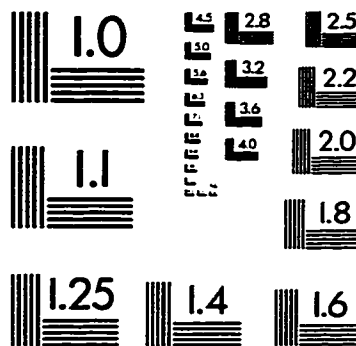
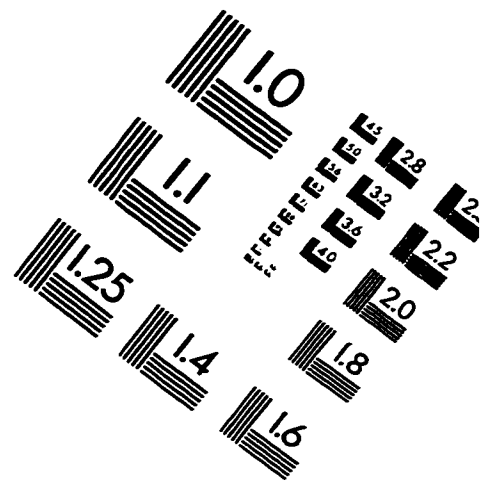
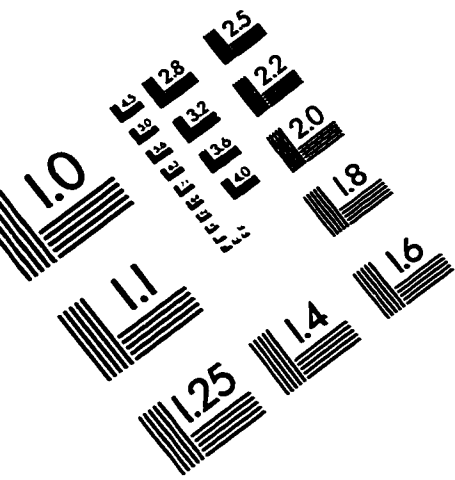
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IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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