Development and Psychometric Investigation of the Perceived Colorism Scale:

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DEVELOPMENT AND PSYCHOMETRIC INVESTIGATION OF THE PERCEIVED COLORISM SCALE

Dissertation
By

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Dissertation Committee: Dr. Janet E. Helms, Chair
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December 2017

Abstract

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Black women are often confronted with social-systemic barriers and differential treatment based on the shade of their skin color. *Colorism,* a derivative of racism, is the use of skin-color shade as the basis for interactions with and evaluations of Black women. Some theoretical and empirical literature suggests that Black women may encounter and respond to colorism in various social contexts. Nevertheless, without an adequate measure to assess these contextually based experiences, it is difficult to explore the complex dynamics of the colorism that Black women face.

In the present study, socioecological theory (Brenner, Zimmerman, Bauermeister, & Caldwell, 2013) was adapted to frame a contextual model of colorism in order to develop a measure that assesses Black women's perceptions of and responses to colorism across social contexts, including in their families, within and outside of their racial community, and in society. Black women ($N = 299$) responded to 98 contextual items derived from personal accounts of colorism, focus groups, and theoretical literature. Various scale development techniques including item analysis, exploratory factor analyses, and parallel analyses yielded four dimensions of perceived colorism experiences (i.e., racial out-group, family, racial in-group, society) and seven dimensions of perceived colorism responses (i.e., racial out-group/society, family and racial in-group cognitive-emotional reactions, family and non-family positive colorism, negative self-concept, attractiveness). To investigate validity evidence, multivariate multiple

regression analyses (MMRAs) and hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine relationships between the factor-derived subscales of the Perceived Colorism Scale and internalized colorism, racial identity, and self-esteem.

Overall, results of the analyses supported the importance of four contexts for colorism experiences (racial out-group, family, racial in-group, and society). However, context-related responses to colorism were more complex than initially hypothesized. The factor-derived PCS subscales were predictive of internalized colorism, racial identity and self-esteem. Nonetheless, the subscales varied in the extent to which they were related to the validity measures and some of the significant relationships were not in hypothesized directions. Methodological limitations, along with implications for future theory, research, and practice are discussed.

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AKNOWLEGEMENTS

I first want to thank and give an honor to God for blessing me with this life and with the unique ability to merge my purpose and passions with my career. Thank You for placing me in the right places in order to connect with the right people at the right time, and for grounding me throughout even the most difficult moments in this process. Without my spiritual Faith and relationship, none of this would be possible.

To my parents, I cannot say "thank you" enough. Thank you for making tough decisions throughout life that resulted in you providing a better life for Jackie and me. Thank you, dad, for your quiet, yet secure presence. The traits of thoughtfulness and intuitiveness that I've gleaned from you have made me a better counselor and therapist. To my mom, you are the definition of strength. You have taught me to always stand for what I believe in and to use my anger and frustrations with the world in the most effective way possible—these values have been the foundation for my pursuit of social justice.

Thank you to my sister, Jackie—I am a better woman because of you. You have taught me how to be lighthearted and carefree, and trust me, I needed every bit of that to manage the stress of this process. To my nephews, I am so proud to be your aunt, and I hope that you will achieve even more than I have. Thank you to all of my extended family on both the Canada and Taylor sides. We do not get to see each other often, but your thoughts, prayers and reassurance have traveled with me.

There isn't enough gratitude in the world to give to you Jacobi, my partner in love. You entered my life at just the right moment. Our love has changed me in ways that I never imagined love could. With you I am my best version of myself. Thank you

for seeing and accepting me just as I am, and for your love, understanding and support through some of the most difficult years of my PhD journey. I am eternally thankful for you and your family for making Boston my new home.

To some of my dear friends—Brande, Nicole, Ashley W., Ashley B., Emmanuelle, Meocha, Kendra, Candra, Venitia, Bayo, Chris S., who have cheered me on from near and far, thank you for every phone call, every message, and every visit. Thank you to my linesisters and sorority sisters in Kentucky and beyond who have believed in me since our undergraduate days and have encouraged me to keep pushing toward the prize.

I would like to thank my community of peers in Boston. Those who I may not see often, but who inspire me in such meaningful ways each time we meet. Thank you to my church families in Boston, Philly and Kentucky, especially to my home church First Baptist Bracktown for providing me with the tools and resources to succeed.

To my adviser, dissertation chair and mentor, Dr. Janet E. Helms, I am so grateful for the opportunity to receive even just an ounce of your wisdom. You have taught me lessons beyond the research studies, classroom and program. You have instilled in me the vision and determination to forge my own path when the path has not been provided. Thank you for believing in this small-town girl from Kentucky and for guiding me into personal and professional growth.

I would also like to thank my other dissertation committee members, Dr. Elizabeth Sparks and Dr. Belle Liang. Thank you for your mentorship and encouragement not only through the dissertation process, but also throughout my journey

in the program. I appreciate you seeing and knowing what was best for me, and challenging me to achieve it.

Thank you to all of the ISPRC members past and present for your consultation, insight and support on this journey—Carlton, Ethan, Hammad, Dana, Kim, Stephanie, Eva, Christina, Talya and Qingyi. I want to especially express my appreciation for those of you who have served as mentors to me. To Alesha and Shatina, you two are a dynamic duo that I was so grateful to have ahead of me and by my side. I am so thankful for the kind and loving energy that you two have shown me since the first day I stepped onto BC's campus as a bright-eyed and bushy-tailed interviewee. I honestly would not have survived this process without you two. To Natasha, I have enjoyed our conversations about managing our personal and professional lives, and you have modeled so well how to balance the two. I am thankful for getting closer to you in our later years in the program. To Maryam, you are gold; you are magic; you are everything! You did not have to take me under your wings, but you did. I am beyond grateful for your honesty and wisdom. I have grown so much due to having you as a mentor over the past few years.

I would also like to express my appreciation for my fellow Boston College Counseling Psychology colleagues and peers. Our program rocks (trust me, you will agree with this more once you are on this side of things)! To my lovely cohort, I have truly enjoyed getting to know each of you and riding this chaotic doctoral wave together. I am thankful for where we've come and excited about where we're going. Thank you to all of the CDEP faculty and staff who have poured your knowledge into me and helped me learn about myself and my identity as a professional.

Thank you to my Salem State University peers and Counseling and Health Services team. You all have been a huge support for me over the past several years. To Christine and Elisa, you two have been imperative to my current growth as a person and rising professional. Thank you for your authenticity and for allowing me to be my most vulnerable and real self.

Thank you not only to my past clinical and professional supervisors and co-interns, but also to those who I have supervised and taught along the way. I have enjoyed learning from each and every one of you. I also want to thank my University of Louisville family—my peers, former colleagues and former mentors. To my first collegiate mentors, Dr. Chapman, Dr. Adams, Phyllis, Dr. Owens, Dr. Adelson and Dr. Valentine, I can confidently say that I would not be here if it were not for your willingness to invest in my development as a budding and eager undergraduate/graduate student.

Finally, to my fellow Black women who took the time to participate in this study and spread the word to others, I am thankful for you. This study would not have been possible without your willingness to share your stories. Know that I see you and that I will do my best to make sure that our voices are heard.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Many Black women recall hurtful and confusing moments in life in which they felt judged and treated unfairly by peers, family, and other individuals in their communities on the basis of the shade of their skin color, a form of racism and racial discrimination known as *colorism* (Norwood, 2013). Individuals from various racial backgrounds may be influenced by colorism, but Black women are particularly at risk for encountering this form of discrimination because of the deeply rooted history of slavery in the United States. Within this historical context Black women's roles as field hands or domestic workers were often defined by their skin-color shade (Harrison & Thomas, 2009; Hunter, 2002, 2007). Current studies suggest that the experience of skin-color stratification of Black women within labor systems continues to linger, as evidenced by sustained disproportionate differences in employment statuses among Black women based on the shades of their skin color (Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Keith & Herring, 1991).

Though minimal empirical attention has been given to understanding the complexity of colorism, some Black women have shared personal narratives, which suggest that they are aware of colorism messages and experience such messages as negative. For example, in the documentaries *Dark Girls* and *Light Girls* (Duke, 2015; Duke & Berry, 2011), Black women of various skin-color shades communicated the confusion and psychological pain that they endured when they received harmful colorism messages from family members, co-workers, other Black women, men, and society generally. Nevertheless, although various authors and popular media suggest that colorism messages influence Black women's wellbeing, few empirical studies have

investigated the effects of colorism messages on Black women themselves, particularly given the various social contexts in which Black women may encounter colorism.

In outlining the social contexts in which colorism occurs, theorists argue that Black women encounter colorism in their (a) family relationships, (b) social and community networks, and (c) the larger society (Hill, 2002; Maddox & Gray, 2002; Wilder & Cain, 2010). These theorists suggest that Black women may be differentially aware of distinctive colorism experiences and messages from each of these encounters. Therefore, a socioecological framework is useful for identifying the sources of Black women's colorism experiences across various social contexts (Brenner, Zimmerman, Bauermeister, & Caldwell, 2013). This framework underscores the relevance of dynamic interactions between a person and her contexts, and the influence of these interactions in shaping emotional responses and behavior. Using a counseling psychology socioecological lens as proposed by Neville and Mobley (2001), interactions across social contexts may affect Black women's reactions to experiences of racism, and in this case, colorism.

Empirical research has mostly investigated the effects of colorism by examining the contexts in which colorism occurs rather than Black women's perceptions of such colorism (e.g., Fears, 1998; Harrison & Thomas, 2009; Viglione, Hannon, & DeFina, 2011). Research with this type of contextual emphasis has focused on systemic occurrences of differential treatment based on skin-color shades as reflected in media, the U.S. economic system, education, and political institutions. Such a narrow systemic focus provides little insight into colorism experiences that occur in Black women's families and racial communities, even though a small amount of research suggests that

familial and interpersonal contexts are quite influential communicators of colorism socialization (Hunter, 1999; Wilder & Cain, 2010). For example, in families, siblings may be differentially valued because of variations in their skin-color shades. Moreover, similar skin-color differentiation may be found in Black women's communities, where women may be stereotyped according to the shade of their skin color (Hunter, 1999; Maddox & Gray, 2002). In general, the extant research suggests that women with relatively darker skin are more negatively stereotyped by other individuals and in media than women with relatively lighter skin (e.g., Fears, 1998; Harrison & Thomas, 2009; Hill, 2002; Viglione et al., 2011). Yet without adequate measures to assess Black women's self-reported perceptions, it is not clear whether (a) women perceive the same stereotypes across contexts or (b) necessarily perceive them as negative or harmful.

Reflective appraisal theorists contend that pervasive messages about unchangeable aspects of oneself—whether positive or negative—ought to influence how a Black woman perceives herself (Cooley, 1902; Kinch, 1963). Thus, the collective and societal colorism experiences that Black women encounter may jeopardize various aspects of positive mental health, such as their sense of self and wellbeing. Specifically, such discriminatory experiences may adversely affect Black women's views of themselves (Coard, Breland, & Raskin, 2001; Hall, 2003; Hargrove, 1999; Winkle-Wagner, 2009). Yet the lack of a measure to assess colorism experiences within diverse contexts makes it difficult to examine the effects of colorism on the aspects of Black women's wellbeing that theorists have hypothesized as relevant.

Some research has used racial identity theories to investigate Black women's internalization of colorism ideology (Harvey, Banks, & Tennial, 2013; Harvey, Tennial

& Banks, 2017) and skin-color perceptions (Coard, Breland, & Raskin, 2001; Hall, 2003; Helms, Canada, Paler, Yu, & Williams, 2014; Robinson, 1992) without regard to the diverse contexts in which colorism messages might occur. Collectively, existing research supports the premise that Black women may differ in their perceptions and satisfaction with their skin color depending on their racial identity (e.g. Hall, 2003; Hargrove, 1999; Helms et al., 2014; Robinson, 1992). Other research has examined the effects of skin color perceptions (Fegley, Spencer, Goss, Harpalani & Charles, 2008; Hall, 2003) and internalized colorism (Harvey et al., 2017) on the self-esteem of Black women. For instance, Fegley et al. (2008) and Harvey et al.'s (2017) research reveals that Black women's self-esteem may vary depending on their self-perceived skin color or their satisfaction with their skin color. Additionally, the self-esteem research indicates that the more Black women internalize colorism, the greater the risk to their self-esteem.

Variations in relationships between Black women's self-esteem attributable to their skin color and satisfaction with their skin color may indicate that Black women are differentially affected by perceived colorism. If colorism is a component of race- and racism-related information that Black women interpret, one could infer that women's awareness of colorism messages and its effects on Black women's well-being may differ depending on the degree to which they have internalized colorism. Therefore, understanding how or whether Black women internalize messages that they have received about their skin color might be useful for enhancing their wellbeing. However, without a measure to examine Black women's self-reports of perceived colorism messages, the effects of such messages remain hypothetical.

In surveying existing measures that assess colorism, either indirectly or directly, nine measures were located. These measures can be grouped into three categories: (a) five measures of skin color perceptions and satisfaction (Bond & Cash, 1992; Falconer & Neville, 2000; Fegley et al., 2008; Hall, 2003; Hargrove, 1999); (b) three measures of internalized colorism (Harvey et al., 2017; Pinkston, 2015; Plybon, Pegg, & Reed, 2003); and (c) a measure of the effects of colorism (Hall, 2003). These measures have been used to focus on colorism as individual experiences that women internalize rather than merely systemic barriers. Yet they are not useful for evaluating the ways in which Black women differentially perceive colorism experiences and messages within their social environments.

It appears that prior to this study, no measure existed in psychology that assessed Black women's awareness and understanding of colorism experiences and messages transmitted to them in specific social contexts. The availability of such a measure would allow researchers to discover how colorism experiences that pertain to Black women's own skin-color acceptance or non-acceptance influences their well-being. If colorism is a part of many Black women's everyday lives, then understanding its influence on Black women is important for acknowledging an aspect of their experience that may otherwise remain overlooked. The current study sought to address the need for a measure that integrates the perceived contextual colorism messages and experiences that Black women encounter and their manners of interpreting, internalizing, and responding to these messages and experiences.

Therefore, the present study aimed to develop a self-report measure that assesses Black women's perceptions and reactions to colorism using a counseling psychology

socioecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Mead, 1934; Neville & Mobley, 2001). The premises of this perspective, as applied to colorism, consider the dynamic interactions between a Black woman and the various social and systemic contexts in which she encounters colorism. Consistent with socioecological theory, it is presumed that colorism interactions shape Black women's beliefs and emotional, cognitive and behavioral responses to such encounters. The development of a contextualized colorism measure, which focuses specifically on skin color rather than other aspects of women's physiques, makes it possible to delineate the sources of colorism messages that are most harmful to Black women from their perspectives.

Furthermore, a cornerstone of the field of Counseling Psychology is not only understanding the influence of aversive racial/cultural experiences, but also finding points of entry for early intervention and potential prevention of negative consequences. Having an adequate methodology for assessing colorism experiences allows researchers to examine adaptive processes that may disrupt the presumed negative influences of internalized colorism experiences on Black women. Thus, the purpose of the present study was to develop a context-explicit measure of colorism to assess women's beliefs and emotions across multiple social contexts. This type of measure may inform future research and practice that can contribute to the development of potential interventions for addressing the cumulative mental health consequences of experiencing colorism. It may also be useful for supporting Black women's strengths, resilience, and adaptive resistance to the colorism that they encounter.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Black women are often confronted with colorism, characterized by differential treatment based on variations in their shades of skin color (Norwood, 2013). Some theorists suggest that Black women's colorism experiences occur within various aspects of their social contexts and that such experiences may adversely affect their self-perceptions as well as their perceived sense of connection within and outside of their racial group (Winkle-Wagner, 2009). Yet very little research or theory has evaluated the internal effects of colorism messages on Black women (Fegley et al., 2008; Hall, 2003; Harvey et al., 2017).

Given that colorism hypothetically occurs within various aspects of Black women's social contexts, premises from socioecological theory, a framework that focuses on interactions between a person and her environment, are adapted to assess the construct of colorism among Black women in varying contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Mead, 1934; Neville & Mobley, 2001). Contextual colorism has not been investigated empirically, nor has it been integrated into a cohesive theoretical framework to assess Black women's perceptions of and emotional reactions to colorism. To support the premise that colorism messages are communicated in various domains relevant to Black women, literature pertaining to Black women's colorism experiences across multiple social contexts will be reviewed. Moreover, to justify the development of a contextually based measure of colorism other measures that purport to assess colorism will be critiqued.

Black Women's Colorism Experiences in Multiple Contexts

Although articulations of socioecological models differ in their definitions and focus, the underlying premise of socioecological theories is that human behavior is determined by dynamic interactions between an individual and her various social contexts (Neville & Mobley, 2001). In addressing limitations of some socioecological models, the field of counseling psychology has expanded its understanding of the socioecological framework to include individual or person-level experiences as important factors in influencing how an individual interacts with, adjusts to and develops within her environment. Moreover, this expanded perspective considers the dynamic influence of sociocultural factors (e.g., race) along with social structures and systems (e.g., racism) on human behavior (e.g., emotional responses to racism) within the social contexts in which these transactions occur (Neville & Mobley, 2001). Measurement implications of Bronfenbrenner (1977), Mead (1934), and Neville and Mobley's (2001) socioecological theories as they pertain to colorism support examining Black women's personal experiences of colorism within society, interpersonal racial in-group and out-group, and family contexts.

Society Colorism

In the current study, *society colorism* refers to society's discrimination against Black women through policies implemented in institutional social, political, and educational systems. As previously mentioned, for Black women, this type of colorism is deeply rooted in historically based social systems of racism in the US. Specifically, differential treatment of Black women in the labor market, based on skin-color shades, dates back to the system of slavery in America, where skin color was used by slave

owners as the basis for division of work roles and for evaluating the intelligence of enslaved women (Harrison & Thomas, 2009; Helms, 2015; Hunter, 2002, 2007). Generally, the lighter a Black woman's skin shade, the more favorably White society evaluated and treated her relative to her darker skin counterparts. Some contemporary research supports that these conceptions continue to hold true in employment and education (Hughes & Hertel, 1990).

Currently, society colorism often results in Black women of lighter skin shades receiving more social advantages relative to their darker skin counterparts in a variety of sociopolitical institutions. Some relevant institutions include (a) the judicial system (Viglione, et al., 2011); (b) visual media (Fears, 1998; Keenan, 1996); and (c) employment systems (Harrison & Thomas, 2009; Hughes & Hertel, 1990). Examination of this literature allows one to identify settings that might be relevant to the measurement of Black women's perceived colorism.

Judicial System. If light-skin privilege or dark-skin disadvantage occurs in systems, one might expect to find evidence of differential rewards or punishments based on skin-color shade. Viglione et al. (2011) hypothesized that Black women perceived as having lighter skin might receive more lenient prison sentences and serve less time in prison than women perceived as having darker skin-color shades. In support of this conjecture, they conducted a quantitative study of the effects of skin tone on prison outcomes of Black women (N = 12,158). Their study used data from public incarceration records of Black women between 1995 and 2009. These records included a question to discover whether designated correctional officers assessed the women as having "light"

or “non-light” (p. 253) skin shades at the time of the women’s admission to prison−a common assessment practice in southern states.

In Viglione et al.’s (2011) study, the effects of colorism were assessed by examining differences in lengths of prison sentences based on skin-color shade as perceived and measured by correctional officers at intake. The researchers used two measures of sentencing outcomes (i.e., maximum consecutive sentence length and actual time served in days) and controlled for other physical features (e.g., perceived thinness) and prior history of criminal involvement (e.g., conviction date and record of prison misconduct). Their results revealed that Black women with lighter skin shades received more lenient prison sentences and served less time in prison, which supported the premise that others’ perceptions of light skin contributed to more favorable treatment for these Black women in the judicial system. However, Viglione et al. did not assess the women’s perceptions of their colorism experiences; consequently, no information was provided about how women perceived themselves or the prison environment with respect to colorism.

Media. In socioecological theory, others’ appraisals of oneself or others similar to oneself might affect a person’s self-perceptions (Kinch, 1963; Mead, 1934; Tudge, Gray & Hogan, 1997). Colorism through visual media has been one of the most investigated society contexts. In this domain, differential skin-color privilege seems to be communicated through the greater visibility of light skin women in advertising, news, and television.

In examining differential representation of women of varied skin color in visual media, Fears (1998) conducted a qualitative study of colorism directed toward Black

women as represented in news editorials. She selected a random sample of issues from three news publications (i.e., *Jet*, a Black news magazine; *Newsweek*, a leading national news magazine; and the *New York Times*, a leading national newspaper). News, features, and photos were reviewed, which resulted in identifying 120 issues and 702 photos (n = 418 of Black women; n = 284 of White women).

Fears (1998) examined the combination of skin color and other racial features (e.g., racial physiognomy, hair texture) and categorized photos into African-American, White, or Mixed facial types. She also categorized words used in the captions of the editorial photos to describe the physical attractiveness of the photographed subject. Fears used Leslie's (1995) technique for judging colorism, which involved categorizing aesthetic characteristics of models according to facial type based on White features, such as thin lips, narrow noses, and fair or white complexions or African American features, such as full lips, broad noses, and multiple skin-color shades. Other characteristics were categorized based on clothing styles, which included grouping based on African-, Euro-American- or a combination of styles, and hairstyle (e.g., natural, straightened-relaxed, or a combination).

Fears' (1998) results revealed that there were more positive descriptors (e.g., beautiful, gorgeous, and lovely) for Black women with White physical attributes than for those with African American attributes. Thus, although Black women were represented to a greater degree in editorials than White women, they were disadvantaged in being less likely to have positive descriptors associated with them, unless they conformed to White beauty standards.

In a qualitative content analysis of advertisements (n = 573) and editorial photographs (n = 654) appearing in Black and mainstream magazines from 1989 through 1994, Keenan (1996) also sought to determine how media conveyed skin-color based discrimination of Black individuals. To assess colorism, Keenan examined representations of various skin-color shades in magazine advertisements. Physical characteristics of advertisement models, including skin-color shade, eye color, width of nose and prominence of lips, were coded. Skin-color shade was measured on a 5-point scale based on the Pantone Matching System (PMS) color formula guide, a commonly employed system in the printing industry. This scale judges skin-color shade by comparing the skin color of a person's forehead to a color swatch containing each of 5 PMS colors that range from light (10) to dark (50).

Keenan's (1996) results indicated that lighter Black individuals were more represented in magazine advertisements than in editorials and that Black women had lighter skin shades than their male counterparts in the magazine advertisements. Although, Fears (1998) did not examine differences between Black and mainstream magazines' display of Black women, Keenan's results revealed that Black or racial in-group magazine advertisements used people with lighter skin shades significantly more than mainstream or out-group advertisements, suggesting that light-skin favoritism may be more salient in Black culture.

If differential representation in magazines is a type of colorism communication, then Fears (1998) and Keenan's (1996) studies support the premise that women with light skin shades receive more favorable messages than their dark-skinned counterparts. However, neither study investigated whether Black women interpreted differential

representations as meaningful or whether they actually affected their self-perceptions and wellbeing.

Employment. Consistent with the colorism theme that skin-color shades are differentially rewarded, three studies explored the effects of colorism on employment related issues of Black people, but not Black women explicitly (Harrison & Thomas, 2009; Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Keith & Herring, 1991). These studies measured colorism by assessing relationships between skin-color shade and differential outcomes and treatment.

Keith and Herring (1991) used the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA; 1979-80) to examine the influence of skin color variations on educational attainment (e.g., highest degree achieved), occupational types (e.g., crafts, clerical management) and income among self-identified Black adults ($N = 2017$). Interviewers rated participants on a 5-point scale ranging from very dark to very light brown skin. Keith and Herring found that skin-color shade was a greater predictor of type of occupation and income level than other background characteristics, such as parents' socioeconomic status. Specifically, lighter skin Black individuals were more likely to be employed as professional and technical workers than were darker skin individuals. Likewise, darker skin individuals were more likely to be employed as laborers and to have lower personal and family income than interviewees with lighter skin-color shades as perceived by interviewers. Although Keith and Herring did not report the number of Black women in their sample as compared to men, they did report gender differences based on skin-color shade and found that, when comparing Black women and Black men, lighter skin color

was related to higher levels of education, employment and family income only for Black women.

Hughes and Hertel (1990) used the same national survey of Black Americans to examine skin-color differences and socioeconomic status, presumably one consequence of employment history. They used the same skin color measure as Keith and Herring (1991), which included interviewers' ratings on a 5-point scale where a high score represented very light brown skin. In their study, Black women and Black men, perceived by interviewers as having lighter skin, were of higher socioeconomic statuses (SES), as were their spouses. Moreover, effects of skin color (light versus dark) on SES were nearly as strong as the effects of race (White v. Black). Also, the authors suggested that the relationship of skin color and SES had not changed during a 30-year period (i.e., 1950-1980).

Using an experimental design to evaluate the effects of colorism, Harrison and Thomas (2009) studied simulated employee selection of Black applicants in a predominantly White (87.5%) sample of college students ($N = 240$). In their study, colorism was measured by examining participants' differential responses and employment decisions when they were provided with résumés with attached photos of Black female and male applicants portrayed as dark, medium, or light skin-color shades according to pilot-tested criteria. Based on a variety of criteria, participants rated how likely they would be to hire the applicant based on the associated résumé. Harrison and Thomas's results supported the premise that skin-color shade may play a considerable role in the types of messages transmitted to Black women, similar to that of Black men, in that applicants with light and medium skin shades received higher recommendations

for hiring than those with darker skin shades. Additionally, Black women applicants with light skin shades and lower qualifications received similar ratings to those with darker skin shades who had higher qualifications.

Altogether, the society colorism studies support a premise that dark skin women may be perceived and treated less favorably than light skin women with regard to a variety of policies and practices (Harrison &Thomas, 2009; Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Keith & Herring, 1991). Yet none of the cited society colorism studies measured whether Black women perceived, internalized, or engaged in colorism themselves within the settings in which colorism occurred.

Interpersonal Racial In-Group and Out-Group Colorism

Interpersonal communities are settings in which Black women might be expected to perceive and/or be affected by colorism when it is encountered. For the purposes of the current study, interpersonal racial in-group and out-group colorism refers to settings in which Black women might be expected to engage in personally meaningful interactions with individuals within and outside of their racial group. According to reflected appraisal theory (Kinch, 1963; Tudge et al., 1997), in such situations, Black women might be expected to be aware of the extent to which their skin color plays a significant role in how they are treated. Interpersonal settings might include neighborhoods, peer groups, school, and work.

Interpersonal colorism differs from society colorism in that the focus of colorism messages is on the women directly as opposed to being expressed indirectly through the implementation of laws, policies, or social customs that might affect them at a societal level. Reflected appraisal theory (Cooley, 1902; Khanna, 2004; Kinch, 1963) suggests

that Black women's interpersonal relationships with individuals within their Black racial group and outside of their Black racial group may be sources of potent communicators of the types of skin-color messages that would affect the women's sense of belonging and self-concept, as well as their awareness of colorism.

Racial In-Group Colorism. A measure that assesses Black women's perceptions of colorism within their racial group might reveal the extent to which they perceive, internalize, or are aware of their racial community's engagement in skin-color discrimination. Though not often examined, research has supported the existence of both advantage and disadvantage of light skin within Black women's racial communities, but only disadvantage with respect to dark skin (Anderson & Cromwell, 1977; Hill, 2002; Hunter, 1999).

Although they did not address colorism as it pertains to Black girls or women specifically, Anderson and Cromwell (1977) provided indirect evidence that colorism within Black communities may occur early in life. They studied Black middle and high school students' ($N = 350$) skin-color preferences and stereotyping as expressed through participants' differential pairing of positive and negative stereotypical characteristics (e.g., "the uglier Negro [sic]", "the poorest Negro [sic]") and various skin-color shades (e.g., Black, dark brown, light brown, light skinned Negro) in response to a questionnaire.

Anderson and Cromwell's (1977) results indicated that colorism was expressed by variation in the students' attributions of positive and negative characteristics. Students were more likely to associate negative stereotypical characteristics (e.g., poor, dumb, dirty) with dark skin than with light skin. These results suggest that Black individuals may recognize and accept some popular negative stereotypes regarding skin color early in

life, but the results do not directly address the question of whether community members actually use the colorism stereotypes that were investigated when interacting with Black girls and women specifically.

To explore the hypothesis that skin-color affects how Black women are perceived by other Black women and men, Hill (2002) used data from the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA). In his study, Black interviewers ($N = 239$; Black women interviewers $n = 183$; and Black men interviewers $n = 56$) used an abbreviated color palette to categorize each respondent into one of five skin-color shade categories (e.g., very dark brown, very light brown). Interviewers also rated survey respondents' temperament, social skills, and personal appearance (e.g., physical attractiveness).

Hill (2002) found that interviewers' ratings of Black women's attractiveness increased as the women's perceived skin-color shades varied from dark to light even when other variables (e.g., age, sex, education, income level, and friendliness during the interview) were statistically controlled. Moreover, Hill's results revealed that interviewers' ratings of attractiveness suggested that they preferred Black female interviewees with light skin-color shades, but the same preference did not hold for Black male interviewees.

In one of the few studies that examined Black women's perceptions of community transmitted colorism, Hunter (1999) conducted a qualitative study of the nature of within-racial group colorism communications as perceived by Black women ($N = 15$) using open-ended interviews. In her study, colorism was qualitatively assessed by examining the content of interviews based on participants' self-descriptions of their own skin-color

shade and associated experiences. Women interviewees were self-described as dark (*n* = 5), medium (*n* = 3), and light (*n* = 7).

Hunter (1999) found that Black women of all skin-color shades described light-skin Black women as pretty, superior, and more attractive to men, a conception that left dark-skin Black women feeling resentful. Hunter also found that, for light-skin Black women, colorism took the form of being challenged by dark-skin women specifically about whether they were "really Black" or "not Black enough" based on non-specific criteria (p. 112). Contrary to what is consistently conveyed in research and literature, her results suggest that within Black communities, light-skin Black women may receive both favorable (e.g., positive ratings) and unfavorable colorism messages, particularly from other Black women with darker skin color shades. These results reflect a complex, yet unacknowledged aspect of racial in-group colorism.

Summary. In sum, each of the three cited studies had a different approach to examining colorism as it occurs within Black women's racial communities. Anderson and Cromwell (1977) explored skin color-based stereotypes that Black individuals may endorse generally, Hill (2002) examined the extent to which perceived physical attractiveness is based on skin color and differs according to gender; and Hunter (1999) explored Black women's engagement in skin color stereotyping with each other. Although each study examined racial-in group colorism by means of different methodologies, they were similar in their focus on whether Black racial communities associate certain positive and negative characteristics with skin color. Efforts to address the question of in-group colorism offer information for understanding the potential influence of colorism on Black communities generally. However, with the exception of

Hunter, existing research does not accentuate the unique effects that encountering racial community-based colorism has on Black women.

Racial Out-Group Colorism. Social scientists historically have examined how individuals outside of the Black racial group (e.g., White individuals) participate in colorism practices by assessing discrimination and bias based on skin-color variations (e.g., dark skin versus light skin; Maddox & Gray, 2002). Most of these assessments have not considered Black women and men separately.

For instance, in a study in which they disaggregated race and gender for the stimuli but not participants, Maddox and Gray (2002; Study 2) conducted a qualitative study of cultural stereotypes among a sample of college students ($N = 82$; White $n = 42$, Black $n = 40$). In their study, colorism was measured by examining stereotypical characteristics that students associated with skin color variations of individuals in identified racial groups (four target groups were dark-skinned Black women, dark-skinned Black men, light-skinned Black women, light-skinned Black men; three filler groups were White men, White women, non-sex specified Native Americans). Participants were asked to list cultural beliefs and traits associated with the stimulus racial/skin color group and indicate what characteristics were consistent, inconsistent, or neutral with respect to their personal beliefs.

Maddox and Gray's (2002) results revealed that White students ($N = 42$) made distinctions between light- and dark-skinned Black individuals based on stereotypes and attributed traits to skin-color shades in a manner similar to Black students in the study. Regarding traits of Black women specifically, they found that both White and Black participants were significantly more likely to use positive stereotypical traits (e.g.,

attractive, intelligent) and less likely to use negative traits (e.g. lazy, poor, unattractive) with light-skinned women as compared to dark-skinned women. Participants also tended to use negative traits (e.g., tough/aggressive, uneducated, unintelligent) in their descriptions of dark-skinned women. These results support similarities in how colorism is perpetuated by White and Black individuals—particularly with respect to Black women.

Summary. In sum, although research on interpersonal racial in-group and out-group colorism has been useful in illuminating some of the ways in which colorism might occur, with perhaps the exception of Hunter's (1999) study, the research has been limited in that it has generally focused on the content of messages potentially transmitted by communicators, but not on Black women's awareness or reactions to skin-color communications or related attributions. Consequently, research has not provided strategies or measures for effectively assessing Black women's perceptions and interpretations of the colorism messages directed toward them within their racial in-group and out-group interpersonal interactions.

Family Colorism

According to socioecological theory, during early development, family members and caregivers are often the individuals that people interact with most and these interactions inform a person's sense of self (Neisser, 1993; Tudge et al., 1997; Wilder & Cain, 2010). It can be theorized that knowledge about oneself retrieved from family members would include information regarding physical attributes such as skin color. Hence, some personal narratives and theoretical discourse have focused on the colorism socialization messages communicated within Black families (Bond & Cash, 1992; Coard

et al., 2014; Duke, 2005; Duke & Berry, 2011). For instance, being classified according to skin-color shade (e.g., "the light child" or "the dark child") reportedly carries favorable or unfavorable significance within the context of family dynamics (Bond & Cash, 1992, p. 884). Such labels may reflect family norms, preferences, and pressures that potentially result in the differential treatment that Black women receive within their families (Coard et al., 2014).

However, only one study has explored how Black women perceive colorism messages within their family systems. Wilder and Cain (2010) conducted focus group interviews of Black women (N =26). In their qualitative study, they found that Black women reported that the maternal figures in their families were the most influential forces in shaping their views and beliefs about their own and others' skin color shades. Many Black women described their mothers as instilling a belief system of bias and judgment based on skin color. Specifically, Black women reported recognizing familial preoccupation with skin color and skin color dichotomies, such as family members referring to the "dark side" or "light side" of the family. Also, they indicated that they had learned in their families to associate certain characteristics (e.g., attractive or unattractive) with skin-color shade, which often reaffirmed negative colorism attitudes expressed in the Black community generally.

Also, when describing family colorism dynamics, Black women in Wilder and Cain's (2010) study shared that they experienced preferential treatment from their mother and other family members because of their skin color and/or were encouraged by their mother or other family members to change or maintain their skin color. Alternatively, some Black women in their study reported that rather than colorism being reaffirmed by

their families, they received counteracting messages that included consciousness-raising. *Consciousness-raising* involved interactions that increased awareness of the existence of colorism and/or supported the celebration of skin-color shade diversity.

Thus, Wilder and Cain's (2010) results suggest that Black women's perceptions of their skin-color may be greatly influenced by interactions with members of their families wherein they learn to either reject or accept certain colorism beliefs. Acknowledging the minimal amount of empirical support for this concept, additional research is needed. Hence, developing a measure of Black women's perceived colorism experiences would be useful for understanding the extent to which Black women internalize family colorism messages.

General Summary

In sum, studies have investigated colorism within various societal systems, within and outside of the Black racial community and among Black families. Yet no research has used a theoretical framework for identifying the contexts that are salient for the women themselves. Whether examined at the institutional or the community level, theory suggests and research seems to confirm that colorism messages may vary in positivity or negativity depending on the context or type of relationship. However, neither the theoretical perspectives nor the cited research, with the exceptions of Hunter (1999) and Wilder and Cain (2010), have focused on women's internalization of colorism messages, and no studies were located that effectively measured Black women's perceptions and experiences of their colorism in a variety of contexts.

Measurement of Black Women's Self-Reported Colorism Experiences

Existing measures of Black women's colorism experiences can be categorized as

those that (a) examine the indirect effects of colorism through assessing skin color perceptions and satisfaction, (b) assess the degree to which colorism beliefs and attitudes are internalized, and (c) assess occurrences and cognitive-emotional effects of skin color teasing. These measures are described in Table 1. In addition, Black women's anecdotal accounts of colorism have been discussed as non-empirical representations of colorism experiences.

Colorism Experiences

Considering the sparsity of empirical studies of Black women's internalized contextual colorism, it is useful to examine other kinds of literature, such as autobiographies and documentaries, to obtain a sense of the range and variety of Black women's colorism experiences from their perspectives. In these narratives, many Black women have shared moments of recalling how they encountered or became aware of colorism.

Colorism awareness. In her memoir, civil rights attorney Connie Rice (2012), a self-identified light-skinned Black woman, described the early childhood memory of when she became aware of being treated differently because of her skin-color shade. It was precipitated by a young Black boy asking her, "What is you [sic]?" That is, he was a racial-in-group member who was questioning her racial background. In this moment, Rice reported that she recognized that her experiences as a light-skinned Black woman were different from the experiences of her darker-skinned Black counterparts. She says:

> I was a tolerated token [by White society]. He was discarded as 'other', cosigned to the margins of society. I was the safer preference to him. His undiluted blackness

> [sic] rendered him invisible yet dangerous, pricking the most primordial of European fears. His blood threatened White existence. Mine did not. When my White friends looked into my face, they could still see themselves, and with good reason…This heritage separated me from my dark-skinned challenger, not only by blood but also by color caste and belonging. North America is the only place where my cocktail lineage could have been concocted…The privileges of color caste gave me social passports that lightened the heavy gravity of race (pp. 10-12).

Thus, although Rice acknowledged her light skin-color privilege in her interactions with White people (i.e., a racial out-group), she described the experience in terms of how she believed the Black boy and White society reacted to her skin color rather than describing her own reactions to the colorism experience.

Some Black women have shared a more developed, complex, and critical understanding of colorism experiences and their reactions to such experiences as a means of fostering positive coping, healing and resilience. For example, in the documentary *Dark Girls* (Duke, 2015), a prominent actress, Viola Davis, described her process of learning to forgive her parents and finding ways to cope with the negative colorism messages she had received while growing up. She reported that she utilized therapy to help her become self-aware and to take responsibility for gaining knowledge that would be useful for her healing.

Emotional responses. Other Black women have associated their emerging colorism awareness with emotional responses, such as mental and emotional confusion and anger. For instance, in the documentary, *Light Girls* (Duke, 2015), actress Cynthia McWilliams who identifies as a light skin Black woman states that, "from a very young age, I was made to feel that something about what I had or looked like was somehow both special and yet disliked, hated; something to be embraced and/or feared." In this statement McWilliams is describing her light skin color as the something that she "had" that led her to receive privileges from those both within and outside of the Black community, but also resulted in her being disliked (often by other Black women). She expressed experiencing these contradictory favorable and unfavorable colorism messages communicated by others and society as confusing.

Black women may also display anger toward White (and/or light) individuals due to their perceived contributions to and/or benefits from colorism. For instance, in the documentary *Light Girls* (Duke, 2015), Amber Rose, a well-known model and media personality, who comes from a family of light skin multi-racial individuals, reflected on the shame her family expressed when she married a dark Black man. From her perspective, this shaming represented conformity to Whiteness and she felt anger in response. She stated, "I'm angry that my family is like that. They want to pass so bad that they raised my mom and my uncles and aunts to not fully know their [racial] culture. And our younger generation, we've embraced it so much and I feel like that's why my father is White." In this statement, Amber reflects on the ways in which her family and other Black individuals embrace assimilating to Whiteness due to its privileges, which Amber expresses frustration in response to.

Cognitive-behavioral responses. Black women have also responded to colorism by having strong desires to reject or escape their Blackness. For example, in Duke and Berry's (2011) documentary about Black women's colorism experiences, a young Black girl with light skin color expressed her desire not to be called, "pretty Black girl," because she did not identify as Black. In the same documentary, a young adult woman recalled during her adolescent years believing that if she had a little girl, she did not want her to be dark like her, reflecting her desire and preference for lightness as well as a desire to prevent her daughter from experiencing some of the colorism experiences that she encountered.

Although some women expressed that they denounced their Blackness and skin color in response to colorism, other women shared that they overcompensated for the negative effects of colorism on their self-image by idealizing Blackness (or darkness) and despising Whiteness (or lightness). In response to specific colorism messages Black women deliberately adjusted their behaviors in order to embrace what they perceived were more reflective of their Black self. Such messages often equate darkness with Black womanhood in order to define what is Black enough (Hunter, 1999). For instance, actress Kym Whitely described her struggle to gain a Black identity as a light skin woman. She shared her experience of growing up as a young girl with a very light mother, who she thought was White, and feeling extremely ashamed of her mother's lightness and her lightness in return. Whitley recalls trying to be "too Black" at times by doing the opposite of what was expected of her, such as owning a lot of Black art, in order to make up for not being considered "Black enough" (Duke, 2015)

Collectively, Duke's (2015) interviews and Rice's (2012) autobiography suggest

that some Black women are aware of colorism and can recall stories and experiences in which they encountered and responded to colorism. Black women seem to vary in the degree to which they endorse or reject colorism beliefs and expectations that they have received from various contexts. Some Black women internalize colorism in a way that has negative emotional, cognitive and behavioral outcomes. On the other hand, others manage the influence of internalized colorism by developing a framework for increasing their awareness of colorism messages and incorporating positive self-images about skin color. Yet, considering that Black women's colorism experiences have been assessed through personal narratives heretofore, there still remains a need for empirical assessments of how they differentially internalize and cope with colorism.

Skin-Color Perceptions and Satisfaction Measures

A handful of researchers have created measures to assess Black women's perceptions of, attitudes toward, and satisfaction with their skin color as a means of indirectly assessing the effects of colorism (Bond & Cash, 1992; Falconer & Neville, 2000; Fegley et al., 2008; Hall, 2003; Hargrove, 1999). With the exception of two studies that examined colorism as a predictor (Fegley et al., 2008; Hall, 2003), most empirical studies have used their colorism measures as outcomes of women's self-perceptions rather than predictors of them. Nevertheless, some of these studies are useful for construct validation of a contextual colorism measure because they suggest what predictors should be used as outcomes of colorism rather than the reverse.

Skin-Color Perceptions as a Predictor. Skin-color self-perceptions and satisfaction have been used to operationally define colorism. Consistent with reflective appraisal theory (Kinch, 1963; Tudge et al., 1997), colorism potentially influences racial

identity and self-esteem (Fegley et al., 2008; Hall, 2003). For instance, in her study of young adult Black women ($N = 255$), Hall (2003) used an adapted version of the Skin Color Questionnaire (SCQ; Bond & Cash, 1992) and another measure assessing frequency of respondents comparing their skin color to other African Americans to examine relationships between self-reported skin-color and racial identity, body dissatisfaction, and self-esteem. Hall's study revealed significant positive relationships between respondents' skin color and their self-esteem such that increasingly lighter skin color was associated with increasingly higher self-esteem. Likewise, significant positive relationships between satisfaction with skin color and racial identity indicated that higher levels of satisfaction with skin color were associated with positive racial identity. Hall did not provide information regarding how positive racial identity was calculated or conceptualized. Overall, Hall's results did not support her colorism scale as a measure of self-esteem or body image, but it perhaps predicted racial identity. Relevant to the current study, her results support the use of assessments of skin color perceptions and satisfaction (i.e., consequences of colorism) to examine contextual colorism with racial identity as an outcome variable(s).

Fegley et al. (2008) used an item assessing respondents' perceived skin color from their measure, Skin Color Opinions and Perceptions Evaluation (SCOPE), to examine relationships between perceived skin color group (i.e. light, medium, dark) and body image satisfaction, positive attitudes about oneself, ethnic identity and worry of neighborhood risks among Black adolescents ($n = 436$). Results of their study indicated significant relationships between skin color preference and body image satisfaction, attitudes about oneself, and ethnic identity. Specifically, Black youth who preferred to be

a different skin color shade were less satisfied with their physical appearance and had less positive views about themselves compared to those who did not prefer to be a different skin-color shade. In addition, Black youth who preferred to be a different skin color shade felt less connected to their ethnic group and identity. In the context of the present study, Fegley et al.'s results support the use of assessments of colorism to examine relationships between colorism and self-regard (i.e. self-esteem) and racial-ethnic identity.

Skin-Color Outcomes. Several studies support the use of racial identity as an outcome measure (Coard et al., 2001; Helms, et al., 2014; Robinson, 1992). Most of these studies have used Helms's racial identity measure (Helms, 1990; Helms, 1993; Helms & Parham, 1996) to predict some form of colorism-related attitudes or experiences as summarized in Table 1. Helms's measure of racial identity assesses four types of racial identity attitudes or statuses. They are (a) Preencounter, conformance to White norms; (b) Post-Encounter, confused racial identification; (c) Immersion/Emersion, reactive psychological adoption of an exclusively Black focused racial identity; and (d) Internalization, transcending racism-defined identity.

In analyzing responses of Black women in his sample (n = 119), Robinson (1992) discovered negative relationships between Preencounter attitudes and skin-color satisfaction and Immersion attitudes and skin-color satisfaction as measured by the SCQ (Bond and Cash, 1992) . His results suggest that the more women conformed to society's racial standards (Preencounter) or rebelled against them (Immersion), the less satisfied they were with their skin color.

Helms et al.'s (2014) results were consistent with Robinson's (1992) in that they suggested that racial identity schemas were differentially related to Black women's (N = 121) satisfaction with their skin color. Those whose profiles reflected positive racial identification and non-conformity to White norms (i.e., Immersion and Internalization) had more positive attitudes about their skin color. Black women with profiles reflecting a combination of confusion about their identity (Post-Encounter), psychological withdrawal into Blackness (Immersion), conformity to White racial norms (Preencounter), and low levels of self-defined Black identity (Internalization) were more dissatisfied with their skin color as measured by the Racialized Body Image Questionnaire (RBIQ; Hargrove, 1999).

In their examination of relationships between responses on the SCQ (Bond & Cash, 1992) and Black women's racial identity, Coard et al.'s (2001) found a significant positive relationship between Black women's (n = 67) responses to an item that assessed their desire to change their skin color to another skin-color shade and Encounter attitudes. Similarly, in examining the relationship between skin color preference and racial identity among Black women, their results revealed that a darker skin-ideal was also related to higher Encounter attitudes. Collectively, these results suggest that certain racial identity attitudes may be related to the perceptions and ideals Black women have regarding their skin color.

Internalized Colorism Measures

Some researchers have developed measures that assess the degree to which colorism has been adopted into one's own beliefs and attitudes about skin color (Harvey, Tennial & Banks, 2017; Pinkston, 2015; Plybon et al., 2003; Table 1). One empirical study used their internalized colorism measure to examine relationships between colorism

and racial identity and self-esteem (Harvey et al., 2017). This study has implications for investigating relationships between measures of colorism and relevant outcome variables.

Harvey et al.'s (2017) colorism measure assesses different ways that respondents' associate significance and meaning to skin-color shade themselves and their views of how society and others also associate significance and meaning to skin-color shade. In their construct validity study Harvey et al. examined relationships between their measure of colorism and racial identity (racial socialization, racial centrality and racial private regard) and self-esteem with a sample of Black Americans (N = 355; 77% Black women, 23% Black men). Overall, Harvey et al. concluded that each subscale of the ICS was significantly correlated with different aspects of racial identity and self-esteem. Specifically, Harvey et al. found a significant negative correlation between their colorism scale and self-esteem, indicating that higher endorsement ratings of colorism were associated with lower self-esteem scores. Additionally, results of their study indicated variable relationships between internalized colorism and aspects of racial identity. Of the notable relationships, results revealed that the more central race was to participants' self-identity, the more they reported that skin tone was important for their sense of self-concept but less important for forming impressions of, their attraction to, and affiliation with other Black Americans.

Plybon et al. (2003) and Harvey et al.'s (2017) measures are relevant to the current study and development of a contextual colorism measure because they examine ways in which external factors (e.g., media, society) influence internalized colorism. Although these measures examine internalized colorism, they do not assess Black women's awareness and perceptions of the colorism that they confront. Therefore, a

measure that assesses these perceived colorism experiences across contexts in which colorism encounters might occur is imperative. Nonetheless, according to Harvey et al., examining relationships between such a measure and racial identity and self-esteem might be important.

Cognitive and Emotional Effects of Colorism

When Black women have shared anecdotes about their colorism encounters and experiences, they have expressed a variety of emotions and attitudes that challenge their views of self, as well as their views of people who enact harmful colorism messages (Duke, 2015; Duke & Berry, 2011; Rice, 2012). However, only one measure was located that assessed colorism experiences and their emotional effects on Black female college students (Hall, 2003). Hall adapted Thompson, Heinberg, Altabe and Tanleff's (1999) Perception of Teasing Scale to assess the frequency of being teased about skin color and the effects of such teasing on participants' ratings of their levels of being upset (Effect of Teasing; ETSC; Table 1)

Hall (2003) used the adopted ETSC to study colorism-related body image and psychological functioning in a sample of young adult Black women ($N = 255$). She found significant relationships between body image and depression and body image and self-esteem when the definition of body image included issues of colorism. Hall's measure is the only one that I could locate that assessed individuals' perceived experiences of and emotional responses to being treated differently because of their skin color (Table 1). However, the ETSC was adapted and conceptualized to assess skin-color teasing. Although skin-color teasing represents an aspect of colorism, a measure that exclusively assesses skin color teasing does not capture the more subtle colorism

experiences that Black women may encounter that do not reflect teasing behaviors specifically (e.g., being treated differently or unfairly without being made fun of). Other concerns with the ETSC include that it does not capture the relative skin-color advantages (e.g., receiving positive treatment due to skin color) that Hunter (1999) highlighted as an aspect of colorism that negatively affects Black women, particularly via their relationships with other Black women. Additionally, Hall's adapted measure assesses Black female college students' experiences of teasing from other Black people, but not colorism experiences in other social and systemic contexts. Therefore, there is still a need for a measure that assesses Black women's perceptions of and response to encountered colorism across multiple social contexts.

Summary

In general, researchers' measures have attempted to assess the degree to which individuals embrace colorism messages by predominantly assessing the self-reported significance of their skin-color shades to them (Bond & Cash, 1992; Falconer & Neville, 2000; Fegley et al., 2008; Hall, 2003; Hargrove, 1999). A limited number of measures assess how individuals adopt certain colorism beliefs and attitudes (Harvey et al., 2017; Pinkston, 2015; Plybon et al., 2003), but only one measure was designed to assess Black women's emotional responses to direct differential treatment based on skin color shade (Hall, 2003). None of the described measures assess Black women's perceived colorism experiences across multiple social contexts and their reactions to such experiences. Moreover, only a few measures have been used in empirical studies to predict relevant psychosocial outcomes (Fegley et al., 2008; Hall, 2003; Harvey et al., 2017), whereas the other cited colorism measures have been used as outcome variables. Overall, the

described colorism measures suggest some outcomes that may be used to obtain validity evidence in a scale development study. These outcomes include internalized colorism, racial identity and self-esteem.

Table 1

Summary of Existing Colorism Measures

Author	Scale Name	Description	No. of Items	Item Response Type	Responses	Sample for Use or Validation
Skin-Color Perceptions and Satisfaction						
Bond & Cash (1992)	Skin Color Questionna-ire (SCQ)	The Skin Color Questionnaire (SCQ; Bond & Cash, 1992) is an assessment that includes three items meant to assess respondents' satisfaction with their skin color shade (i.e. "How satisfied are you with the shade, lightness or darkness, of your own skin color?"), self-perception of their skin color shade (i.e. "Compared to most African-American people, I believe my skin color is…"; with responses from extremely light to extremely dark), and ideal skin color shade (i.e. "If I could change my skin color, I would make it…").	3	Satisfaction Item: 1 (extremely dissatisfied) to 9 (extremely satisfied) Perceived Skin Color Item: 1 (extremely light) to 9 (extremely dark) If Could Change Skin Color Item: 1 (much lighter) to much darker)	Satisfaction Item: Higher scores = more satisfied Perceived Skin Color Item: Scores indicate perceived skin color shade Change Item: Scores indicate Lighter or Darker	66 Black Female Undergrad uate Students
Falconer & Neville (2000)	Skin Color Satisfaction Scale (SCSS)	Falconer and Neville (2000) developed the Skin Color Satisfaction Scale (SCSS), an expanded version of the SCQ (Bond & Cash, 1992). This measurement utilizes the three items of the SCQ along with four additional items that focus more on skin color satisfaction (i.e. "Compared to the complexion of members of my family, I am satisfied with my skin color", "I wish the shade of my skin color was darker", "I wish the shade of my skin color was lighter", "Compared to the complexion of other African Americans, I am satisfied with my skin color").	7	Additional Items: 9 point Likert: 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree)	Higher scores = more satisfied or greater wish for lighter or darker	124 Black college women

Table 1 Continued

Fegley et al. (2008)	Skin Color Opinions and Perceptions Evaluation (SCOPE)	Fegley et al. (2008) developed the Skin Color Opinions and Perceptions Evaluation (SCOPE) to assess adolescents' self-perceptions of their skin color and their perceptions of others' attitudes toward their skin color. This measure assesses respondents' perceptions of their own skin color, the skin color they would most and least like to have, and respondents' perceptions of the skin colors that referent others, such as teachers, peers and adults value most. However, the authors did not provide sample items.	17	Not provided	Not provided	779 Adolescents (56% Black)
Hall (2003)	Social Comparison Scale	Hall (2003) developed an adopted version of the Social Comparison Scale (Thompson et al., 1999) to assess perceptions of skin color based on how Black women compare their skin color to others. One item specifically assesses the frequency of comparison of skin color in the presence of other Black individuals (i.e., "When I am with Black people, I find myself comparing my skin color with theirs") in combination with other items that assess respondents' comparison of their facial features to others' features (e.g., "I find myself thinking about how my nose is different from other Black people") and overall physical appearance (e.g., "In social situations, I find myself comparing my overall attractiveness to the attractiveness of other Black people").	Overall 6 1 Item specific to skin color	1 (never) to 5 (always)	High score = higher frequency of comparing skin color	255 Black Undergraduate Women

Table 1 Continued

Hargrove (1999)	Racialized Body Image Questionnaire (RBIQ)	Hargrove (1999) continued the expansion of the both the SCQ and SCSS by developing the Racialized Body Image Questionnaire (RBIQ; originally the Skin Color Physical Appearance Scale). This measure was developed to assess attitudes about perceived skin color, racial physiognomy and satisfaction with physical appearance, including skin color specifically. Items that pertain to skin color-related image include adopted items from the SCQ and SCSS, as well as additional items. Item Specifics: Includes Adopted versions of 2 items of SCQ (Bond & Cash, 1992; rating how satisfied one is with skin color; Rating how believe skin color/complexion can be best described in comparison to people in same racial group), and adopted versions of 2 items of SCSS (Falconer & Neville; "I wish I were a shade lighter"; "I wish I were a shade darker") Also includes 5 additional items that asses what specific skin complexion one wishes their skin color was (1 item), treatment based on skin color (1 Item: being teased due to skin color) and behaviors to change and/or maintain skin color shade (3 Items: trying to get more sun because too pale, staying out of sun because not wanting to get darker, using products to change skin complexion) Also, qualitative option to describe skin color in own words	Overall 19 10 (items specific to skin color image)	2 SCQ Items: 5 point Likert--very satisfied to very dissatisfied; 5 point Likert--very dark to very light 2 SCSS Items (5 point Likert): Definitely agree to definitely disagree Skin color wish item (5 point Likert): very dark to very light Other items (5 point Likert): definitely agree to definitely disagree	Indicates color shade one wishes they were Some items are reverse coded; higher scores = greater satisfaction with skin color/less desire to change skin color	148 Black women college students

Table 1 Continued

Internalized Colorism						
Harvey et al. (2017)	In-Group Colorism Scale	Harvey et al. (2017) define *colorism ideology* as the degree to which people assign significance and meaning to variations in skin-color shade inside their own community of Color (i.e., In-Group Colorism Scale, ICS: "My skin tone is an important part of my self-concept," "You can tell a lot about a person by their skin tone") and how individuals outside of communities of Color assign skin-color significance to people of Color (Out-Group Colorism Scale, OCS: "There are important differences between light complexion and dark complexion Black people," "Blacks with lighter skin complexions tend to be more pleasant people to deal with"). Consists of five subscales (each including 4 items): self-concept, attraction, affiliation, upward mobility and impression formation *Self- Concept:* The degree to which someone finds their skin color important to how they evaluate themselves *Attraction:* The degree to which someone associates attractiveness with skin color *Affiliation:* The degree of desire to be connected to or socialize with others based on skin color *Upward Mobility:* The degree to which someone associates skin color with shaping life chances and experience *Impression Formation:* The degree to which someone associates skin color with personal characteristics of a person or people in general	20	7 point Likert: 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)	High scores = high endorsement of subscales; higher endorsement of colorism ideology	500 + Black Women and Men in national sample (details not provided)

Table 1 Continued

Pinkston (2015)	Sociocultural Attitude Toward Appearance Scale Internalization-general Subscale	Assesses the extent to which one has adopted beliefs about skin color espoused by the media. The original SATAS measures the impact of media influence on beauty standards. However, Pinkston adapted this measure in order to assess the impact of media messages around colorism specifically. She used one subscale of the SATAS, *Internalization-General*, which assesses the extent to which respondents' have adopted beliefs about skin color espoused by the media (e.g., "I don't care if my skin color looks like the skin color of people who are on TV").	Overall—30 Subscale--9	5 point Likert: 1 (definitely disagree) to 5 (definitely agree)	Higher scores = greater media influence on beliefs about skin color	218 African American undergraduate students
Plybon et al. (2003)	Image Acceptance Measure (IAM)	Plybon et al (2003). developed the Image Perception Measure (IAM), which assesses respondents' levels of rejection of stereotypically preferred physical traits (e.g., light skin color, long straight hair) associated with colorism. This measure consists of 12-items (e.g., "I think guys prefer girls who have lighter skin") where higher scores represent a rejection of colorism and an appreciation for a more traditional African American standard of beauty.	12	5 point 1 (agree a lot) to 5 (disagree a lot)	A higher IAM score denotes rejection of "colorism" or an appreciation for a more traditional African American standard of beauty.	249 African American Adolescent females
Effects of Colorism						
Hall (2003)	Perception of Teasing Scale (PTS) Frequency of Teasing—Skin Color and Effect of Teasing—Skin Color	Hall (2003) adopted Thompson et al.'s Perception of Teasing Scale to include a subscale that assesses the frequency of teasing related to skin color specifically (Frequency of Teasing—Skin Color, FTSC; e.g., "Black people made fun of you because you were too dark skinned or too light skinned," "Black people commented about your skin color when you walked into a room", rated from never to always) and the effects of such teasing on participants' ratings of their levels of being upset (Effect of Teasing—Skin Color, ETSC; i.e., not upset to very upset).	Overall—18 Specific Relevant Subscales--12	1 (Never) to 5 (Always) 1 (Not upset) to 5 (Very upset)	High scores = greater frequency of teasing Higher scores = more upset due to teasing	275 Black undergraduate college women

Statement of the Problem

Theorists and some empirical studies suggest that colorism occurs in multiple social and institutional contexts that Black women must navigate (Hill, 2002; Maddox & Gray, 2002; Wilder & Cain, 2010). Socioecological theory proposes that messages or socialization experiences influence an individual's behaviors, personality development, and personal experiences within her environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Mead, 1934; Neville & Mobley, 2001). Furthermore, socioecological theory describes multiple sources of influence (e.g., family, other interpersonal relationships, and society) on a person and their experiences of and responses to various stressors (Brenner et al., 2013). These stressors are often in relation to sociocultural structures and systems, such as race and racism (Neville & Mobley, 2001), and in the context of the present study, colorism. In the current study, colorism was conceptualized as a potential sociocultural stressor in Black women's interpersonal environments that might be related to the racialized aspects of their personhood as well as their general wellbeing.

Socioecological theory in counseling psychology (Neville & Mobley, 2001) would suggest that a measure of perceived colorism should assess Black women's awareness of and personal identification with colorism messages and beliefs. This awareness pertains to the extent to which Black women perceive colorism experiences within their family relationships, interpersonally (i.e., with individuals within and outside of their racial group), and within sociopolitical systems in society. Therefore, the purposes of the current study were (a) to develop a Perceived Colorism Scale to assess Black women's perceived contextualized colorism experiences and beliefs and (b) to investigate the construct validity of scale scores on this measure using psychosocial

outcomes that previous empirical studies have found were related to different versions of colorism. The developed measure should ultimately help to provide a framework for differentiating the effects of various sources of contextual colorism experiences that Black women encounter.

Scale Development and Validation Concepts

Development of a measure of Black women's contextual experiences of colorism involves identification and measurement of concepts theoretically related to colorism that might be used for validation of scores on the proposed measure. *Validity* refers to the extent to which a body of empirical evidence and theory support an intended interpretation of test scores (American Educational Research Association, American Psychological Association, & National Council on Measurement in Education, 2014).

Current Study

Context specific colorism items were constructed to assess Black women's awareness of colorism messages received from others in four social contexts, as well as their cognitive-emotional reactions to perceived colorism messages. The colorism items inquired about Black women's awareness of colorism encounters, related messages, and responses in relationships with (a) family members, (b) people in and (c) outside of the women's racial group, and (d) from institutions of the broader society. Therefore, I developed items for four subscales that were intended to assess the four colorism domains (i.e., Family, Racial In-Group, Racial Out-Group, and (d) Society). Each hypothesized subscale included items pertaining to women's awareness of and cognitive-emotional reactions to colorism because these are aspects that have not typically been measured in the colorism literature.

Family Colorism. Family colorism refers to the messages that Black women receive regarding norms and beliefs about skin color from family members (Bond & Cash, 1992; Coard et al., 2014; Wilder & Cain, 2010). Therefore, the Family Colorism subscale assessed Black women's self-perceptions of colorism experiences and messages that they have encountered and received from individuals within their families and their cognitive-emotional responses to family colorism.

Racial In-Group Colorism. The Racial In-Group Colorism subscale was intended to measure Black women's awareness of and personal experiences with the Black community's skin-color stereotypes, as well as their cognitive and emotional reactions to these experiences (Anderson & Cromwell, 1977; Hill, 2002; Hunter, 1999).

Racial Out-Group Colorism. The Racial Out-Group Colorism subscale was intended to measure Black women's awareness of and personal experiences with both White and non-White individuals outside of their Black racial community, as well as their cognitive and emotional reactions to these experiences (Maddox & Gray, 2002).

Society Colorism. The Society Colorism subscale items were intended to assess Black women's awareness and beliefs about colorism as it occurs in society. This includes assessing Black women's self-perceptions of colorism experiences and messages encountered in media and social-political, judicial and educational systems, as well as their cognitive-emotional responses to society colorism.

Validation Concepts

There are no obvious criteria for exploring validity of contextual colorism experiences or responses. Therefore, construct validity analyses were the primary methodology used to generate PCS subscales and to obtain evidence regarding the PCS

once subscales were developed. *Construct validity* is defined as the degree to which a test measures what it is intended to measure. As a specific form of construct validity, *convergent validity* evidence verifies that a test that is intended to measure a particular construct will produce results similar to those of a different test that theoretically measures the same or a related construct.

In the current study, the constructs that were examined included the four types of perceived colorism (i.e. Family Colorism, Racial In-Group Colorism, Racial Out-Group Colorism and Society Colorism). Convergent validity evidence was examined by assessing relationships between each of the identified Perceived Colorism Scale subscale scores and scores on a measure of internalized colorism (In Group Colorism Scale; Harvey et al., 2013; Harvey et al., 2017). Additional construct validity evidence was examined by assessing relationships between each of the Perceived Colorism Scale subscales and measures of racial identity (Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale; Helms, 1990, 1993, 1995) and self-esteem (Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale; Rosenberg, 1977).

Internalized Colorism

Colorism as conceptualized in the current study includes messages, attitudes and experiences related to skin color that may be internalized. To assess the relationship between perceived colorism and internalized colorism, relationships between scores on Harvey et al.'s (2017) In-Group Colorism Scale and the Perceived Colorism Scale were assessed in order to support convergent validity evidence. Specifically, convergent validity evidence was investigated by significant positive relationships between scores on each of the PCS subscales and scores on each of the In-Group Colorism subscales. Descriptions of these measures can be found in Table 5, which includes an overview of

the measures used in the current study.

Racial Identity

Some theoretical literature suggests that racial identity is potentially related to colorism such that individuals may differentially perceive and/or be differentially affected by colorism depending on their racial identity attitudes (Coard et al., 2001; Hargrove, 1999; Harvey et al., 2017; Helms et al., 2014; Robinson. 1992). Black women's personal accounts of colorism seemed to parallel the Black racial identity developmental process with respect to how Black women potentially evolved in their interpretation of racial information (Duke, 2015; Duke & Berry, 2012; Helms, 1990, 1993, 1995).

For the purposes of the current study, racial identity was used to evaluate construct validity evidence pertaining to the Perceived Colorism Scale. Racial identity was measured using the Black Racial Identity Scale (BRIAS-L, Helms 1995; Table 2). Racial identity, as defined by this model, includes four types of attitudes that describe how individuals interpret, respond to, and incorporate racial information. Construct validity was investigated by examining relationships between scores on each of the PCS subscales and scores on each of the BRIAS subscales. It was hypothesized that some racial identity attitudes (i.e., Preencounter and Post-Encounter) as measured by the BRIAS would be negatively related to perceived colorism as measured by the PCS, while other racial identity attitudes (i.e. Immersion/Emersion and Internalization) would be positively related.

Self-Esteem

Although no previous empirical studies were located prior to this study that

examined the relationships between self-perceived contextual colorism experiences and Black women's self-esteem, studies have examined relationships between existing colorism-related measures, such as internalized colorism, skin-color satisfaction and perceived skin color, and self-esteem (Coard et al., 2001; Hall, 2003, Robinson 1992, Harvey et al., 2017). Some studies have supported significant inverse relationships between internalized colorism (Harvey et al., 2017) and self-perceived skin color (Hall, 2003) and self-esteem, such that higher levels of perceived colorism and darker skin-color shade were related to low self-esteem. Moreover, Robinson's (1992) study found significant positive relationships between skin-color satisfaction and self-esteem.

Furthermore, most research that has examined skin-color perceptions and self-image has treated colorism as a potential influence on Black women's views of their skin color and in turn their sense of self and self-worth (i.e., Hall, 2003; Robinson, 1992). Therefore, in the current study *self-esteem,* as measured by the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1977; Table 2), was defined as a woman's attitudes of approval or disapproval toward herself and perceptions of her self-worth. It was hypothesized that self-esteem as measured by the RSE would be inversely related to perceived colorism as measured by the PCS.

Validity Hypotheses

All of the hypotheses were premised on the expectation that the proposed PCS subscales would be supported in the scale development process. Acknowledging theoretical and empirical literature concerning Black women's colorism experiences across multiple social contexts and the potential relationships between perceived colorism

and internalized colorism ideology, racial identity, and self-esteem, the following validity hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 1: Scores on each of the Perceived Colorism Scale (PCS) Experiences and Responses subscales (i.e., Family, Racial-In Group, Racial Out-Group, and Society) will be significantly positively related to scores on the In-Group Colorism Scale (ICS) subscales, a measure of internalized colorism.

Perceived colorism, as proposed in the present study, appears to be conceptually related to internalized colorism as measured by Harvey et al. (2017). Greater awareness of and responses to colorism experiences and messages across a variety of contexts (i.e., family, racial in-group, racial out-group, and the socioeconomic system or society), as measured by the PCS subscales, will be significantly and positively related to internalized colorism as measured by the In-Group Colorism Scale subscales (ICS; Harvey et al., 2017). The five subscales of the ICS are (a) Self-Concept, (b) Impression Formation, (c) Affiliation, (d) Attraction, and (e) Upward Mobility. The Self-Concept subscale assesses the degree to which an individual bases their self-evaluations on their own skin-color shade. The Impression Formation subscale measures the extent to which an individual forms impressions about other Black individuals based on the shade of their skin color. The Affiliation subscale assesses the extent that an individual prefers to associate with others based on others' skin-color shade. The Attraction subscale measures the extent that an individual finds certain skin-color shades more attractive. Lastly, the Upward Mobility assesses the degree to which an individual believes that the success of Black individuals depends on the shade of Black individuals' skin color shade.

Hypothesis 2: Scores on each of the Perceived Colorism Scale (PCS) Experiences and Responses subscales will be significantly related to four subscales of the Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (BRIAS). Preencounter and Post-Encounter will be inversely related to the PCS subscales whereas Immersion/Emersion and Internalization will be positively related.

Greater awareness of and responses to colorism experiences and messages within one's family, racial in-group, and racial out-group, and society colorism will be related to lower levels of endorsement of racial identity attitudes reflecting conformity or confusion about racial norms (i.e., Preencounter and Post Encounter). PCS scales and subscales will be positively related to BRIAS (Helms, 1995) statuses signifying awareness of racism (i.e., Immersion-Emersion, Internalization). This hypothesis follows from Harvey et al.'s (2017) findings, which indicated a positive relationship between their internalized colorism measure and racial identity. These findings suggested that a greater degree of integrating one's race with one's self-identity was related to perceiving skin color as more important to one's identity and self-concept.

Hypothesis 3: Scores on each of the Perceived Colorism Scale (PCS) Experiences and Responses Subscales (i.e., Family, Racial-In Group, Racial Out-Group, Society) will be significantly and inversely related to scores on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE).

Theory and research pertaining to each of the four domains assessed by the PCS suggests that colorism experiences have negative effects on women's self-esteem regardless of the context in which they occur. Therefore, it is hypothesized that scores on

each of the PCS subscales will be significantly negatively related to scores on the RSE (Rosenberg, 1977).

Chapter 3

Method

Participants

Recruited participants (N = 299) were women, who identified as Black/African-American, were born in the US or had lived in the US since at least age 5 years, and were between the ages of 18 and 55 years old (M = 33.15, SD = 7.92). The initial sample comprised 303 participants. Two cases were omitted due to not meeting sample gender criteria. An additional two cases were omitted due to having a significant amount of missing data. A small number of participants (n = 19) identified as Black/African-American and a combination of one or more other racial backgrounds. They were included in the overall sample and analyses.

Participants' incomes ranged from less than $10,000 to $150,000 or more and they were highly educated with all but one participant identifying as having at least a high school degree and more than half of participants (60.2%) having an advanced degree. Table 2 provides a summary of the participants' self-reported demographic characteristics. Participants were recruited either online or through listservs of various social media, church/faith communities, and organizations that Black women are known to frequent. As an incentive for participation, participants were offered an opportunity to enter a raffle for one of four $25 Amazon gift cards.

Table 2

Summary of Participants' Self-Reported Demographic Characteristics ($N = 299$)

Category	Frequency	%
Income		
Less than $10,000	20	6.7
$10,000-$19,999	14	4.7
$20,000-$29,999	16	5.4
$30,000-$39,999	30	10.0
$40,000-$49,999	39	13.0
$50,000-$59,999	26	8.7
$60,000-$69,999	29	9.7
$70,000-$79,999	17	5.7
$80,000-$89,999	14	4.7
$90,000-$99,999	12	4.0
$100,000-$149,999	50	16.7
$150,000 or more	29	9.7
Level of Education		
Some High School	1	0.3
High School Graduate	2	0.7
Some College	25	8.4
Associates Degree	11	3.7
Bachelor's Degree	47	15.7
Some Graduate School	33	11.0
Advanced Degree	180	60.2

Development of Perceived Colorism Scale

The present study followed best practices for the scale development of the Perceived Colorism Scale (PCS; Dawis, 1987; Lewis & Neville, 2015; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). To begin this process, literature on Black women's colorism experiences was reviewed in order to develop an operational definition of colorism. Based on this literature review, central themes were constructed and translated into focus group questions, which a panel of colorism experts reviewed. Using the generated questions, focus groups with Black women participants were conducted. Content analyses of the focus group content were conducted in order to generate preliminary scale items. Information about the focus group study is provided in Appendix G. A pilot study with a small convenience sample of Black women ($N = 10$) was conducted to review the preliminary scale items in order to assess scale length, clarity, and appropriateness. Items were reviewed and edited based on their feedback prior to administering the items.

To assess the extent to which the four proposed colorism contexts (i.e., Family Colorism, Racial In-Group Colorism, Racial Out-Group Colorism, Society Colorism) were supported, the Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA) of the 98 items of the preliminary Perceived Colorism Scale was conducted in two phases. Principal components analyses were conducted to determine how many factors should be retained in subsequent factor analyses.

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to conducting the EFA, the PCS items were separated into two categories, colorism experiences and colorism responses. *Colorism experiences* refers to respondents' perceptions of having experienced colorism events in the four contexts.

Colorism responses indicates respondents' perceived cognitive-emotional reactions to colorism events. Item responses were organized, cleaned and examined for suitability for analysis. Suitability was determined by examining (a) sample size, (b) normality of the sample responses, (c) the possibility of outliers, and (d) multicollinearity and singularity of item responses. In addition, I examined the conditions for factorability of item responses.

Missing Data. Data were first checked for missing values using best practices as outlined by Tabachnick and Fidell (2001, 2007, 2013). A small amount of missing data existed. An analysis of missing variables (MVA) revealed that 97.4% of cases had no missing data. In addition, no item had more than 5% missing values. However, Little's (1988) missing completely at random (MCAR) analysis revealed a significant chi-square statistic, indicating that the data were not completely missing at random. Two cases were missing a significant amount of data due to not completing sets of items and I omitted them, which left 299 cases for subsequent analyses. An MVA was conducted with these two cases removed, and it indicated that the remaining missing data were MCAR. Therefore, these missing values were replaced by using personal imputation. This process involved replacing each case's missing values with the rounded average score of non-missing values for the relevant preliminary subscale items.

Item Frequencies. Once missing data were assessed and addressed, the preliminary scale item frequencies were examined by way of an item difficulty analysis, in order to determine if items could be eliminated due to low variability. Variability was assessed by calculating the item difficulty index (IDI), defined as the percentages of responses in the strongly agree, agree, and neutral categories in the colorism direction.

Items with an IDI greater than .20 and less than .90 were retained. Only one item ("My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel ashamed") did not meet this criterion and was therefore eliminated through this process. An additional four items assessing the influence of colorism on one's desire to maintain one's skin-color shade across different social contexts were eliminated due to a lack of clarity in the meaning and direction of responses to the item content. One item referred to family (i.e., "My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me want to maintain my current skin-color shade"). Two were community-related items (i.e., "My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me want to maintain my current skin-color shade;" "Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-:color shade have made me want to maintain my current skin-color shade"). One of the eliminated items pertained to society (i.e., "Society's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me want to maintain my current skin-color shade"). Overall, five items were eliminated from the initial 98 PCS items, leaving 93 items to be used for the subsequent factor analyses.

Normality and Outliers. To evaluate the assumption of normality, the Shapiro-Wilk statistic for PCS items was first examined. The Shapiro-Wilk test is designed to detect the degree that data depart from normality. A significant Shapiro-Wilk statistic indicates that data are potentially non-normal. For each PCS item, the Shapiro-Wilk statistic was significant, indicating that scores for each item was non-normal, or that this test was potentially sensitive given the larger sample size. Therefore, to further assess normality, shapes of histograms and skewness values for each item were examined.

Based on histograms, 85 of the 93 PCS items appeared to be normally distributed with eight items (four Experiences Items and four Responses Items) appearing to be negatively skewed. The boxplots of the eight negatively skewed items were examined in order to discover outliers. Boxplots indicated outliers for each of these items; however, closer examination of scores suggested that, given the small range of response options for each item (1-5), extreme scores were respondents who consistently responded strongly agree or strongly disagree to some of the eight items. Therefore, I decided not to adjust extreme scores for these items or transform skewed items overall, resulting in all 93 items being used for subsequent analyses. Once subscales were derived through factor analyses, each subscale was re-examined for assumptions of normality and outliers prior to the validity analyses.

Multicollinearity. Multicollinearity was assessed by examining the determinant of the correlation matrix and eigenvalues associated with derived factors. If eigenvalues approach zero, multicollinearity or singularity may be present (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). The smallest eigenvalues for both the PCS Experiences and PCS Responses FAs were not close to zero (>.01, Park, 2003). Therefore, multicollinearity was not identified as a threat to analysis of the item responses.

Factorability. To assess the factorability of data, correlation matrices among items were examined. Item matrices with several correlations that exceed .30 (9% of explained variance) are considered factorable. Several PCS item inter-correlations exceeded .30. Additionally, the Kaiser-Myer-Olkin (KMO) statistic and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity are additional indicators of sampling adequacy and factorability. KMO statistics that are greater than .60 and Bartlett's tests that are significant indicate adequate

and factorable data. The Experiences and Responses items met the requirements of sampling adequacy and factorability with respective KMO statistics of .88 for Experiences and .91 for Responses and significant Bartlett's Tests of Sphericity (Experiences: approximate $\chi^2 = 4291.69$, $p < .001$; Responses: approximate $\chi^2 = 16166.60$, $p < .001$). Therefore, data met criterion to proceed with the factor analyses.

Exploratory Factor Analyses

Following the guidelines of Tabachnick and Fidell (2013), Principal Components Analyses (PCA) with orthogonal rotations were conducted for the 26 Experiences items and the 67 Response items separately in order to determine the number of factors to extract in the subsequent factor analyses. Once the number of factors to extract were identified, factor analyses with Principal Axis Factoring and orthogonal rotations and were conducted for both the Experiences and Responses scales.

Analysis of Perceived Colorism Experiences. The PCA for the 26 items comprising the Perceived Colorism Scale Experiences (PCSE) yielded five components with eigenvalues greater than 1.0. The scree plot confirmed that five components could be retained. All 26 items were retained because their component loadings on the first five components were larger than .40. Additionally, all five components had three or more items with significant loadings. Therefore, the PCA supported extraction of five factors for the subsequent PCS Experiences factor analysis.

Because the PCA supported the extraction of five factors, one more than my theory proposed, I conducted a principal axis factor analysis (PAF). The resulting five factors each had at least three items with significant coefficients of at least .40. One item was eliminated because it had no coefficient that reached the .40 criterion on any of the

factors (i.e., “In Society, I have received messages that there is a problem with my skin color shade…”). Another item (“In Society, I have experienced advantages and/or disadvantages because of my skin-color shade.”) was omitted due to having significant coefficients on more than one factor.

After additional PAFs in which the two previously described items were removed, four factors with good conceptual clarity and interpretability remained. The fifth factor, which had only two significant items, was not used to form a PCS subscale. The two items that constituted this factor posed dichotomies (e.g., “In society, I have received positive and/or negative messages…”). Hence, 22 items across four factors were interpreted for the PCS Experiences subscales. The results of the PAF are summarized in Table 3.

Factor 1, *Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences*, was interpreted and named on the basis of items that represented perceived experiences of *colorism* with individuals outside of one’s racial community. Positive coefficients indicate an endorsement of perceived colorism experiences outside of one’s racial community. It consisted of six items with coefficients ranging from .64 to .83 and accounted for the largest amount (31%) of the variance in perceived colorism experiences. All six items were positively related. The largest coefficient (.83) suggested the importance of being labeled by non-racial community members as a salient colorism experience. None of the six items loaded significantly on the other factors.

Factor 2, *Family Colorism Experiences*, was interpreted and named because items represented perceived experiences of colorism with family members. Positive coefficients indicate a higher endorsement of perceived colorism experiences within one’s family.

The factor consisted of seven items with coefficients ranging from .59 to .78. It accounted for 15% of the variance in perceived colorism experiences. All seven items were positively related. Similar to racial out-group colorism experiences, the largest coefficient (.78) indicated that being labeled by family members was the strongest colorism experience. None of the seven items loaded significantly on the other factors.

Factor 3, *Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences*, contained items that represented the women's perceived experiences of colorism with individuals within their racial communities. Positive coefficients indicate a higher endorsement of such experiences. The factor consisted of six items with coefficients ranging from .61 to .82. It accounted for 10% of the variance in perceived colorism experiences. All six items were positively related and none of them loaded significantly on the other factors. Similar to both racial out-group and family colorism experiences, the largest or defining coefficient (.82) was being labeled by racial community members.

Lastly, Factor 4, *Society Colorism Experiences*, describes perceived colorism experiences as self-acknowledged barriers in society. Positive coefficients indicate higher endorsement of such experiences. The factor consisted of three positively interrelated items with coefficients ranging from .66 to.79. It accounted for 6% of the variance in perceived colorism experiences. The largest coefficient (.79) indicated that women's viewing their skin-color shade as a barrier to educational opportunities was a salient colorism experience. None of the three items loaded significantly on the other factors.

In sum, the factor analyses of perceived colorism experiences or events that the women believed happened to them revealed all four of the hypothesized contextual

factors, (Racial Out-Group, Family Colorism Experiences, Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences and Society Colorism Experiences). Being labeled because of their skin-color shade was the strongest experience for all four contexts.

Analyses of Perceived Colorism Responses. The PCA for the 67 items comprising the Perceived Colorism Scale Responses (PCSR) yielded 12 components with eigenvalues greater than 1.0. In addition, the scree plot suggested that 12 components should be retained. However, a parallel analysis of random data indicated that the eigenvalues of seven components exceeded the values of the random-data components. Moreover, the items' coefficients on the first seven components were larger than .40. Therefore, all 67 items were analyzed in the subsequent principal axis factor analysis (PAF) of the women's perceived colorism responses.

As suggested by the previously described preliminary analyses, a seven-factor PAF solution with orthogonal rotation was examined. Initially, all seven factors had at least three items with significant minimum coefficients of .40. However, one item (i.e. "My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have influenced how I think about my skin-color shade") was deleted due to not meeting the minimum coefficient criteria. Another 12 items were not interpreted further for scale development because they had significant correlations on more than one factor. Most of these items may have reflected positive reactions to the item content by some women and negative reactions by others. The remaining items that comprised seven factors indicated by the PAF analysis were associated with good conceptual clarity and interpretability. Therefore, 54 items across seven factors were interpreted for the PCS Responses items. The results of the PAF are summarized in Table 4.

Factor 1, *Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism Responses*, consisted of 16 items with coefficients ranging from .46 to .79. It accounted for 29% of the variance in perceived colorism responses. All 16 items were positively interrelated and none of them had significant coefficients on the other factors. Interpretation of this factor suggests that women responded similarly to colorism experienced outside of their racial community and in society generally. Positive coefficients indicate stronger cognitive-emotional responses to such experiences. In general, the factor indicated the same angry, sad, and hurtful reactions in both contexts as indicated by the largest coefficient (.79), "feeling hurt," as an emotional response to societal reactions to the women's skin-color shade.

Factor 2, *Family Colorism Responses*, consisted of 11 positively interrelated items whose coefficients ranged from .52 to .84. The factor accounted for 11% of the variance in perceived colorism responses and it indicates women's reactions to colorism events in their families. Generally, the same types of colorism reactions (e.g., sadness, hurt, invalidation) occurred in response to family as did for racial out-group/society colorism (Factor 1). The largest coefficient (.84) was "feeling sad" as a salient emotional response to colorism experiences within one's family.

Seven positively interrelated and one negative item characterized Factor 3, *Racial In-Group Colorism Responses*. Its coefficients ranged from -.44 to .74 and none of the eight items significantly correlated with the other factors. Factor 3 accounted for 7% of the variance in perceived colorism responses. Similar to family colorism responses, the largest coefficient (.74) indicated feeling sad as a salient emotional response to skin-color related experiences within one's racial community, whereas the factor's items generally revealed feelings of hurt, anger, and damage to the women's self-image.

Factor 4, *Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses*, consisted of nine positively related items with coefficients, ranging from .58 to .77, and accounting for 5% of the inter-item variance in perceived colorism responses. The items defining this factor represented positive and resilient responses to skin-color related experiences in every context except for the family context. The largest coefficient (.77) indicated that "feeling encouraged" was a salient emotional response to society's reactions to skin-color shade. Feeling encouraged was also reflected in higher coefficients for both racial in-group and out-group members' reactions to skin-color shade.

With a general theme of skin-color shade dissatisfaction, Factor 5, *Negative Colorism Self-Concept*, consisted of four positively interrelated items with coefficients ranging from .67 to .71. The factor accounted for 4% of the variance in perceived colorism responses and none of the four items had significant coefficients on other factors. The largest coefficient (.71) reflected wanting to change one's skin-color shade in response to colorism events involving non-racial community members.

Factor 6, *Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness*, consisted of three items with coefficients ranging from .56 to .62. The items were positively interrelated, unique to Factor 6, and accounted for 3% of the variance in perceived colorism responses. This factor's name and interpretation refer to items that represent negative influences of colorism on women's understanding of their skin-color shade and physical self-image specifically within their racial community and society. For example, the largest coefficients (both .62) indicated that women felt more or less attractive in response to racial community colorism experiences and believed that society's actions had influenced their thoughts about their skin-color shade.

With a general theme of positive self-regard, Factor 7, *Positive Family Colorism Responses*, consisted of three items with coefficients ranging from .52 to .68. It accounted for 3% of the variance in perceived colorism responses. All three items were positively related. The largest coefficient (.68) indicated feeling encouraged as a strongly positive emotional response to skin-color related experiences with family members.

In sum, of the seven response or reaction factors, three were indicative of negative feelings or cognitions occurring in each of the four proposed contexts (family, racial in-group and racial out-group/society). The first and most important factor integrated negative feelings across two of the proposed contexts (racial out-group and society) and it may reflect systemic colorism reactions. The remaining four factors primarily described diverse self-concept cognitive and emotional reactions that I had not initially hypothesized. These four factors appeared to group colorism responses based on the type of colorism responses (i.e. impact on self-concept) compared to the contexts in which colorism is being responded to (i.e. family, racial in-group, or racial out-group/society).

General Summary

Overall, results of the factor analyses were consistent with my theoretical framework of perceived contextual colorism that I used as the basis for development of the Perceived Colorism Scale. For Colorism Experiences, the number and type of factors derived from the analysis were consistent with my theoretical expectations. However, for Colorism Responses, some of the factors (i.e., the first three) conformed to the theoretical framework initially proposed, but additional factors were generated that were not initially expected.

Both factor analyses revealed which colorism contexts were more important for the current study sample in terms of the amount of variance explained. For Colorism Experiences or encounters that the women experienced, racial out-group and family contexts were the most salient colorism contexts for participants. For Colorism Responses or reactions to one's colorism experiences, the combination of racial out-group and society contexts was collectively most relevant to participants' cognitive-emotional responses to colorism. Similar to colorism experiences, the family context was also relatively salient for colorism responses.

Table 3

Summary of PCS Experiences Subscales and Factor Loadings from Principal Axis Factoring with Orthogonal Rotation

($N = 299$)

Item	Factor Loading 1	2	3	4	5
Factor 1: Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences					
…treated differently because of my skin-color shade.	**.71**	.11	.11	.15	.23
…had comments or jokes made about my skin-color shade.	**.75**	.16	.14	.19	.15
…labeled because of my skin-color shade.	**.83**	.13	.07	.22	.08
…had positive and/or negative stereotypes associated with my skin-color shade.	**.79**	-.03	.14	.10	.18
…told I am advantaged and/or disadvantaged because of my skin-color shade.	**.70**	.19	.11	.11	.05
…told there was a problem with my skin-color shade.	**.64**	.20	.16	.27	-.03
Factor 2: Family Colorism Experiences					
…treated differently because of my skin-color shade.	.06	**.73**	.07	.04	.03
…had comments or jokes made about my skin-color shade.	.08	**.76**	.25	-.03	.07
… labeled because of my skin-color shade.	.07	**.78**	.14	.06	.00
… had positive and/or negative stereotypes associated with my skin-color shade.	.17	**.66**	.16	-.01	.18
… told I am advantaged and/or disadvantaged because of my skin-color shade.	.07	**.59**	.20	.06	.12
… told there was a problem with my skin-color shade.	.11	**.73**	.19	.08	-.05
… told to do things like “stay out of the sun” or “stay in the sun”.	.15	**.59**	.18	.03	-.20
Factor 3: Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences					
… treated differently because of my skin-color shade	.10	.19	**.80**	.02	.11
… had comments or jokes made about my skin-color shade.	.10	.21	**.80**	-.01	.08
… labeled because of my skin-color shade.	.06	.25	**.82**	-.04	.01
… had positive and/or negative stereotypes associated with my skin-color shade.	.07	.16	**.71**	-.08	.19
… told I am advantaged and/or disadvantaged because of my skin-color shade.	.20	.13	**.61**	.03	.17
… told there was a problem with my skin-color shade.	.20	.28	**.70**	.11	-.07
Factor 4: Society Colorism					
… my skin color shade was a barrier to educational opportunities.	.16	.04	.02	**.79**	.08
… my skin color shade was a barrier to obtaining job offers or job promotions.	.33	.05	-.06	**.71**	.12
…my skin color shade was a barrier to receiving fair judicial/criminal processes.	.23	.04	-.07	**.66**	.19
Factor 5: Society Colorism Dichotomies					
…had positive and/or negative stereotypes associated with my skin-color shade.	.24	.04	.18	.20	**.63**
…received positive and/or negative messages from media and social media…	.17	.02	.14	.20	**.65**
Eigenvalue	7.72	3.87	2.39	1.59	1.15
Percentage of variance	30.86	15.49	9.55	6.34	4.61
Total variance	66.85				

Table 4

Summary of PCS Responses Subscales and Factor Loadings from Principal Axis Factoring with Orthogonal Rotation

($N = 299$)

Item	Factor Loading 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Factor 1: Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism Responses							
Racial Out-Group reactions…influenced how I think about my skin-color shade.	**.46**	.13	.16	.17	.30	.35	-.04
…My skin-color experiences are not real or important.	**.56**	.07	.08	-.02	.16	.12	-.04
…made me feel more or less included.	**.66**	.05	-.02	-.02	.04	.23	.08
…made me feel more or less attractive.	**.57**	.13	.02	.03	.23	.38	.06
…made me feel hurt.	**.77**	.08	.09	-.01	.12	.09	.03
…made me feel confused.	**.67**	.08	.15	.09	.11	-.03	-.08
…made me feel anxious.	**.76**	.14	.05	.12	.04	.00	-.05
…made me feel sad.	**.76**	.13	.14	-.09	.16	-.08	-.02
…made me feel angry.	**.70**	.14	.08	-.03	-.02	.06	.15
*…made me feel ashamed.	**.57**	.20	.25	-.01	**.52**	.00	-.02
Society's reactions… my skin-color experiences are not real or important.	**.52**	.12	-.01	.04	.16	.13	-.01
…made me feel more or less included.	**.61**	.10	.09	-.01	.04	.28	.14
…have made me feel hurt.	**.79**	.14	.17	-.08	.09	.07	.06
…have made me feel confused.	**.70**	.11	.20	.10	.12	.03	-.08
…have made me feel anxious.	**.72**	.14	.11	.06	.12	-.01	.02
…have made me feel sad.	**.76**	.10	.17	-.04	.15	-.01	.09
…have made me feel angry.	**.75**	.12	.12	-.06	.01	.05	.20
*…negatively influenced my self-image.	**.57**	.08	.16	.02	**.47**	.24	-.04
*…made me feel more or less attractive.	**.47**	.01	.07	.00	.15	**.49**	.03
*…made me feel ashamed.	**.58**	.16	.20	-.04	**.47**	.02	.00
*My Racial Community's reactions…negatively influenced my self-image.	**.56**	.16	.17	.03	**.47**	.20	-.06
Factor 2: Family Colorism Responses							
My family's reactions…negatively influenced my self-image.	.16	**.71**	.12	-.10	.17	.07	-.18
…Made me wish I were a different skin-color shade.	.16	**.72**	.09	-.08	.28	.10	-.09
…made me want to change my current skin-color shade.	.12	**.64**	.04	-.08	.31	.08	-.13
…feel like my skin-color experiences are not real or important.	.08	**.52**	.09	.02	.07	-.03	-.23
…made me feel more or less included.	.12	**.59**	.07	-.03	.04	.08	.21
…made me feel more or less attractive.	.08	**.55**	-.02	-.08	.03	.22	.22
…made me feel hurt.	.15	**.81**	.22	.01	.05	.04	-.15
…made me feel confused.	.20	**.71**	.22	.03	.08	.07	-.18
…made me feel anxious.	.23	**.74**	.17	.02	.15	-.00	-.07
…made me feel sad.	.17	**.84**	.24	.04	.08	.01	-.09
…made me feel angry.	.14	**.78**	.27	-.02	.10	.03	-.10
*…feel comfortable.	.05	**-.41**	-.20	.25	-.02	-.02	**.60**

Table 4 Continued

Factor 3: Racial In-Group Colorism Responses							
Racial Community…positively influenced my self-image.	.03	-.05	**-.44**	.35	-.12	.26	.15
…negatively influenced my self-image.	.21	.25	**.63**	-.07	.34	.21	-.09
…feel like my skin-color experiences are not real or important.	.15	.21	**.44**	.09	.11	.13	-.24
…made me feel hurt.	.23	.21	**.73**	-.01	.18	.23	.01
…made me feel confused.	.27	.24	**.59**	.05	.06	.14	-.21
…made me feel anxious.	.29	.28	**.62**	.04	.12	.11	-.07
…made me feel sad.	.32	.21	**.74**	-.04	.18	.10	.09
…made me feel angry.	.28	.20	**.69**	-.06	.11	.17	.08
*…wish I were a different skin-color shade.	.17	.31	**.50**	-.08	**.51**	.16	-.06
* …want to change my skin-color shade.	.10	.20	**.43**	-.09	**.54**	.13	-.07
*…made me feel more or less included.	.22	.18	**.43**	.05	.19	**.46**	-.02
*…made me feel ashamed.	.21	.27	**.55**	-.06	**.44**	.19	-.06
*…made me feel happy.	.10	.02	**-.43**	**.47**	-.01	.11	.16
*…made me feel comfortable.	-.00	-.02	**-.56**	**.48**	-.01	.02	.19
Factor 4: Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses							
My Racial Community's reactions…made me feel encouraged.	.16	-.01	-.32	**.58**	-.02	.02	.21
*…made me feel happy.	.10	.02	**-.43**	**.47**	-.01	.11	.16
*…made me feel comfortable.	-.00	-.02	**-.56**	**.48**	-.01	.02	.19
Outside of my racial community… positively influenced my self-image.	.03	-.01	-.01	**.61**	-.09	.15	.02
…made me feel happy.	.11	-.02	-.01	**.64**	.05	-.14	.16
…made me feel encouraged.	.08	-.04	.02	**.70**	.04	-.18	.06
…made me feel comfortable.	-.15	-.05	.09	**.68**	.05	-.05	.04
Society's reactions…positively influenced my self-image.	-.06	-.03	-.08	**.59**	-.12	.27	-.08
…made me feel happy.	.04	-.06	.01	**.70**	.01	.07	.03
…made me feel encouraged.	.05	-.00	-.02	**.77**	-.01	.01	.01
…made me feel comfortable.	-.20	.03	.02	**.69**	-.07	.05	.04
Factor 5: Negative Colorism Self-Concept							
Outside of my racial community…wish I were a different skin-color shade.	.39	.26	.17	-.04	**.67**	.14	-.10
…want to change my current skin-color shade.	.34	.23	.15	-.04	**.71**	.12	-.10
Society's reactions…wish I were a different skin-color shade.	.34	.18	.17	-.04	**.70**	.20	-.07
…want to change my current skin-color shade.	.31	.14	.16	-.05	**.69**	.15	-.09
*…negatively influenced my self-image.	**.57**	.08	.16	.02	**.47**	.24	-.04
*…made me feel ashamed.	**.58**	.16	.20	-.04	**.47**	.02	.00
*My Racial Community's reactions…wish I were a different skin-color shade.	.17	.31	**.50**	-.08	**.51**	.16	-.06
*…want to change my skin-color shade.	.10	.20	**.43**	-.09	**.54**	.13	-.07
*…made me feel ashamed.	.21	.27	**.55**	-.06	**.44**	.19	-.06
*…negatively influenced my self-image.	**.56**	.16	.17	.03	**.47**	.20	-.06
*…made me feel ashamed.	**.57**	.20	.25	-.01	**.52**	.00	-.02

Table 4 Continued

Factor 6: Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness							
My Racial Community's…influenced how I think about my skin-color shade	.13	.20	.24	.08	.16	**.56**	-.03
…made me feel more or less attractive.	.12	.09	.28	.05	.18	**.62**	-.05
*…made me feel more or less included.	.22	.18	**.43**	.05	.19	**.46**	-.02
Society's … influenced how I think about my skin-color shade.	.33	.09	.13	.11	.28	**.62**	-.02
*…made me feel more or less attractive.	**.47**	.01	.07	.00	.15	**.49**	.03
Factor 7: Positive Family Colorism Responses							
My family's reactions …positively influenced my self-image.	.11	-.22	-.14	.11	-.26	.08	**.52**
…made me feel happy.	.10	-.22	-.15	.31	-.06	-.07	**.66**
…made me feel encouraged.	.13	-.16	-.11	.35	-.07	-.15	**.68**
*…feel comfortable.	.05	**-.41**	-.20	.25	-.02	-.02	**.60**
Eigenvalue	19.13	7.24	4.73	3.40	2.44	2.27	1.81
Percentage of variance	28.56	10.80	7.06	5.07	3.64	3.39	2.71
Total variance	61.22						

Note. * = items that were not used to form PCS subscales

Measures

Measures used in this study were (a) a Demographic Questionnaire, (b) Perceived Colorism Scale (PCS), (c) Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (BRIAS-L; Helms, 1995), (d) In Group Colorism Scale (ICS; Harvey et al., 2017), (e) Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1977) and (f) Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form C (Crowne & Marlow, 1960; Reynolds, 1982; Table 5). Descriptive statistics and reliability data pertaining to the present study's measures are summarized in Table 6.

Demographic Questionnaire. This questionnaire was developed for the current study in order to gather demographic information about participants' contextual backgrounds, racial and ethnic heritages, and skin color contexts. Given the importance of understanding context in the current study, this information was used to further contextualize participants and their responses, as well as to assess the potential influence of sociocultural and skin-color factors in the assessment and validation of the developed colorism measure. The demographic questionnaire used a multiple-choice format to gather descriptive information about participants. Participants were asked to report their racial and ethnic backgrounds and perceived skin-color shade, their parents' racial and ethnic backgrounds and their perception of their parents' skin-color shades, their income range, age, sex/gender, the highest degree completed, relationship status and current occupation (Appendix A).

Perceived Colorism Scale (PCS). The PCS was initially developed to assess Black women's perceptions of and responses to colorism encounters and messages in multiple social contexts, including among relationships with (a) family members, (b) people in and (c) outside of the women's racial group, and (d) from institutions in the broader society. The Perceived Colorism Scale consisted of two scales, Experiences and

Responses. To develop the PCS Experiences and Responses subscales, items were combined based on the factors derived from the previously described factor analyses. The Perceived Colorism Scale Experiences assesses respondents' recollection of specific colorism experiences or messages in identified social contexts. The Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences subscale (6 items) assesses perceived experiences of colorism with individuals outside of one's racial community (e.g. "Outside of my racial community, I have been treated differently because of my skin-color shade"). The Family Colorism Experiences subscale (7 items) assesses perceived experiences of colorism with family members (e.g. "Within my family, I have been told I am advantaged and/or disadvantaged because of my skin-color shade"). The Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences subscale (6 items) assesses perceived experiences of colorism with individuals within of one's racial community (e.g. "Within my Racial Community, I have had comments or jokes made about my skin-color shade"). Lastly, the Society Colorism Experiences subscale (3 items) assesses perceived barriers based in colorism in society (e.g. "In Society, I have felt like my skin color shade was a barrier to obtaining job offers or job promotions").

Participants provided item responses on Likert-type scales, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). High scores on each subscale indicate greater degrees of the perceived experiences of colorism. For PCS Experiences, Cronbach alpha coefficients for item responses of the four subscales in the current study were as follows: .90 (Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences), .88 (Family Colorism Experiences), .90 (Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences), and .82 (Society Colorism Experiences).

The Perceived Colorism Scale Responses assesses cognitive-emotional responses including respondents' perceptions of how colorism experiences or messages have influenced how they think about and view themselves and their skin color, and how these experiences and messages have made them feel. The Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism Responses subscale (16 items) assesses responses to colorism experienced both with individuals outside of one's racial community and in society (e.g. "Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have influenced how I think about my skin-color shade"). The Family Colorism Responses subscale (11 items) assesses responses to colorism experienced within an individual's family context (e.g., "My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me wish I were a different skin-color shade"). The Racial In-Group Colorism Responses subscale (8 items) assesses responses to colorism experienced with individuals within one's racial community (e.g., "My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel sad").

Additionally, the Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses subscale (9 items) assesses positive and resilient responses to colorism experienced in racial in- and out-group and society contexts (e.g., "Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have positively influenced my self-image"). The Negative Colorism Self-Concept subscale (4 items) assesses the negative influence of colorism on self-concept within racial out-group and society contexts (e.g. "Society's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me want to change my current skin-color shade"). The Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness subscale (3 items) assesses the influence of colorism, specifically within one's racial community and in society, on how one views their skin-color shade and attractiveness (e.g. "My Racial Community's reactions to my

skin-color shade have made me feel more or less attractive"). Finally, the Positive Family Colorism Responses subscale (3 items) assesses positive and resilient responses to colorism experienced in the family context (e.g., "My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel encouraged").

Participants' responses were provided on Likert-type scales, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). High scores on each subscale indicate greater degrees of cognitive-emotional reactions to perceived colorism within a given social context(s). In the current study, the Responses subscales indicated acceptable reliability estimates. For PCS Responses, Cronbach alpha coefficients for item responses of the seven subscales in the current study were as follows: .94 (Racial Out-Group Colorism Responses), .93 (Family Colorism Responses), .89 (Racial In-Group Colorism Responses), .88 (Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses), .92 (Negative Colorism Self-Concept), .77 (Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness), .78 (Positive Family Colorism Responses). These subscales were used in the subsequent validity analyses. Preliminary PCS items can be found in Appendix B. The factor-derived PCS is provided in Appendix I.

Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (BRIAS; Helms, 1995). The BRIAS was used in the current study as a measure of racial identity to investigate construct validity evidence. The BRIAS is a 60-item self-report measure with four subscales designed to assess all four racial identity schemas comprising the Black racial identity model (Helms, 1990; 1995). Participants' responses were provided on Likert-type scales, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Several versions of the BRIAS have been used to investigate the racial identity attitudes of samples of Black women as previously

discussed (e.g. Coard et al., 2001; Hall, 2003; Helms et al., 2014; Robison, 1992). Some studies have reported Cronbach alpha internal consistency reliability coefficients for previous versions of BRIAS subscales with coefficients ranging from low (.49) to moderate (.76; Hargrove, 1999; Robison, 1992). In a more recent study, Helms, Canada, Paler, Yi, and Williams (2014) reported Cronbach alpha coefficients of .63 (Preencounter), .42 (Encounter), .72 (Immersion/Emersion), and .54 (Internalization) for a sample of Black college women. Cronbach's alpha coefficients for item responses of the four subscales in the current study were as follows: .73 (Pre-Encounter), .72 (Encounter), .85 (Immersion/Emersion) and .60 (Internalization), which were moderate to high. Although in other studies, Cronbach alpha coefficients have varied from low to moderate, the current *Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing* (2014) indicate that if there is evidence of validity of scale scores for an intended purpose, then reliability must be presumed.

Furthermore, as previously discussed in the literature review, studies have also provided some evidence for the use of the BRIAS for understanding Black women's race- and skin color-related self-images (Coard et al., 2001; Hall, 2003; Helms et al., 2014; Robison, 1992). For example, the results of Coard et al.'s (2001) study revealed a significant positive relationship between Black women's desire to change their skin color and Encounter attitudes. Similarly, their results revealed that a darker skin-ideal was also related to higher Encounter attitudes. Results of their study indicate that certain racial identity attitudes may be related to Black women's views of their skin color. Given the significant relationship between their measurement of colorism and aspects of racial identity as measured by the BRIAS, these results supported the use of the BRIAS to

examine construct validity evidence for the PCS in the present study. This measure is provided in Appendix C.

In-Group Colorism Scale (ICS; Harvey et al., 2017). The five subscales of the ICS were used in the current study as measures of internalized colorism to investigate convergent validity evidence. The In-Group Colorism Scale is a recently developed measure that assesses colorism ideology, defined as the degree to which people assign significance and meaning to variations in skin-color shade variation in their own community of Color. One of the five subscales pertains to self-concept, another subscale pertains to perceptions of society's reactions to skin-color, and three subscales assess one's own skin-color shade biases.

The Self-Concept subscale (4 items) assesses the degree to which respondents based their self-conceptions on their skin tone (e.g., "My skin tone is an important part of my self-concept"). The Upward Mobility subscale (4 items) assesses the degree to which respondents believe that the upward mobility of Black Americans depends on their skin tone (e.g., "Skin tone plays a big part in determining how far you can make it"). The Impression Formation subscale (4 items) assesses the degree to which respondents form impressions of other Black Americans based on their skin tone (e.g., "You can tell a lot about a person by their skin tone"). The Attraction subscale (4 items) assesses the degree to which respondents find certain skin tones more romantically attractive than others (e.g. "I prefer light skin over dark complexion skin when choosing romantic interests). Lastly, the Affiliation subscale (4 items) assesses the degree to which respondents prefer to have friendships and associates with certain skin tones (e.g., "I usually choose who I'm going to be friends with by their skin tone"). Participants' responses were rated on Likert-type

scales, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree).

In their scale development study of Black women and men (N = 383), Harvey et al. (2017) reported the following coefficient alphas for their measure subscales: .87 (Self-Concept), .73 (Impression Formation), .90 (Upward Mobility), .81 (Attraction) and .80 (Affiliation). In a second study, Harvey et al. (2017) found similar alpha coefficients for the five ICS subscales: .85 (Self-Concept), .77 (Impression Formation), .82 (Upward Mobility), .81 (Attraction) and .91 (Affiliation). In the present study, Cronbach alpha coefficients for item responses of the five subscales were as follows: .88 (Self-Concept), .68 (Impression Formation), .86 (Upward Mobility), .68 (Attraction), and .71 (Affiliation).

In the only construct validity study of the In-Group Colorism Scale to date, Harvey et al. (2017) examined relationships between subscales and racial identity (i.e., racial socialization, racial centrality, and racial private regard) and self-esteem as evidence of validity. Results of their study revealed significant correlations in varying directions between racial identity subscales and the ICS. Of the relevant correlational relationships, results indicated that the more central race was to respondents' self-identity, the more they reported that their skin-color shade was important for their sense of self-concept but less important for forming impressions of, their attraction to, and affiliation with other Black individuals. The ICS can be found in Appendix D.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE; Rosenberg, 1965). The RSE was used in the current study as a measure of self-esteem to investigate construct validity evidence. Previous literature suggests that higher levels of perceived colorism should be related to lower self-esteem. The RSE is a 10-item measure that assesses *global self-esteem*,

defined as an individual's attitudes of approval or disapproval toward herself and perceptions of her self-worth. In the present study, one item was accidentally omitted from the scale due to researcher error. In order to assess the potential effects of this error, the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula was used in order to examine discrepancies between the predicted reliability estimate of the RSE if 10 items were used and the actual reliability estimate with the nine items used in the present study. Results of this analysis revealed no significant differences between the predicted 10-item reliability estimate (r_{xx} = .87) and the obtained reliability coefficient for the nine-item RSE used in the present study (r_{xx} = .86). Therefore, in the present study, the RSE consisted of nine items. Participants' responses were provided on Likert-type scales, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree).

A small number of studies have provided evidence of Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients ranging from .74 to .91 in samples of Black women. In mixed gender samples, Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey (1999) reported a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .83. Harvey et al. (2005, 2017) reported successive coefficient alphas of .74 and .91, and Robinson (1992) reported a coefficient alpha of .82 for Black women's scores on the RSE. In the present study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient was .86 for the RSE item responses. Thus, the reliability coefficients obtained in the present study were consistent with previous studies.

In their study of Black women and men, Harvey et al. (2005) found significant positive relationships between self-perceived skin-color shade and self-esteem as did Robinson (1992) who studied skin-color satisfaction and self-esteem in a sample of Black women and men. In their construct validity study of Black women and men,

Harvey et al. (2017) found a significant negative correlation between scores on their colorism measure and self-esteem as measured by the RSE, indicating that higher levels of internalized colorism were related to lower levels of self-esteem. Thus, previous studies have provided some evidence of the reliability and validity of scores on the RSE for assessing self-esteem of Black women. Therefore, the RSE was used in the current study to examine construct validity evidence. The RSE is provided in Appendix E.

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form C (M-C Form C; Crowne & Marlow, 1960; Reynolds, 1982). The M-C Form C is a 13-item short form of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale developed to assess the impact of social desirability on self-report measures used in empirical research. Although this measure is typically rated on a two-point T-F scale, in the present study, responses to items (e.g., I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way") were rated on 5-point Likert-type scales, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Points assigned to individual items were summed to create an overall scale score, and high scores reflected respondents' strong concerns about social approval and avoidance of disapproval. In a study assessing the reliability and validity evidence for various short forms of the M-C, Reynolds (1982) found that his version had the strongest psychometric evidence based on Kuder-Richardson reliability estimates ($r_{KR\text{-}20} = .76$). In the present study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient for item responses of the SDS was .73. The SDS is provided in Appendix F.

In Reynolds's (1982) study, convergent validity evidence was examined via correlations between the M-C Short Form C and the original M-C and supported significant positive relationships between scores on the short form C and the original M-

C (r = .93, p < .001). Arroyo and Zigler (1995) used a version of the M-C in a scale development study involving a race-related construct. They studied relationships between SDS scores and African American youths' (n=243) scores on their measure of adaptation to White environments (i.e., "racelessness") and found that responses to their scale were not related to youths' desires to respond in a socially desirable manner.

Procedures

Prior to sample recruitment, the Boston College Institutional Review Board approved the study. Measures used in the current study were administered as an online survey. The measures in the online survey were administered in the following order: (a) informed consent form; (b) demographics questionnaire; (c) preliminary Perceived Colorism Scale; (d) Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale; (e) In-Group Colorism Scale; (f) Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale; and (g) Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. A link to the survey and study description were created and posted on social media websites (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram), and community online forums (e.g., Craig's List). In addition, the link and study information were distributed via listservs of agencies serving Black women in various cities in the United States (e.g., community organizations, sororities, churches, blogs).

After following the survey link to the website hosting the survey, Qualtrics, participants were directed to the informed consent document outlining the purpose of the study and risks, benefits, and rights associated with participating in the study. The participants were also informed that they could enter a raffle for one of five $25 Target electronic gift cards for participating in the study. After consenting to participate in the study, participants had the option to be directed to a separate survey link, if they desired,

where they were able to provide their email address in order to participate in the raffle. For the purposes of maintaining anonymity, email addresses collected via the second survey link were not connected to participants' original survey responses and were stored in a separate Excel database not associated with participants' initial survey responses. A randomizer tool was used to randomly choose numbers associated with participants' provided email addresses in order to choose participants who received the $25 Target electronic gift cards. Once the raffle was complete, the winners were identified, the gift cards were distributed, and the database with participants' email addresses was deleted.

Table 5

Summary of Measures Used to Study Responses to the Perceived Colorism Scale and Validity Evidence

Measure Name	Author Name	Subscale and Item Information
Perceived Colorism Scale (PCS)	(Current Study)	The factor-derived Perceived Colorism Scale consisted of two scales, Experiences and Responses. The Perceived Colorism Scale Experiences assesses respondents' recollection of specific colorism experiences or messages in identified social contexts. The Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences subscale (6 items) assesses perceived experiences of colorism with individuals outside of one's racial community (e.g. "Outside of my racial community, I have been treated differently because of my skin-color shade"). The Family Colorism Experiences subscale (7 items) assesses perceived experiences of colorism with family members (e.g. "Within my family, I have been told I am advantaged and/or disadvantaged because of my skin-color shade"). The Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences subscale (6 items) assesses perceived experiences of colorism with individuals within of one's racial community (e.g. "Within my Racial Community, I have had comments or jokes made about my skin-color shade"). The Society Colorism Experiences subscale (3 items) assesses perceived experiences of barriers based in colorism in society (e.g. "In Society, I have felt like my skin color shade was a barrier to obtaining job offers or job promotions"). The Perceived Colorism Scale Responses assesses cognitive-emotional responses included respondents' perceptions of how colorism experiences or messages have influenced how they think about and view themselves and their skin color, and how these experiences and messages have made them feel. The Racial Out-Group Colorism Responses subscale (16 items) responses to colorism experienced both with individuals outside of one's racial community and in society (e.g. "Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have influenced how I think about my skin-color shade"). The Family Colorism Responses subscale (11 items) assesses responses to colorism experienced within an individual's family context (e.g. "My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me wish I were a different skin-color shade"). The Racial In-Group Colorism Responses subscale (8 items) assesses responses to colorism experienced with individuals within one's racial community (e.g. "My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel sad"). The Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses subscale (9 items) assesses positive and resilient responses to colorism experienced in racial in- and out-group and society contexts (e.g. "Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have positively influenced my self-image"). The Negative Colorism Self-Concept subscale (4 items) assesses the negative influence of colorism on self-concept within racial out-group and society contexts (e.g. "Society's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me want to change my current skin-color shade"). The Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness subscale (3 items) assesses the influence of colorism specifically within one's racial community and in society, on how one views their skin-color shade and attractiveness (e.g. "My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel more or less attractive"). The Positive Family Colorism Responses subscale (3 items) assesses positive and resilient responses to colorism experienced in the family context (e.g. "My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel encouraged"). Respondents use Likert-type scales, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), to respond to the scale items.

Table 5 Continued

Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (BRIAS)	Helms, 1995	The BRIAS is a 60-item self-report measure with four subscales designed to assess all four racial identity schemas comprising the Black racial identity model. The four subscales include: (a) Preencounter (17 items) (e.g., "I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy"); Post-Encounter (8 items) (e.g., "I'm not sure how I feel about myself racially"); Immersion-Emersion (22 items) (e.g., "I am increasing my involvement in Black activities because I don't feel comfortable in White environments"); and Internalization (13 items) (e.g., "I believe that being Black is a positive experience")
In-Group Colorism Scale (ICS)	Harvey et al. (2017)	The ICS consists of five subscales of a total of 20 items: self-concept (4 items, i.e. "My skin tone affects my self-esteem"), attraction (i.e. "Lighter skin makes others more attractive"), affiliation (4 items, i.e. "I usually choose who I'm going to be friends with by their skin tone"), upward mobility (4 items, i.e. "If you want to get ahead, you have to be the right skin tone"), and impression formation (4 items, i.e. "There are real differences between light-skinned and dark-skinned people"). Responses to items are measured using a 7-point Likert scale format from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree). High scores reflect a respondent assigning a greater degree of meaning to skin color on specific theoretical dimensions and/or as a collective overall.
Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE)	Rosenberg, 1965	The RSE is a 10-item measure that assesses *global self-esteem*, defined as an individual's attitudes of approval or disapproval toward herself and perceptions of her self-worth. Item examples include: "I feel I do not have much to be proud of", "I feel that I'm a person of worth". For the proposed study, items will be rated by respondents on 5-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (Strongly Agree) to 5 (Strongly Disagree). Respondents' scores on these items will be combined to produce an index of self-esteem, with higher scores representing higher self-evaluations.
Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form C (M-C Form C)	Crowne & Marlow, 1960; Reynolds, 1982	The M-C Form C is a 13-item short form of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale developed to assess the impact of social desirability on self-report measures used in empirical research. Responses to items (e.g., I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way") are rated on True-False scales and scored based on a scoring key wherein certain items marked as True or False receive designated points. Points assigned to individual items are summed to create an overall scale score, and high scores reflect respondents' strong concern about social approval and avoidance of disapproval.

Table 6

Means, Standard Deviations, Ranges, and Cronbach Alpha Coefficients for PCS and Validity Variables ($N = 299$)

Variable	Mean	SD	Obtained Range	Possible Range	α
Perceived Colorism Scale—Experiences					
Racial Out-Group	20.86	6.10	6-30	6-30	.90
Family	18.15	7.46	7-35	7-35	.88
Racial In-Group	21.09	6.10	6-30	6-30	.90
Society Barriers	8.91	3.34	3-15	3-15	.82
Perceived Colorism Scale--Responses					
Racial Out-Group Society	51.22	15.17	16-80	16-80	.94
Family	24.04	9.52	11-48	11-55	.93
Racial In-Group	21.74	7.34	8-38	8-40	.89
Positive	24.14	6.87	9-45	9-45	.88
Negative Self-Concept	9.61	4.42	4-20	4-20	.92
Skin-Color and Attractiveness	10.47	2.91	3-15	3-15	.77
Positive Family	9.84	2.75	3-15	3-15	.78
Black Racial Identity Scale (BRIAS)					
Pre-Encounter	31.80	6.72	17-53	17-85	.73
Encounter	16.24	4.81	8-31	8-40	.72
Immersion-Emersion	72.31	11.04	40-103	22-110	.85
Internalization	52.45	4.73	41-65	13-65	.60
In-Group Colorism Scale					
Self-Concept	13.14	4.01	4-20	4-20	.85
Impression Formation	6.17	2.22	4-14	4-20	.68
Affiliation	6.26	2.52	4-15	4-20	.86
Attraction	7.42	2.93	4-19	4-20	.68
Upward Mobility	9.29	4.00	4-20	4-20	.71
Self-Esteem Scale	38.01	5.39	22-45	9-45	.86
Social Desirability	41.33	6.97	22-65	13-65	.73

Note. Racial Out-Group Society= Racial Out-Group and Colorism Responses, Positive = Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses, Negative Self-Concept = Negative Colorism Self-Concept, Skin-Color Attractiveness = Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness, Positive Family= Positive Family Colorism Responses, Self-Esteem Scale= Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), Social Desirability = Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form C (Crowne & Marlow, 1960; Reynolds, 1982).

Chapter 4

Results

Preliminary Analyses

In the present study, validity analyses were conducted by examining relationships between the developed Perceived Colorism Scale (PCS) subscales and validity scales as previously described. Prior to testing the hypotheses, the data were analyzed for missing responses and violations of multivariate assumptions of linearity, normality and homoscedasticity.

Missing values. Outside of one case that had missing values for most of the BRIAS and two cases that had missing data for the entire Social Desirability Scale, only a small amount of cases (2.66%) had any missing responses. Therefore, for the cases with only one missing data point, the missing value was replaced via personal imputation. Missing values for the three cases with one or more missing subscale variables were not replaced, but they were only included in the validity analyses for which their data were complete.

Linearity. The assumption of linearity between the predictor and criterion variables was supported. Correlations and scatterplots between the PCS subscales and the validity measures indicated that all variables were linearly related. Correlations among variables are provided in Table 7.

Multicollinearity. Multicollinearity occurs when predictor variables are highly correlated with other predictor variables to the extent that they potentially have a negative influence on the sensitivity and stability of regression coefficients. To assess multicollinearity among the PCS subscale variables, Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) and Tolerance estimates were examined from multiple regression analyses output. A VIF

value greater than 5.0 and Tolerance estimate less than .20 denote a high correlation between predictor variables and the potential for issues in the regression analysis. In the present study, VIF for the PCS Experiences subscales ranged from 1.31 to 1.46 with tolerance scores ranging from .68 to .78. For the PCS Responses subscales, the VIF ranged from 1.19 to 1.91 with Tolerance estimates ranging from .55 to .84. Hence, VIF and Tolerance estimates indicated an absence of multicollinearity.

Normality. The assumption of normality was assessed by examining the shapes of histograms and the standardized skewness coefficients for the PCS subscale and validity measure scores. Skewness scores that fall substantially outside of an absolute value of 3.29 indicate significant positive or negative skewness at the .001 probability level. Histograms and calculations of standardized skewness coefficients revealed significant skewness in the score distributions of three PCS variables and three validity variables.

Specifically, for the PCS variables, Family Colorism Responses scores were significantly positively skewed ($z = 4.00$), Negative Colorism Self-Concept was positively skewed ($z = 3.60$) and Skin-Color Perception and Attractiveness was negatively skewed ($z = 4.85$). For validity variables, ICS Impression Formation scores ($z = 5.75$) and ICS Attractiveness scores were positively skewed ($z = 4.25$), whereas RSE scores were negatively skewed ($z = 4.62$). To address skewness, outliers were winsorized, which did not remove the skewness of Family Colorism Responses or RSE. Therefore, square root transformations of the scores of the previously mentioned skewed variables were calculated. However, the results of analyses using transformed scores did not differ considerably from those obtained from non-transformed scores. Therefore,

non-transformed scores for skewed variables were used in subsequent analyses in order to make understanding and comparing findings more clear.

Homoscedasticity. The assumption of homoscedasticity was assessed by conducting regression analyses and examining scatterplots of relationships between pairs of the PCS subscales scores and validity scales scores. In addition, scatterplots of PCS subscales scores and residuals (i.e. errors) were inspected to determine whether the errors were randomly distributed. Results indicated homoscedastic relationships between the PCS subscale scores and validity scale scores.

Tests of Validity Hypotheses

To test Validity Hypotheses 1-2, multivariate multiple regression analyses (MMRAs) were conducted. MMRA is an analysis that examines the linear relationships between more than one predictor variable and more than one criterion variable. It is a step-down analysis such that one only interprets successive steps if the previous step was significant. To test Validity Hypothesis 3, a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted. In the analyses social desirability scores were used when feasible to examine discriminant validity.

Hypothesis 1: Scores on each of the Perceived Colorism Scale (PCS) Experiences and Responses subscales will be significantly and positively related to scores on the In Group Colorism Scale (ICS) subscales.

To test hypothesis 1, the results of two MMRAs were examined. In the analyses, predictor variables were (a) Social desirability, (b) the four PCS Experiences factor-derived subscales as previously described and (c) the seven PCS Responses subscales. Higher scores indicate stronger levels of colorism experiences or events and responses or

reactions. The construct-validity variables were the ICS subscale scores: (a) Self-Concept, (b) Impression Formation, (c) Affiliation, (d) Attraction, and (e) Upward Mobility. Higher scores on the IC subscales indicate a greater degree of each respective form of internalized colorism. Results of the MMRAs are summarized in Table 8 for Experiences and Table 9 for Responses.

PCS Experiences. Results of the MMRA revealed that the overall proportion of the variance in ICS subscale scores accounted for by the PCS Experiences subscale scores was significant as indicated by Wilk's lambda, $\lambda = .74$, $F\ (25, 1068) = 3.63$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .26$, which indicated that 26 % of the variance in the overall model was explained. Society Colorism Experiences significantly accounted for 9% of the variance among the five ICS subscales, $\lambda = .91$, $F\ (5, 287) = 5.65$, $p < .001$. Neither Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences ($\lambda = .98$, $p = .47$), Family Colorism Experiences ($\lambda = .97$, $p = .17$), nor Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences ($\lambda = .97$, $p = .13$) accounted for a significant amount of the variance among the five ICS subscales; therefore, they were not interpreted further.

Society Colorism Experiences subscale scores were significantly related to Self-Concept, $F\ (1, 291) = 6.30$, $p < .05$; Impression Formation, $F\ (1, 291) = 5.18$, $p < .05$; and Upward Mobility $F\ (1, 291) = 24.46$, $p < .001$. Specifically, Society Colorism Experiences were significantly positively related to Self-Concept, $B = .19$, $t\ (1, 291) = 2.51$, $p < .05$, Impression Formation, $B = .10$, $t\ (1, 291) = 2.28$, $p < .05$, and Upward Mobility, $B = .37$, $t\ (1,291) = 5.05$, $p < .001$.

Table 7

Pearson Correlations among the PCS Subscales and Validity Variables ($N = 299$)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Colorism Exper.																						
1. Racial Out Exp	--	.31**	.32**	.45**	.60**	.31**	.27**	.08	.34**	.20*	.13*	.23**	.08	.06	.02	.11	.17**	.21**	.07	.02	.17**	.02
2. Family Exp		--	.46**	.11	.26**	.67**	.36**	-.02	.29**	.20**	-.21**	.18**	.01	-.01	.08	.06	.20**	.25**	.13*	.02	-.15**	.06
3. Racial In Exp			--	.04	.27**	.37**	.60**	-.07	.36**	.38**	-.21**	.14*	-.08	-.11	-.05	-.00	.06	.05	.09	-.02	-.12*	-.04
4. Society Exp				--	.55**	.14*	.11	.04	.31**	.03	.19**	.22**	.17**	.13*	.09	.30**	.19**	.12*	.15*	.03	-.18**	-.01
Colorism Responses																						
5. Out-Society Resp					--	.37**	.47**	.02	.56**	.42**	.07	.36**	.11	.06	.13*	.25**	.26**	.32**	.18**	-.01	-.28**	-.17**
6. Family Resp						--	.50**	-.07	.46**	.33**	-.32**	.18**	.04	-.03	.16**	.12*	.25**	.37**	.07	-.14*	-.32**	-.10
7. Racial In Resp							--	-.11	.52**	.45**	-.28**	.14*	.02	-.05	.02	.10	.17**	.24**	.04	-.10	-.33**	-.16**
8. Positive Resp								--	-.08	.09	.36**	.13*	.09	.07	.07	-.12*	.16**	.18**	-.06	.14*	.04	.06
9. Negative Conc.									--	.48**	-.24**	.23**	.13*	.13*	.08	.19*	.29**	.39**	.05	-.21**	-.37**	.23**
10. Attractiveness										--	-.13*	.26**	.06	.09	.14*	.17**	.11	.20**	.15*	.05	-.18**	.19**
11. Positive Family											--	.09	.03	-.01	-.02	.01	-.04	-.08	.05	.26**	.22**	.11
ICS																						
12. Self-Concept												--	.26**	.24**	.31**	.29**	.16**	.23**	.32**	.05	-.15**	-.12
13. Impression Form													--	.52**	.49**	.27**	.41**	.34**	.04	-.26**	-.34**	-.13*
14. Affiliation														--	.46**	.24**	.34**	.25**	.13*	-.18**	-.21**	.21**
15. Attraction															--	.27**	.22**	.22**	.19**	-.12*	-.27**	-.18**
16. Upward Mobility																--	.14*	.20**	.21**	-.18**	-.22**	-.24**
BRIAS																						
17. Preencounter																	--	.66**	-.18**	-.27**	-.40**	-.07
18. Encounter																		--	-.03	-.24**	-.49**	-.23**
19. Imm-Em																			--	.26**	.04	-.26**
20. Internalization																				--	.44**	.14*
21. RSE																					--	.36**
22. SDS																						--

Note. Colorism Exper. = Colorism Experiences, Racial Out. Exp. = Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences, Family Exp. = Family Colorism Experiences, Racial In Exp. = Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences, Society Exp. = Society Colorism Experiences, Out-Group Society Resp.= Racial Out-Group and Colorism Responses, Family Resp. = Family Colorism Responses, Racial In Resp. = Racial In-Group Responses, Positive Resp. = Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses, Negative Conc. = Negative Colorism Self-Concept, Attractiveness = Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness, Positive Family= Positive Family Colorism Responses, ICS = In-Group Colorism Scale: Self-Concept, Impression Formation, Affiliation, Attraction, Upward Mobility (Harvey et al., 2017), BRIAS = Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale: Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization (Helms, 1995), RSE= Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), SDS= Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form C (Crowne & Marlow, 1960; Reynolds, 1982). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Overall, these results indicate that perceived society colorism was related to increased internalized colorism. Specifically, when respondents endorsed higher levels of perceived colorism barriers in society, they based their self-evaluations, their impressions of other Black individuals, as well as their beliefs in the upward mobility of Black individuals on skin-color shade.

PCS Responses. Results of the MMRA revealed that the overall proportion of the variance in ICS scores accounted for by the PCS Responses subscale scores was significant as indicated by Wilk's lambda, $\lambda = .66$, $F\ (40, 1241) = 3.10$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .34$, which indicated that 34% of the variance in the overall model was explained. Of the theory-consistent scales: Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism Responses significantly accounted for 6% of the variance among the five ICS subscales, $\lambda = .94$, $F\ (5, 284) = 3.90$, $p < .01$. Family Colorism Responses significantly accounted for 4% of the variance among the five ICS subscales, $\lambda = .96$, $F\ (5, 284) = 2.55$, $p < .05$. Racial In-Group Colorism Responses ($\lambda = .98$, $p = .24$) did not account for a significant amount of ICS variance.

Of the empirically derived scales, Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses significantly accounted for 5% of the variance among the five ICS subscales, $\lambda = .95$, $F\ (5, 284) = 3.21$, $p < .01$. Neither Negative Colorism Self-Concept ($\lambda = .97$, $p = .07$), Skin-Color Perceptions of Attractiveness ($\lambda = .98$, $p = .22$), nor Positive Family Responses ($\lambda = .99$, $p = .64$) accounted for a significant amount of the variance among the five ICS subscales. Only significant overall models were interpreted in the subsequent steps.

Theory-Consistent Scales. Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism significantly predicted Self-Concept, F (1, 288) = 15.59, $p < .001$, and Upward Mobility, F (1, 288) = 5.95, $p < .05$, but did not significantly predict the remaining ICS subscales. Specifically, Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism Responses was significantly and positively related to both Self-Concept, $B = .08$, t (1, 288) = 3.95, $p < .001$, and Upward Mobility, $B = .05$, t (1, 288) = 2.44, $p < .05$. These findings indicated that when respondents had greater cognitive and emotional responses to colorism experienced in the context of racial out-group members and society, they reported basing their views of themselves on their skin-color shade and believing Black individuals' skin-color shade as having an influence on their upward mobility.

Scores on the Family Colorism Responses subscale significantly predicted Attraction, F (1, 288) = 6.24, $p < .05$, but did not significantly predict the remaining ICS subscales. Specifically, Family Colorism Responses was significantly and positively related to Attraction, $B = .05$, t (1, 288) = 2.50, $p < .05$. Thus, when participants had greater aversive responses to colorism experienced within their family, they reported finding certain skin-color shades more romantically attractive than others.

Derived Scales. Subscale scores for Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses significantly predicted Upward Mobility, F (1, 288) = 6.90, $p < .05$, but did not significantly predict the remaining ICS subscales. Specifically, Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses was significantly and negatively related to Upward Mobility, $B = -.10$, t (1, 288) = -2.63, $p < .05$. This indicated that having positive responses to colorism experienced in contexts outside of one's family resulted in less belief that upward mobility depends on skin-color shade for Black individuals.

In sum, three of the PCS theory-based contexts (reflected in two subscales) were significantly related to all but one of the ICS subscales (Affiliation), and seemed to be better predictors of ICS subscales than the derived subscales. The presence of significant relationships between some of the PCS subscales and the ICS subscales in the hypothesized directions provided partial support for Hypothesis 1. In comparing results based on the Experiences and Responses subscales of the PCS, the PCS Responses subscales seemed to be better predictors of the ICS subscales. Tables 8 and 9 provide a summary of the MMRA results using PCS Experiences and Responses as respective predictor sets.

Social Desirability. For the MMRA for Colorism Experiences, the SDS significantly accounted for 10% of the variance among the five ICS subscales, $\lambda = .90$, F (5, 287) = 6.15, $p < .001$. The SDS significantly predicted all of the ICS subscales: Self-Concept, F (1, 291) = 5.15, $p < .05$; Impression Formation, F (1, 291) = 5.89, $p < .05$; Affiliation, F (1, 291) = 15.24, $p < .001$; Attraction, F (1, 291) = 11.19, $p < .01$; and Upward Mobility, F (1, 291) = 18.99, $p < .001$. Specifically, the SDS was negatively related to each subscale: Self-Concept, $B = -.07$, t (1, 291) = -2.27, $p < .05$; Impression Formation, $B = -.04$, t (1, 291) = -2.43, $p < .05$; Affiliation, $B = -.08$, t (1, 291) = -3.90, $p < .001$; Attraction, $B = -.08$, t (1, 291) = -3.35, $p < .01$; Upward Mobility, $B = -.14$, t (1, 291) = -4.46, $p < .001$. This indicated that respondents were more likely to report higher scores on each ICS subscale when they were not responding in social desirable ways.

For the MMRA for Colorism Responses, the SDS significantly accounted for 6% of the variance among the five ICS subscales, $\lambda = .94$, F (5, 284) = 3.86, $p < .01$. The SDS significantly predicted three of the five ICS subscales: Affiliation, F (1, 288) =

11.32, $p < .01$; Attraction, F (1, 288) = 7.91, $p < .01$; and Upward Mobility, F (1, 288) = 10.73, $p < .01$. Specifically, the SDS was negatively related to each subscale: Affiliation, B = -.07, t (1, 288) = -3.36, $p < .01$; Attraction, B = -.07, t (1, 288) = -2.81, $p < .01$; and Upward Mobility B = -.11, t (1, 288) = -3.28, $p < .01$. The SDS did not significantly predict Self-Concept or Impression Formation. Thus, for this analysis, higher expressed social desirability was related to lower reports of only certain forms of internalized colorism.

Table 8

Multivariate Multiple Regression Analysis with Perceived Colorism Scale Experiences Predicting ICS Subscales ($N = 299$)

Outcome	Predictor	R^2	F	B	T	*p*
Self-Concept		9.8	6.35			.000***
	Social Desirability		5.15	-.07	-2.27	.02*
	Racial Out-Group		2.03	.06	1.42	.15
	Family		3.88	.07	1.97	.05
	Racial In-Group		.26	.02	.51	.61
	Society		6.30	.19	2.51	.01*
Impression Formation		5.4	3.35			.006**
	Social Desirability		5.89	-.04	-2.43	.02*
	Racial Out-Group		.16	.10	.40	.69
	Family		.51	.14	.72	.47
	Racial In-Group		3.44	-.04	-1.85	.07
	Society		5.18	.10	2.28	.02*
Affiliation		7.8	4.91			.000***
	Social Desirability		15.24	-.08	-3.90	.000***
	Racial Out-Group		.31	.02	.55	.58
	Family		.56	.02	.75	.46
	Racial In-Group		5.65	-.06	-2.38	.02*
	Society		2.57	.08	1.60	.11
Attraction		6.1	3.75			.003***
	Social Desirability		11.19	-.08	-3.35	.001**
	Racial Out-Group		.38	-.02	-.62	.54
	Family		5.72	.06	2.39	.02*
	Racial In-Group		3.55	-.06	-1.88	.06
	Society		1.85	.08	1.36	.18
Upward Mobility		14.6	9.95			.000***
	Social Desirability		18.99	-.14	-4.36	.000***
	Racial Out-Group		.47	-.03	-.68	.50
	Family		1.10	.04	1.05	.30
	Racial In-Group		.36	-.03	-.06	.55
	Society		25.46	.37	5.05	.000***

Note. Social Desirability= Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form C (Crowne & Marlow, 1960; Reynolds, 1982), Racial Out Group= Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences, Family = Family Colorism Experiences, Racial In-Group. = Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences, Society = Society Colorism Experiences, ICS = In-Group Colorism Scale: Self-Concept, Impression Formation, Affiliation, Attraction, Upward Mobility (Harvey et al., 2017). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 9

Multivariate Multiple Regression Analysis with Perceived Colorism Scale Responses Predicting ICS Subscales ($N = 299$)

Outcome	Predictor	R^2	F	B	T	*p*
Self-Concept		16.5	7.13			.000***
	Social Desirability		1.39	-.04	-1.18	.24
	Out and Society		15.59	.08	3.95	.000***
	Family		1.98	.04	1.41	.16
	Racial In-Group		1.54	-.05	-1.24	.22
	Positive Colorism		2.52	.05	1.59	.11
	Negative Concept		.10	.02	.32	.75
	Attractiveness		3.09	.16	1.76	.08
	Positive Family		.87	.09	.93	.35
Impression Formation		4.5	1.69			.10
	Social Desirability		3.71	-.04	-1.93	.06
	Out and Society		.29	.01	.54	.59
	Family		.00	.00	.06	.95
	Racial In-Group		.79	-.02	-.89	.38
	Positive Colorism		2.42	.03	1.56	.12
	Negative Concept		2.95	.07	1.72	.09
	Attractiveness		.06	-.01	-.24	.81
	Positive Family		.02	.01	.15	.88
Affiliation		8.4	3.30			.001**
	Social Desirability		11.32	-.07	-3.36	.001**
	Out and Society		.00	.00	.04	.97
	Family		.95	-.02	-.97	.33
	Racial In-Group		4.58	-.06	-2.14	.03
	Positive Colorism		1.41	.03	1.19	.24
	Negative Concept		4.71	.10	2.17	.03
	Attractiveness		.68	.05	.83	.41
	Positive Family		.26	-.03	-.51	.61
Attraction		8.0	3.14			.002**
	Social Desirability		7.91	-.07	-2.81	.005**
	Out and Society		1.83	.02	1.35	.18
	Family		6.24	.05	2.50	.01*
	Racial In-Group		3.87	-.06	-1.97	.05
	Positive Colorism		1.24	.03	1.11	.27
	Negative Concept		.81	-.05	-.90	.37
	Attractiveness		2.05	.10	1.43	.15
	Positive Family		.19	-.03	-.44	.66
Upward Mobility		13.1	5.43			.000***
	Social Desirability		10.73	-.11	-3.28	.001**
	Out and Society		5.95	.05	2.44	.02*
	Family		.39	.02	.62	.53
	Racial In-Group		1.72	.05	-1.31	.19
	Positive Colorism		6.90	-.10	-2.63	.01*
	Negative Concept		.20	.03	.45	.67
	Attractiveness		2.75	.15	1.66	.10
	Positive Family		1.75	.13	1.32	.19

Note. Social Desirability= Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form C (Crowne & Marlow, 1960; Reynolds, 1982), Out and Society= Racial Out-Group and Colorism Responses, Family = Family Colorism Responses, Racial In-Group = Racial In-Group Responses, Positive Colorism = Non-Family Positive

Colorism Responses, Negative Concept = Negative Colorism Self-Concept, Attractiveness = Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness, Positive Family = Positive Family Colorism Responses, ICS = In-Group Colorism Scale: Self-Concept, Impression Formation, Affiliation, Attraction, Upward Mobility (Harvey et al., 2017). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Hypothesis 2: Scores on each of the Perceived Colorism Scale (PCS) Experiences and Responses subscales will be significantly related to the four subscales of the Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (BRIAS). It is hypothesized that (a) Preencounter will be and (b) Post-Encounter will be negatively related to PCS subscales, whereas (c) Immersion/Emersion and (d) Internalization will be positively related to the PCS subscales.

To test hypothesis 2, results of two MMRAs were examined. In successive analyses, predictor variables were (a) Social desirability, (b) the four PCS Experiences subscales and (c) the seven PCS Responses subscales. The construct validity variables were the BRIAS subscales: (a) Pre-Encounter, (b) Encounter, (c) Immersion-Emersion, and (d) Internalization. Higher scores on the BRIAS subscales indicate greater endorsement of each respective racial identity schema. Tables 10 and 11 summarize the results of the Experiences and Responses MMRAs, respectively. Recall that higher scores on the predictor scales indicate higher levels of experienced colorism events (i.e., experiences) or cognitive-emotional reactions to the events (i.e., responses).

PCS Experiences. Results of the MMRA revealed that the overall proportion of the variance in BRIAS scores accounted for by the PCS Experiences subscale scores was significant as indicated by Wilk's lambda, $\lambda = .68$, $F\ (20, 953) = 5.85$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .32$, which indicated that 32% of the variance in the overall model was explained. Family Colorism Experiences significantly accounted for 9% of the variance among the four BRIAS subscales, $\lambda = .91$, $F\ (4, 287) = 7.15$, $p < .001$. Society Colorism Experiences significantly accounted for 5% of the variance among the four BRIAS subscales, $\lambda = .95$, $F\ (4, 287) = 3.91$, $p < .01$. Neither Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences ($\lambda = .98$, $p =$

.15) nor Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences ($\lambda = .98$, $p = .18$) accounted for a significant amount of the variance among the four BRIAS subscales; therefore, they were not interpreted further.

The results indicated that Family Colorism Experiences subscale scores significantly predicted Preencounter, F (1, 290) = 8.99, $p < .01$ and Encounter, F (1, 290) = 20.21, $p < .001$, and Immersion-Emersion F (1, 290) = 4.05, $p < .05$, but did not significantly predict Internalization. Specifically, Family Colorism Experiences was significantly positively related to Preencounter, $B = .18$, t (1, 290)= 3.00, $p < .05$, Encounter, $B = .18$, t (1, 290)= 4.50, $p < .001$, and Immersion-Emersion, $B = .19$, t (1, 290)= 2.01, $p < .05$. Thus, when participants reported that family members engaged in colorism directed towards them, they also reported higher levels of conformity to White racial norms (Preencounter), confusion about their racial identity (Encounter) and reactive adoption of a Black racial identity (Immersion-Emersion).

In addition, Society Colorism Experiences significantly predicted Preencounter, F (1, 290) = 4.58, $p < .05$ and Immersion-Emersion, F (1, 290) = 5.73, $p < .05$, but did not significantly predict Encounter or Internalization. Specifically, Society Colorism Experiences was significantly and positively related to Preencounter, $B = .27$, t (1, 290)= 2.14, $p < .05$, and Immersion-Emersion, $B = .49$, t (1, 290) = 2.39, $p < .05$. These results suggest that as the women reported perceiving more barriers in society attributable to colorism, they reported stronger conformance to White norms (Preencounter) and reactive adoption of a Black racial identity (Immersion-Emersion).

PCS Responses. Results of the MMRA revealed that the overall proportion of the variance in BRIAS scores accounted for by the PCS Responses subscale scores was

significant as indicated by Wilk's lambda, $\lambda = .53$, F (32, 1049) = 6.06, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .47$, which indicated that 47% of the variance in the overall model was explained. Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism Responses significantly accounted for 4% of the variance among the four BRIAS subscales, $\lambda = .96$, F (4, 284) = 3.24, $p < .05$. Family Colorism Responses significantly accounted for 5% of the variance among the four BRIAS subscales, $\lambda = .94$, F (4, 284) = 4.34, $p < .01$. Racial In-Group Colorism Responses did not significantly predict BRIAS scores ($\lambda = .99$, $p = .64$) and, therefore, was not interpreted in subsequent steps.

Theory-Consistent Scales. Examination of the significant theory-based variables in step 2 of the analysis indicated that the Racial Out-Group and Society subscale scores significantly predicted Immersion-Emersion, F (1, 287) = 5.53, $p < .05$, but did not significantly predict Pre-Encounter, Encounter or Internalization. Examination of the regression coefficients indicated that Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism Responses was significantly positively related to Immersion-Emersion, $B = .13$, t (1, 287)= 2.35, $p < .05$. Therefore, the more participants reacted emotionally to colorism events directed toward them in society generally, the higher were their levels of withdrawal into and idealization of Black culture.

Family Colorism Responses subscale scores significantly predicted Preencounter, F (1, 287) = 4.71, $p < .05$, and Encounter, F (1, 287) = 15. 40, $p < .001$, but did not significantly predict the remaining BRIAS subscales. Specifically, Family Colorism Responses was significantly and positively related to Preencounter, $B = .10$, t (1, 287) = 2.17 $p < .05$, and Encounter, $B = .12$, t (1, 287) = 3.92, $p < .001$. This indicated that when participants reported greater socio-emotional responses to colorism within their family

they endorsed a greater degree of conforming to White norms and confusion around their racial identity.

Derived Scales. Of the empirical scales, Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses significantly accounted for 8% of the variance among the four BRIAS subscales, $\lambda = .92$, F (4, 284) = 6.17, $p < .001$. In addition, Negative Colorism Self-Concept significantly accounted for 7% of the variance among the four BRIAS subscales, $\lambda = .94$, F (4, 284) = 4.80, $p < .01$. Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness significantly accounted for 4% of the variance among the four BRIAS subscales, $\lambda = .96$, F (4, 284) = 2.77, $p < .05$. Positive Family Colorism Responses ($\lambda = .97$, $p = .07$) did not account for a significant amount of the variance among the four BRIAS subscales and, consequently, it was not interpreted further.

Results indicated that Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses subscale scores significantly predicted Preencounter, F (1, 287) = 11.96, $p < .01$, and Encounter, F (1, 287) = 19.56, $p < .001$, but did not significantly predict the remaining BRIAS subscales. Specifically, Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses was significantly positively related to Pre-Encounter, $B = .20$, t (1, 287) = 3.46, $p < .01$, and Encounter, $B = .17$, t (1, 287) = 4.42, $p < .001$. Thus, when respondents reported having positive responses to skin-color experiences in non-family contexts, they still endorsed a greater degree of conforming to White norms and confusion about their racial identity.

The scores on the Negative Colorism Self-Concept Responses subscale significantly predicted Preencounter, F (1, 287) = 8.12, $p < .01$, Encounter, F (1, 2987 = 11.09, $p < .01$, and Internalization, F (1, 287) = 11.10, $p < .01$, but did not significantly predict the Immersion-Emersion subscale. Specifically, Negative Colorism Self-Concept

Responses was significantly positively related to Preencounter, $B = .33$, t (1, 287) = 2.85, $p < .01$, and Encounter, $B = .25$, t (1, 287) = 3.33, $p < .01$, and negatively related to Internalization, $B = -.27$, t (1, 287) = -3.33, $p < .01$. This indicated that when participants felt that colorism encountered with racial out-group members and in society negatively influenced their satisfaction with their skin-color shade, they were more likely to conform to White norms and experience confusion around racial identity, and less likely to have a realistic and integrated sense of their racial identity.

In addition, Skin-Color Perception and Attractiveness subscale scores significantly predicted Immersion-Emersion, F (1, 287) = 4.57, $p < .05$, and Internalization, F (1, 287) = 8.77, $p < .01$, but did not significantly predict the remaining BRIAS subscales. Specifically, Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness was significantly positively related to Immersion-Emersion, $B = .55$, t (1, 287) = 2.41, $p < .05$, and Internalization, $B = .33$, t (1, 290) = 2.91, $p < .01$. Hence, when participants felt racial community and society colorism influenced how they view their skin-color and the extent that they felt physically attractive, they reported idealization of Black identity and abandonment of internalized racism.

In sum, not all of the PCS subscales were significantly related to all of the BRIAS subscales. Moreover, some of the significant relationships that were found were in different directions than had been hypothesized. Nevertheless, the presence of significant relationships between some of the PCS subscales and the BRIAS subscales provided partial support for Hypothesis 2. Specifically, although relationships between subscales were not as hypothesized, of the four contexts initially theorized, three predicted some aspect of racial identity either through colorism experiences and/or responses. In contrast

to the ICS results, both sets of PCS subscales (i.e., experiences and responses) seemed to predict the BRIAS subscales to similar degrees. Likewise, the theory-based PCS Responses subscales seemed to predict BRIAS subscales to a similar extent as the subscales derived in this study. Tables 10 and 11 provide a summary of the MMRA results of the experiences and responses, respectively.

Social Desirability. For the Colorism Experiences MMRA, the SDS significantly accounted for 18% of the variance among the five BRIAS subscales, $\lambda = .82$, F (4, 287) = 15.36, $p < .001$. The SDS did not significantly predict the Preencounter subscale. However, it significantly predicted the other BRIAS subscales: Encounter, F (1, 290) = 20.35, $p < .001$; Immersion-Emersion, F (1, 290) = 23.44, $p <$. 001; and Internalization, F (1, 290) = 5.57, $p < .05$. Specifically, the SDS was negatively related to Encounter, B = -.17, t (1, 287) = -4.51, p < .001, and Immersion-Emersion B = -.43, t (1, 287) = -4.84, $p <$ .001; and was positively related to Internalization, B = .09, t (1, 287) = 2.36, $p < .05$. Thus, higher social desirability scores were related to lower Encounter and Immersion-Emersion scores but higher Internalization scores,

For the Colorism Responses MMRA, the SDS significantly accounted for 18% of the variance among the five BRIAS subscales, $\lambda = .88$, F (4, 284) = 10.04, $p < .001$. The SDS significantly predicted Encounter, F (4, 284) = 8.85, $p < .01$, and Immersion-Emersion, F (4, 284) = 19.64, $p < .001$. Specifically the SDS was negatively related to both Encounter, B = -.11, t (1, 287) = -2.97, $p < .01$, and Immersion-Emersion, B = -.40, t (1, 287) = -4.43, $p < .001$. The SDS did not significantly predict the Preencounter or Internalization subscales. Thus, results indicated that the more respondents endorsed

Encounter and Immersion-Emersion attitudes, the less likely they were responding in a socially desirable way.

Hypothesis 3: Scores on each of the Perceived Colorism Scale (PCS) Experiences and Responses Subscales will be significantly and negatively related to scores on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE).

To test hypothesis 3, results of two hierarchical multiple regression analyses were examined. In the analyses, predictor variables were (a) the Social Desirability Scale (SDS), (b) the four PCS Experiences subscales and (c) the seven PCS Responses subscales. The Responses predictors consisted of scores on three theory-consistent scales, (a) Racial Out-Group and Society, (b) Family, and (c) Racial In-Group Colorism Responses. The other predictors in this analysis were the four empirically derived subscales (Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses, Racial Out-Group and Society, Negative Colorism Self-Concept, Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness and Positive Family Colorism Responses). The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale was the criterion variable.

PCS Experiences

The hierarchical multiple regression analysis revealed that the overall proportion of the variance in RSE scores accounted for by the PCS Experiences subscale scores while controlling for social desirability was significant, $F (5, 291) = 13.26$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .19$, which indicated that 19% of the variance in the overall model was explained. When the PCS Experiences were added an additional 6% of variance was explained (F Change = 4.96, R^2 change = .06, $p < .01$). Family and Society Colorism Experiences

Table 10

Multivariate Multiple Regression Analysis with Perceived Colorism Scale Experiences Predicting BRIAS Subscales ($N = 299$)

Outcome	Predictor	R^2	F	B	T	*p*
Preencounter		7.5	4.72			.000***
	Social Desirability		2.30	-.08	-1.52	.13
	Racial Out-Group		.71	.06	.84	.40
	Family		8.99	.18	3.00	.003**
	Racial In-Group		.88	-.07	-.94	.35
	Society		4.58	.27	2.14	.03*
Encounter		15.3	10.51			.000***
	Social Desirability		20.35	-.17	-4.51	.000***
	Racial Out-Group		5.29	.12	2.30	.02*
	Family		20.21	.18	4.50	.000***
	Racial In-Group		5.06	-.11	-2.25	.03*
	Society		.19	.04	.44	.66
Immersion-Emersion		10.9	7.12			.000***
	Social Desirability		23.44	-.43	-4.84	.000***
	Racial Out-Group		.48	-.08	-.69	.49
	Family		4.05	.19	2.01	.045*
	Racial In-Group		.24	.06	.49	.63
	Society		5.73	.49	2.39	.02*
Internalization		2.1	1.22			.301
	Social Desirability		5.57	.09	2.36	.02*
	Racial Out-Group		.06	.01	.24	.81
	Family		.03	.01	.17	.86
	Racial In-Group		.10	-.02	-.32	.75
	Society		.09	.03	.30	.76

Note. Social Desirability= Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form C (Crowne & Marlow, 1960; Reynolds, 1982), Racial Out Group= Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences, Family = Family Colorism Experiences, Racial In-Group. = Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences, Society = Society Colorism Experiences, BRIAS = Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale: Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization (Helms, 1995). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 11

Multivariate Multiple Regression Analysis with Perceived Colorism Scale Responses Predicting BRIAS Subscales ($N = 299$)

Outcome	Predictor	R^2	F	B	T	*p*
Preencounter		15.2	6.42			.000***
	Social Desirability		.10	-.02	-.32	.75
	Out and Society		3.45	.06	1.86	.06
	Family		4.71	.10	2.17	.03*
	Racial In-Group		.13	-.02	-.35	.72
	Positive Colorism		11.96	.20	3.46	.001**
	Negative Concept		8.12	.33	2.85	.005**
	Attractiveness		2.94	-.26	-1.72	.09
	Positive Family		.59	-.12	-.77	.44
Encounter		27.7	13.75			.000***
	Social Desirability		8.85	-.11	-2.97	.003**
	Out and Society		3.74	.04	1.93	.05
	Family		15.40	.12	3.92	.000***
	Racial In-Group		.46	-.03	-.68	.50
	Positive Colorism		19.56	.17	4.42	.000***
	Negative Concept		11.09	.25	3.33	.001**
	Attractiveness		1.66	-.13	-1.29	.20
	Positive Family		.70	-.09	-.84	.40
Immersion-Emersion		12.4	5.07			.000***
	Social Desirability		19.64	-.40	-4.43	.000***
	Out and Society		5.53	.13	2.35	.02*
	Family		.88	.08	.94	.35
	Racial In-Group		1.62	-.14	-1.27	.21
	Positive Colorism		2.77	-.16	-1.66	.10
	Negative Concept		3.64	-.37	-1.91	.06
	Attractiveness		4.57	.55	2.14	.03*
	Positive Family		1.60	.34	1.26	.21
Internalization		13.6	5.64			.000***
	Social Desirability		3.22	.07	1.79	.07
	Out and Society		.63	.02	.80	.42
	Family		.49	-.02	-.70	.48
	Racial In-Group		.04	.01	.20	.84
	Positive Colorism		.17	.02	.42	.68
	Negative Concept		11.10	-.27	-3.33	.001**
	Attractiveness		8.77	.33	2.96	.003**
	Positive Family		8.49	.33	2.91	.004**

Note. Social Desirability= Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form C (Crowne & Marlow, 1960; Reynolds, 1982), Out and Society= Racial Out-Group and Colorism Responses, Family = Family Colorism Responses, Racial In-Group = Racial In-Group Responses, Positive Colorism = Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses, Negative Concept = Negative Colorism Self-Concept, Attractiveness = Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness, Positive Family = Positive Family Colorism Responses, BRIAS = Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale: Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization (Helms, 1995). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

uniquely contributed to the prediction of RSE scores after controlling for social desirability. The natures of the relationships were that the more both family and society were perceived as engaging in colorism against the women, the lower was their self-esteem, Family: $B = -.09$, t (5, 291) = -2.12, $p < .05$; Society: $B = -.21$, t (5, 291) = -2.23, $p < .05$). Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences, $B = -.05$, t (5, 291) = -.85, $p = .40$, and Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences, $B = -.02$, t (5, 291) = -.30, $p = .76$) were not significantly related to RSE scores.

PCS Responses

When the response subscales were used to predict self-esteem, the results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis revealed that the overall proportion of the variance in RSE scores accounted for by the PCS Responses subscale scores while controlling for the social desirability was significant, F (8, 288) = 13.56, $p < .001$, R^2 = .27. Thus, the overall model accounted for 27% of the variance in in self-esteem. Addition of the PCS Responses subscales explained 14% of the variance beyond what was explained by social desirability (F Change = 8.13, R^2 Change = .14, $p < .001$),

Specifically, of the theory-based subscales, Family Colorism Responses, $B = -.08$, t (8, 288) = -2.14, $p < .05$) was significantly negatively related to RSE scores. Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism Responses ($B = -.03$, t (8, 288) = -1.23, $p = .22$), and Racial In-Group Colorism Responses ($B = -.09$, t (8, 288) = -1.83, $p = .07$) were not significantly related to RSE scores.

Of the empirical-based subscales, Negative Colorism Self-Concept, $B = -.19$, t (8, 288) = -2.21, $p < .01$ was significantly negatively related to RSE scores. Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses ($B = -.04$, t (8, 288) = -1.03, $p = .30$), Skin-Color

Perceptions and Attractiveness (B = .17, t (8, 288) = 1.52, p = .13), and Positive Family Colorism Responses (B = .22, t (8, 288) = 1.89, p = .06), were not significantly related to RSE scores.

Thus, results revealed similar findings to those of the analyses involving the ICS and BRIAS. Specifically, not all PCS subscales were significantly related to the RSE, but when significant relationships were found, they were in the hypothesized directions. Moreover, only three of the theory-based subscales (reflective of only two of the theorized contexts) seemed to be relevant predictors of self-esteem. Yet, the theory-based subscales seemed to be better predictors of self-esteem than empirically derived subscales. Therefore, the presence of significant relationships between some of the hypothesized PCS subscales and the RSE provided partial support for Hypothesis 3.

Post Hoc Analysis

The factor analyses suggested that for some PCS items some women perceived the colorism content as positive whereas others perceived it as negative as intended. Given that previous researchers found that skin-color was related to scores on their colorism measures, I conducted two multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAs) to examine whether or how self-reported skin-color shade was related to participants' colorism experiences/responses. In the analysis, the independent variable was skin-color shade (i.e., 1=Very Dark, 2=Dark, 3=Medium, 4=Light, 5=Very Light). Two cases that responded "Uncertain" were not included in this analysis. In the first analysis, the dependent variables were the four PCS Experiences subscales used in previous analyses. The second MANOVA used the seven previously described PCS Responses subscales, three of which were theory consistent and four of which were empirically determined.

PCS Experiences. The main effect for skin-color shade was significant when the PCS Experiences subscales were the dependent variables, Wilk's lambda, $\lambda = .08$, F (4, 289) = 797.36, $p < .001$. Thus, the PCS Experiences subscale scores differed significantly by skin-color shade category; therefore, post hoc tests were examined. The univariate analysis of variance (ANOVAs) were significant for each of the PCS Experiences subscales: Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences, F (4, 292) = 3.02, $p < .05$; Family Colorism Experiences, F (4, 292) = 6.51, $p < .001$; Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences, F (4, 292) = 24.94, $p < .001$; and Society Colorism Experiences, F (4, 292) = 2.60, $p < .05$.

The Scheffé post hoc tests revealed that, for Family Colorism Experiences, the medium skin-color shade group (M = 16.15, SD = 6.93) had significantly lower Family mean scores than the light (M = 20.49, SD = 5.90, $p = .03$) and very light (M = 22.46, SD = 5.90, $p = .004$) skin-color shade groups. For Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences, the medium skin-color shade group (M = 17.94, SD = 5.87) had significantly lower mean scores than the very dark (M = 25.90, SD = 2.88, $p = .000$), dark (M = 22.10, SD = 5.34, $p = .000$), light (M= 24.33, SD = 4.49, $p = .000$), and very light (M = 27.08, SD = 4.07, $p = .000$) skin-color shade groups. Additionally, the very light group (M = 24.33, SD = 4.49) had significantly higher In-Group mean scores than the very dark group (M=22.10, SD = 5.34, $p = .048$). There were no significant between-group mean differences for Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences and Society Colorism Experiences. Thus, exposure to colorism events in the family and racial in-group were least problematic for women with self-reported medium skin-color shades.

PCS Responses. The main effect for skin-color shade was significant when the PCS Responses subscales were the dependent variables, Wilk's lambda, $\lambda = .05$, F (7, 286) = 820.72, $p < .001$. Thus, the PCS Responses subscale scores differed significantly by skin-color shade category; therefore, post hoc tests were examined. The univariate analysis of variance (ANOVAs) were significant for the following PCS Responses subscales: Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism Responses, F (4, 292) = 4.24, $p < .01$; Family Colorism Responses, F (4, 292) = 4.35, $p < .01$; Racial In-Group Colorism Responses, F (4, 292) = 9.49, $p < .001$; Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness F (5, 293) = 2.84, $p < .05$; and Positive Family Colorism Responses, F (4, 292) = 3.51, $p < .01$. Univariate ANOVAs were not significant for Negative Colorism Self-Concept or Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses.

The Scheffé post hoc tests revealed that, for Family Colorism Responses, the medium skin-color shade group (M=21.60, SD = 8.16) had significantly lower mean scores than the dark skin-color shade group (M = 26.18, SD = 9.94, $p = .02$). For Racial In-Group Colorism Responses, the medium skin-color shade group (M = 18.97, SD =-7.15) had significantly lower mean scores than the dark (M=24.21, SD = 6.69, $p = .000$) and light (M= 23.61, SD = 6.24, $p = .001$) skin-color groups. For Positive Family Colorism Responses, the dark skin-color shade group (M= 23.95, SD = 6.74) had significantly higher mean scores than the light skin-color shade group (23.09, SD = 6.54, $p = .04$). There were no significant between-group mean differences for Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism Responses, Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses, Negative Colorism Self-Concept and Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness.

Thus, results revealed that there were significant differences between skin-color shades on both the PCS Experiences and Responses subscales. Across multiple subscales, respondents who identified as having medium skin-color shade seemed to report experiencing and responding to less colorism in varying contexts. Although between-group differences were not found for all of the PCS subscales, the presence of significant differences between skin-color shades on scores of some of the PCS subscales suggests that skin-color shade may be more relevant in some contexts than others. Tables 12 and 13 provide means and standard deviations by skin-color shade category for the PCS experience and response subscales, respectively.

Table 12

Means and Standard Deviations by
Skin-Color Shade for PCS Experiences Subscales (N = 299)

Subscale	Skin-Color Group	*f*	Mean	SD
Racial Out-Group Colorism				
	Very Dark	10	23.80	5.37
	Dark	73	22.47	5.72
	Medium	132	19.92	6.24
	Light	69	20.49	5.90
	Very Light	13	22.46	5.90
	Uncertain	2	12.00	.000
Family Colorism				
	Very Dark	10	21.40	4.84
	Dark	73	18.78	7.65
	Medium[ab]	132	16.15	6.93
	Light[a]	69	19.68	7.35
	Very Light[b]	13	24.54	8.13
	Uncertain	2	16.50	3.54
Racial In-Group Colorism				
	Very Dark[a]	10	25.90	2.88
	Dark[b]	73	22.10	5.34
	Medium[abcd]	132	17.94	5.87
	Light[c]	69	24.33	4.49
	Very Light[d]	13	27.08	4.07
	Uncertain	2	17.00	7.07
Society Colorism				
	Very Dark	10	7.70	2.67
	Dark	73	9.79	3.15
	Medium	132	8.92	3.17
	Light	69	8.57	3.66
	Very Light	13	7.31	3.75
	Uncertain	2	4.50	2.12

Note. [a,b,c,d] = significant mean differences. Participants who identified as "Uncertain" were not included in analysis.

Table 13

Means and Standard Deviations by
Skin-Color Shade for PCS Responses Subscales (N = 299)

Subscale	Skin-Color Group	*f*	Mean	SD
Racial Out-Group and Society				
	Very Dark	10	62.00	10.41
	Dark	73	55.04	13.47
	Medium	132	49.12	15.55
	Light	69	51.68	15.50
	Very Light	13	42.85	13.68
	Uncertain	2	34.50	.71
Family Colorism Responses				
	Very Dark	10	27.70	10.31
	Dark[a]	73	26.18	9.94
	Medium[a]	132	21.60	8.16
	Light	69	25.49	9.58
	Very Light	13	26.38	12.08
	Uncertain	2	17.00	8.49
Racial In-Group Colorism Responses				
	Very Dark	10	25.00	7.01
	Dark[a]	73	24.21	6.69
	Medium[ab]	132	18.97	7.15
	Light[b]	69	23.61	6.24
	Very Light	13	23.62	9.95
	Uncertain	2	21.00	4.24
Positive Colorism Responses				
	Very Dark	10	26.20	9.22
	Dark	73	23.95	6.74
	Medium	132	24.42	6.71
	Light	69	23.09	6.54
	Very Light	13	26.31	9.20
	Uncertain	2	24.00	4.24
Negative Colorism Self Concept				
	Very Dark	10	11.60	4.03
	Dark	73	9.16	4.82
	Medium	132	9.62	4.52
	Light	69	9.54	3.85
	Very Light	13	9.50	4.31
	Uncertain	2	9.61	2.12

Table 13 Continued

Subscale	Skin-Color Group	*f*	Mean	SD
Skin-Color and Attractiveness				
	Very Dark	10	12.00	3.20
	Dark	73	11.12	2.85
	Medium	132	9.95	2.93
	Light	69	10.67	2.62
	Very Light	13	10.15	3.34
	Uncertain	2	9.00	4.24
Positive Family Colorism Responses				
	Very Dark	10	10.80	1.93
	Dark[a]	73	10.31	2.71
	Medium	132	10.08	2.72
	Light[a]	69	8.85	2.56
	Very Light	13	9.38	3.71
	Uncertain	2	8.00	1.41

Note. [a,b,c,d] = significant mean differences. Participants who identified as "Uncertain" were not included in analysis.

Chapter 5

Discussion

Various theorists, writers, and a few researchers have described colorism as a complex race-related phenomenon that influences the lives of Black women in various social contexts (Norwood, 2013; Duke, 2015; Duke & Berry, 2012). However, very little empirical information exists regarding Black women's explicit perceptions and reactions to colorism in the contexts in which it is presumed to occur. Therefore, the purposes of the current study were twofold. First, I wanted to develop a scale that explored Black women's colorism awareness and cognitive-emotional reactions across a variety of social contexts that developmental theory suggests are important. Secondly, I wanted to explore the construct validity of the multi-contextual scale by examining its relations to constructs that previous colorism researchers and sociocultural developmental theorists had suggested were critical to Black women's positive racial and personal development (Coard et al., 2001; Harvey et al., 2017).

In the present study, a sample of Black women (N =299) responded to items that became the Perceived Colorism Scale as well as another measure of colorism (Harvey et al., 2017), Black racial identity scales (Helms, 1995) and a self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1977). In the sections to follow, findings related to the development and validation of the PCS scales, methodological limitations of the present study, and theory, research and practice implications are discussed.

Development of the Perceived Colorism Scale

Factor analyses of item responses were used to develop the PCS. Separate analyses addressed the questions of whether women perceived colorism across the four proposed contexts (i.e., family, racial in-group, racial out-group, and society) and, if so,

how they were affected by such messages in these contexts. For the sake of brevity, the results of these analyses are integrated in the subsequent discussion. Some of the results were consistent with the proposed sociocultural colorism contexts and some were unexpected empirical findings.

Theory-Based PCS Subscales (Factors)

In general, the factors underlying contextual colorism experiences tended to correspond to the four contexts originally proposed, but the factors underlying colorism responses were more complex, including both theory-based and empirically derived subscales.

Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism (Factors-E 1 and R 1). Racial out-group colorism experiences (Factor-E 1) accounted for the most and, specifically, more than a quarter of the inter-item PCS experience variance explained. Hence, it can be stated that the racial out-group community was a particularly salient context in which Black women perceived different forms of colorism experiences and messages. Moreover, with respect to responses, Factor-R 1 combined two contexts that had been theorized as separate contexts (i.e., racial out-group and society), which suggests that Black women may react to their perceived racial out-group and society as equivalent. This factor similarly accounted for over a quarter of the variance explained in colorism responses.

The kinds of events that characterized the women's racial out-group experiences included being positively or negatively stereotyped, hearing messages about the relative advantages or disadvantages associated with their skin-color shade, or, most importantly, feeling as though they are labeled because of their skin-color shade. To support this

finding, in personal narratives and previous research (Duke, 2015; Duke & Berry, 2011; Hunter, 1999), Black women have attributed being misconceived and treated differently to the labels and stereotypes that others hold because of their perceived skin-color shade category.

Furthermore, Factor-R 1 captured the emotional reactions that Black women had in response to racial out-group/society colorism. Feeling hurt was their strongest response to colorism within these contexts. However, they also expressed feeling sad, angry and confused in response to racial out-group/society colorism. I did not locate any other research that directly explored the emotional effects of colorism on Black women. However, the findings obtained in the current study provide empirical support for the personal narratives that Black women have shared in which they expressed similar emotional reactions to colorism (Duke, 2015; Duke & Berry, 2011). In addition, the salience of Factor-E 1 and Factor-R 1 supports research that has highlighted expressions of colorism among White individuals as represented via skin-color biases (Maddox & Gray, 2002; Secord, 1959). It also raises concerns about the importance of racial out-group/society on Black women's emotional status.

Family Colorism Experiences (Factor-E 2) and Responses (Factor-R 2). Factor-E 2 consisted of items similar to those that defined Factor-E 1. Similar to Factor-E 1, being skin-color labeled within one's family defined Black women's experiences. However, one unique item (i.e., being told to stay out of or in the sun) may have special familial meaning compared to items that also occurred on other factors (e.g., being treated differently and being told there is an issue with one's skin-color shade). The items that characterize Factor-E 2 (family colorism) reflected overt behaviors (e.g., being

treated differently, having jokes made based on skin-color shade, being told there is a problem with one's skin-color shade) more than covert experiences (e.g., being stereotyped or told one is advantaged or disadvantaged because of skin-color shade). This finding may indicate that the more nuanced expressions of colorism are either not communicated or are more difficult to perceive within the family context.

The family colorism responses factor (Factor-R 2) both supported and differed from the initial theoretical framework and proposed subscale. For this factor, salient emotional responses were similar to those for racial out-group/society colorism. These emotions included feeling sad as the strongest response, along with other distressed emotional responses, such as feeling angry and confused. These emotional responses paralleled those that Black women shared in personal narratives of colorism across social contexts (Duke, 2015; Duke & Berry, 2011).

On the other hand, Factor-R 2 also included stronger cognitive reactions to family colorism than in the other contexts. Black women's responses described family colorism as having negative effects on their self-image and making them wish they were a different skin-color shade. These results support the family context as potentially affecting Black women's emotional conditions as well as the manner in which they think about themselves with respect to colorism when they perceive it in the family.

Although virtually no research has examined Black women's responses to colorism within their families, the current findings support theories that have conceptualized Black women's family contexts as relevant to their self-conceptions regarding skin-color shade (Wilder & Cain, 2010). Moreover, combined with the family

experiences Factor-E 2, the obtained results suggest that their families' overt focus on their skin-color shade distressed Black women most.

Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences (Factor-E 3) and Responses (Factor-R 3). Factor-E 3 aligned with the theoretical framework and item-structure as originally proposed. Similar to both the racial out-group and family experiences factors (Factor-E 1 and Factor-E 2, respectively), being labeled by one's racial community was identified as Black women's strongest colorism experience within their in-group. Consistent with the family colorism experiences factor, overt experiences (e.g., being treated differently, having jokes made based on skin-color shade) were more salient than covert experiences (i.e. being stereotyped or told one is advantaged or disadvantaged because of skin-color shade). The similarity in factor structures may indicate that families and Black communities express colorism similarly. The few studies that have examined colorism within the Black community indicate that labeling occurs among racial group members and can have aversive effects on how Black women perceive and interact with each other (Anderson & Cromwell, 1977; Hunter, 1999).

Consistent with my proposed theory the racial in-group or community was also an important context that influenced Black women's cognitions and emotions as indicated by Factor-R 3. Although the strongest item responses for the racial in-group context were emotional reactions to colorism, the remaining responses consisted of significant combinations of emotional and cognitive responses. Almost equivalent emotions in terms of factor coefficients were feeling sad and hurt in response to colorism within their racial community. As consistent throughout this discussion thus far, these findings

empirically support the stories that Black women have shared regarding the emotional effects of community colorism.

It should be noted that this factor had six cross-loading items, which was greater than any other factor. To avoid building multicollinearity into the subscales, these items were not used in the factor-derived subscales. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that items that loaded on more than one factor were those I had intended to assess feelings of shame and being included/excluded due to colorism. Several other items did not significantly correlate with the racial in-group colorism factor as intended. These items comprised resilient reactions to colorism and responses that included one's beliefs regarding the attractiveness of one's own skin-color shade. Future researchers should focus on further exploring the complexity of Black women's responses to their communities' colorism.

Society Colorism Experiences (Factor-E 4). The original items that I created to measure colorism events in society did not define Factor-E 4. Specifically, of a possible six items, only three items remained for this factor following the analysis process. This factor captured Black women's perceptions of barriers to achievement, progression, and support in three systems in society (i.e., educational, career, and judicial). Black women strongly identified the educational system as a context in which they have felt blocked from opportunities due to colorism. This finding supports recent theory that outlines the ways in which colorism is manifested in classrooms and educational systems (Hunter, 2016; Keith & Monroe, 2016). However, given the sample's high education level, it is also possible that education is the only context that the women had in common.

Previous research has predominantly focused on encounters of colorism in specific systems, such as media and justice systems (Fears, 1998; Harrison & Thomas,

2009; Viglione et al., 2011). Therefore, it was surprising that the society context did not contribute more significantly to Black women's perceived experiences of colorism. Recall also that societal colorism items did not form a distinct response factor, but rather were aggregated with racial out-group items. Perhaps the complexity in societal or systemic colorism is not that women perceive it across various contexts, but rather that women respond to their limited systemic colorism experiences with complex emotions and cognitions.

Empirically Derived PCS Subscales (Factors)

Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses (Factor-R 4). This factor captures the resilient responses that Black women may have to colorism experienced across non-family social contexts. Feeling encouraged within the society context was Black women's most salient positive response to colorism outside of their family. Although this was not a strong factor, the emergence of this factor adds a nuance to understanding the dynamic nature of colorism. Historically, colorism has been conceptualized as an experience with primarily negative effects on Black women. However, these findings suggest that not all reactions to colorism are averse. No locatable research has examined resilient responses to colorism. However, to complicate the concept of colorism even more, research has supported that even when Black women receive seemingly positive skin-color related experiences their relationships with other Black women in particular may be jeopardized (Hunter, 1999).

Negative Colorism Self-Concept (Factor-R 5). Another factor that emerged unexpectedly beyond my initial theoretical framework of colorism responses included the grouping of colorism responses that represented Black women's dissatisfaction with their

skin-color shade. For this factor, this concept of colorism responses was particularly relevant to non-racial community members and society. Although this factor was not as salient as previously discussed factors and resulted in a subscale with only a few items, the emergence of this dimension supports previous research that has focused on understanding colorism as an aspect of self-image (Coard et al., 2001; Hargrove, 1999).

Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness (Factor-R 6). Similar to factor five, this factor was not initially theorized as a unique aspect of colorism responses and reflects conceptual themes of reactions across contexts. This factor reveals a related dimension of self-concept, which depicts Black women's views of their skin-color and their perceptions of others' views of their skin-color, particularly with respect to attractiveness. This factor and subscale consists of only three items and is not as relevant of a contributor to the overall framework of colorism responses. However, the emergence of this factor supports research that has examined colorism through the lens of body self-image (Hargrove, 1999) and suggests a theme for further elaboration in subsequent studies.

Positive Family Colorism Responses (Factor-R 7). Lastly, similar to factor four, which also revealed a positive framework of colorism responses, factor seven adds to the complexity of understanding colorism as more than aversive experiences that have exclusively negative effects on Black women. This factor represents Black women's resilient responses to colorism perceived within their family contexts. It consists of only three items and is not as salient of a factor. Nevertheless, the emergence of this factor provides an additional lens for understanding colorism and also supports research that has

indicated the positive skin-color messages that family members may communicate (Wilder & Cain, 2010).

Validation of the Perceived Colorism Scale

The PCS Experiences and Responses subscales were differentially associated with related measures of internalized colorism, racial identity, and self-esteem in both expected and unexpected directions.

PCS and Internalized Colorism

One of the only existing measures that assesses the degree to which colorism is incorporated into an individuals beliefs, attitudes or behaviors is the In-Group Colorism Scale (ICS; Harvey et al., 2017). Although the constructs assessed by the PCS and the ICS subscales are not identical, they are similar enough for the ICS to be used to examine convergent validity of the PCS scales. Thus, Hypothesis 1 proposed that the PCS Experiences and Responses subscales would be significantly positively related to ICS subscales. In the present study, results partially supported the hypotheses by indicating significant positive relationships between only some of the PCS and ICS subscales.

Results summarized in Table 8 revealed that out of the four PCS Experiences subscales, only one subscale, Society Colorism Experiences was significantly and positively related to ICS subscales. Findings indicated that the more Black women perceived barriers in society due to their skin-color shade, the more likely they were to also exhibit internalized colorism, particularly in regard to basing their self-evaluations (Self-Concept), forming impressions of other Black individuals (Impression Formation) and believing that success of Black individuals is dependent (Upward Mobility) on skin-color shade. Although other PCS subscales did not significantly predict scores on the

ICS subscales, the results of the relationships between society colorism experiences and the previously mentioned ICS subscales are in the expected directions. Considering that society colorism experiences included Black women's perceptions of barriers in society attributable to their skin-color shade, it is theoretically relevant that perceiving societal barriers as measured by the PCS was related to believing that these barriers influence Black individual's abilities to succeed in society as a whole as measured by the ICS. Moreover, these results suggest that societal messages and experiences regarding skin-color shade may be powerful contributors to how Black women view themselves and other Black individuals.

Results summarized in Table 9 revealed that of all the PCS Responses subscales, the theoretically consistent subscales were better predictors of internalized colorism. Specifically, results revealed that Black women who expressed a greater influence of racial out-group/society and family colorism were also more likely to view skin-color shade as an important part of their self-conceptions and ability to succeed in society, as well as their views of who they find attractive respectively. These results underscore the significance that skin-color related messages and experiences with non-racial group members and in society may have on Black women's views of themselves and their abilities. Moreover, these results illustrate that family messages and experiences around skin-color may shape Black women's beliefs regarding whom they find attractive. Conversely, results revealed that having positive responses to colorism in non-family contexts was negatively related to the belief that Black individuals' skin-color shade influences their ability to succeed in society. Thus, Black women who show resilience in the face of colorism may internalize aspects of systemic colorism to a lesser degree.

Overall, results supported that the PCS Experiences and Responses subscales and ICS subscales are related, but also conceptually different. These results suggest that while the PCS and ICS may both assess aspects of colorism, as intended, each scale measures different dimensions of colorism (i.e., perceptions of colorism as measured by the PCS compared to the perpetuation of colorism as measured by the ICS). This provides some support for validity evidence.

PCS and Racial Identity

Previous research has highlighted the various roles that racial identity plays in the experience of race and skin-color related experiences (Hall, 2013; Robinson, 1992). Therefore, racial identity was considered a related concept to be examined for validity evidence. In this study, relationships between the developed PCS and the Black Racial Identity Scale (BRIAS) were investigated. Hypothesis 2 proposed that the PCS subscales would be significantly related to BRIAS subscales, in that Preencounter and Encounter subscales would be negatively related, and Immersion-Emersion and Internalization would be positively related to PCS subscales. In the present study, this hypothesis resulted in mixed support.

Findings summarized in Tables 10 and 11 indicated that significant relationships among some of the PCS subscales and the BRIAS subscales were found; however, the direction of these relationships differed from what was hypothesized. Out of the four PCS Experiences subscales, two subscales, Family Colorism Experiences and Society Colorism Experiences, significantly predicted the BRIAS. Contradictory to hypotheses, results suggest that Black women who perceived colorism experiences within their family and in society endorsed a combination of racial identity attitudes, ranging from

conforming to Whiteness (Pre-Encounter) and confusion about racial identity (Encounter) to idealizing Blackness (Immersion-Emersion).

Out of the seven Colorism Responses subscales, five significantly predicted the BRIAS. Both theory-consistent and derived subscales seemed to be equal predictors of racial identity. Of the significant relationships consisting of the theoretical subscales, one initial hypothesis was supported. As expected Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism responses was positively related to Immersion-Emersion, indicating that having a greater response to colorism in society was related to having a reactive Black racial identity. Conversely, Family Colorism Responses was unexpectedly positively related to Pre-Encounter and Encounter. Thus, for Black women, being more affected by colorism encountered with family members may lead to conforming to White standards and/or being confused regarding one's racial identity. Although these findings contradict the initial hypothesis, they are supported by previous research that revealed similar relationships between Encounter attitudes and a desire to change one's skin-color shade as measured by a colorism-related measure (Coard et al., 2001).

Overall, results supported previous research that indicates the complexities of relationships between skin-color related experiences (e.g. skin-color perceptions and satisfaction) and racial identity attitudes (Helms et al., 2014; Coard et al., 2001; Robinson, 1992). Also, similar to the ICS, results supported that the PCS and the BRIAS are complexly related, but conceptually unique, supporting validity evidence.

PCS and Self-Esteem

Existing literature has indicated significant relationships between self-esteem and other skin-color related concepts, including theorized by-products of colorism, such as

skin-color perceptions and self-image (Coard et al., 2001; Harvey et al., 2017). Therefore, in order to obtain additional validity evidence, relationships between the developed PCS and Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE) were explored. Hypothesis 3 proposed that PCS Experiences and Responses subscales would be negatively related to the RSE.

Results of the present study partially supported this hypothesis and previous research that underscores the negative relationships between self-esteem and colorism (Harvey et al., 2017). Two of the PCS Experiences subscales (Family and Society) and two of the PCS Responses subscales (Family and Racial Out-Group/Society) significantly predicted self-esteem. High levels of colorism for each of the subscales were related to low levels of self-esteem. As supported by previous research (Hall, 2003; Harvey et al., 2017), these results illustrate that colorism, and in this case colorism experienced within family and society contexts specifically, may contribute to Black women having lower self-regard.

PCS and Skin-Color Shade

Previous research has illuminated the influence that perceived skin-color shade has on Black women's skin-color conceptions (Hall, 2003; Robinson, 1992). Therefore, considering that some of the PCS factors obtained in the present study were rather puzzling, I conducted post-hoc analyses to explore the possibility that differences between skin-color shade groups on the PCS subscales might provide some clarification. Results indicated significant differences between skin-color shade categories on both the PCS Experiences and Responses subscales. Specifically, across subscales, Black women who identified as medium skin-color expressed perceiving and responding to colorism in

various contexts to a lesser degree than self-reported lighter or darker skin-color participants. Thus, there were curvilinear relationships between skin-color shades and the PCS scales in many instances.

Although previous research often conceptualizes colorism as exclusively directed toward darker-skinned Black women, results did not reveal considerable differences between darker and lighter skin-color shade categories on the PCS subscales. Among significant differences that were found, lighter-skinned women and darker skinned women seemed to endorse perceived colorism to a similar degree. These results were not surprising given that the theoretical framework for this study conceptualized colorism as an experience that can affect Black women of varying skin-color shades. Nonetheless, these findings underscore the personal narratives and limited research that suggest that colorism can impact Black women on either end of the skin-color shade spectrum (Duke, 2015; Duke & Berry, 2012; Hunter, 1999).

Methodological Limitations

Although this study provides a useful framework and measure for understanding colorism, potential methodological limitations should be considered when interpreting the results of the present study, in addition to generalizing findings to other samples. These limitations may be reflected in (a) sample characteristics, (b) measurement concerns, and (c) research design.

Sample Characteristics

Although this study used a decent sample size (N =299) of Black women of various skin-color shades, the heterogeneity of the sample across other characteristics was not considered. Specifically, this study did not purposefully recruit a sample of

Black women representative of varied ethnic backgrounds. Given the complexity of Blackness, Black women with different ethnic backgrounds may have unique experiences of colorism. Therefore, future research should not only seek a sample that includes representation of ethnic sub-populations, but it should also examine the effects of between-group ethnic differences on perceived colorism. In addition to the lack of attention to ethnicity, the present study recruited Black women who identified themselves as being US-born or having lived in the US since at least early childhood. Black women who are not born in the US, or have not lived in the US since early childhood may also have experiences that are useful for understanding the colorism that Black women face as a whole.

Moreover, this study did not assess Black women's regional backgrounds as a demographic variable. Even within the US, Black women who live in different regions may experience different forms of colorism, particularly given that varying sociopolitical climates are bounded by geographical regions. Hence, perhaps this study did not capture the different ways that colorism may be manifested in different Black communities both within and outside of the US.

Colorism may not only vary based on ethnic and geographical context, but also across time. The study sample consisted of Black women from ages 18 to 55 years, with most participants (72%) falling below the age of 35 years old. Because the number of participants within respective age brackets was not equal, and in some cases, it was small, the effects of age differences were not considered. Given the evolution of colorism across generations, the results of the present study do not speak to the different ways that Black women from varying generations experience and respond to colorism. Therefore,

future research would benefit from exploring how colorism is manifested among Black women of various age groups. Without taking into consideration these between-group demographic differences, perhaps generalization of the results from this study are limited.

Additionally, because the sample consisted of Black women and the Perceived Colorism Scale was developed for Black women, results of this study cannot be generalized to other Black individuals or communities of Color. Yet, colorism is not an experience that only affects Black women (Norwood, 2014). Some research indicates that colorism may occur among Black men (Veras, 2016), and Asian (Rondillia & Spickard, 2007) and Latino (Quiros & Dawson, 2013) communities. A study with the intent of developing a measure of Black men or other individuals of Color's perceived colorism might produce different items and subscale structures than I found for Black women. Therefore, the developed PCS may not be an effective measure for assessing perceived colorism among populations other than Black women. Future research should examine similarities and differences in the colorism experiences of other racial/ethnic gender groups.

The relative homogeneity of the current study's sample regarding education level and class should also be considered. Participants were highly educated with all but one participant identifying as having at least a high school degree and more than half of participants (60.2%) having an advanced degree. The recruitment and collection of data via online may have resulted in the oversampling of women from highly educated and middle-to-upper-class socioeconomic backgrounds. Higher degrees of education and socioeconomic status may be related to greater consciousness of colorism and/or better access to resources that facilitate resilient coping responses to colorism. Therefore,

having a sample of highly educated middle-to-upper class Black women may produce results that are not reflective of Black women from other educational and SES backgrounds.

Lastly, the self-selected nature of the sample in this study should be considered. Because recruited participants were told they would be responding to a questionnaire exploring skin-color related experiences of Black women, this might have resulted in a more significant inclusion of women whose skin-color is more salient to them, increasing the potential for selection bias. Overall, limitations regarding sample characteristics may have restricted the generalizability of the aforementioned results.

Measurement Concerns

Other limitations of this study are reflected in the process of creating the developed perceived colorism measure. Although this measure was developed based on theory, research and focus group content, some items did not meet response criteria to be included in the main analyses, and other items seemed to be conceptually unclear. In developing the PCS, I intended to broaden the scope of colorism from its traditional conceptualization of including primarily overt and aversive encounters around skin-color shade. Therefore, I initially developed items that included subtle, complex and, at times, seemingly positively colorism experiences that can still have varying effects on Black women. This intention resulted in the preliminary measure consisting of items that may have been confusing for participants to respond to and for researchers to interpret. Moreover asking participants to respond to items that describe colorism but do not directly define colorism facilitates unbiased responses. However, it also leads to the potential of ambiguity in responses and interpretations.

Likewise, in conducting factor analyses to create the PCS subscales, some items were either non-significant, cross-loaded on other factors or were combined in ways that were not initially theorized. These limitations could be reflective of the construct itself or the sample from which the construct was developed. Therefore, it would be useful to explore additional evidence supporting the underlying constructs of the measure across other samples in order to refine and confirm the developed scale.

Although the validity hypotheses were somewhat supported, results for each hypothesis did not quite match the hypothesized relationships, and significant relationships were not found among all of the PCS subscales and validity measures. In addition, although each of the PCS subscales had acceptable reliability estimates, these estimates were based on the current study sample. Therefore, evidence that the developed PCS measures what it is intended to measure and yields reliable scores should be further examined in additional samples.

All of the measures depended on respondents' self-reports of their experiences around the concepts examined in this study. Consequently, as reflected in the significant relationships between the Social Desirability Scale and other measures used in the present study, relying on self-report may have resulted in biased responses from participants. Furthermore, one of the validity measures, the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (RSE), did not include all of the intended items due to researcher error. Analysis of the effects of this error revealed no identifiable statistical threats to the data and results. However, because the RSE was not used in its entirety, results including this measure should, perhaps, be interpreted with caution.

Research Design

One limitation of the research design was the length of the survey. Overall participants responded to more than 200 items including demographic variables. Although participants were provided with the option to enter a raffle to receive a gift for participation, not every participant was compensated for engaging in the study. Therefore, the success of the study depended on respondents' intrinsic motivation to complete the survey. In addition to the lack of compensation, most of the items in the survey asked respondents about personal and potentially difficult experiences related to race and skin-color shade. Therefore, the combination of the length of the survey and the nature of the questions may have been mentally and emotionally exhausting for respondents.

A final potential drawback of the current study existed in the order of the measures. Measures were ordered by personal and contextual variables, colorism, and validity scales (i.e., racial identity, internalized colorism, self-esteem, and social desirability). Because earlier measures were comprised of several items and represented the main themes of the study (e.g. colorism, race), having these measures at the beginning of the study may have led to fatigue or priming that might have informed participants' responses to subsequent study questions. Notwithstanding the low percentage of missing values and low number of participants who did not complete entire sections of the survey, it is not possible to understand the potential influence of the ordering of the measures across participants without having controlled for order effects.

Implications for Future Research and Practice

Despite the potential limitations, the present study has several implications for future research and practice. The implications can be classified as pertaining to measurement, theory, clinical practice and training.

Measurement Implications

Through the process of scale development, several items were significantly correlated with more than one factor. It could not be determined in the present study whether these items reflected the experiences/responses of different types of women or were just unfortunately worded items. Therefore, future research might examine the concepts represented by these items and related factors to discover whether they reflect overlooked dimensions of colorism. Moreover, items that might have been too confusing for participants to understand should be clarified in future research. For example, items that asked respondents if they had experienced specific positive and/or negative experiences of colorism should be investigated separately (e.g. positive versus negative experiences) in order to differentiate responses.

Likewise, emergent subscales that were not initially hypothesized included a small number of items that represented colorism themes that have been previously examined (i.e. skin-color self-image and evaluations). Therefore, items should be investigated to determine if there are other forms of colorism that may add to the item structure of these scales in order to strengthen their conceptual meaning. Accordingly, relationships between these derived scales and existing measures that assess related constructs, such as skin-color perceptions (Bond & Cash, 1992; Fegley et al., 2008) and satisfaction (Falconer & Neville, 2000; Hargrove, 1999) should be explored to support

additional validity evidence. Because construct validity evidence was only partially supported for the PCS in the present study, additional studies should be undertaken that utilize other validity measures of colorism-related constructs.

Lastly, given that findings indicated that skin-color shade was significantly related to the PCS in the present study, future research should examine more of the nuanced ways that skin-color shade relates to perceived experiences of and responses to colorism among Black women. Particularly, intriguing was the finding that women who perceived their skin-color shade in the mid-range seemed less exposed and/or responsive to colorism than the women who perceived themselves as light or dark. Hence, objective measurement of skin-color shade in combination with the PCS subscales might help to discover the extent to which skin-color shade is relevant.

Theoretical Implications

Beyond measurement-related implications, the current study also has several theoretical implications. By developing a framework and measure for assessing perceived contextual colorism, the present study sets the foundation for exploring relationships among perceived colorism and other concepts.

Existing theory and research has underscored the existence of colorism in Black women's interactions with individuals outside of their racial community and in society as a whole, a premise that was supported by the findings of the present study (Fears, 1998; Harrison & Thomas, 2009; Secord, 1959; Viglione et al., 2011). However, this previous research has been limited by focusing on the nature of the colorism that Black women may encounter in these contexts without exploring how Black women perceive and are influenced by such colorism. The current study addressed researchers' failure to explore

Black women's expressed experiences of and responses to different forms of colorism within various contexts. However, the present study did not examine the interpersonal relations (i.e., who did what to whom) within these contexts. For instance, based on previous research, a logical presumption is that Black women's racial out-group and society colorism experiences are reflective of encounters with White individuals and White society specifically (Harrison & Thomas, 2009; Secord, 1959). Nevertheless, this racial attribution cannot be confirmed from the results of the current study. Therefore, because of the supported salience of these contexts, future research should investigate Black women's perceptions and reactions to colorism experienced from White individuals compared to other individuals of Color. Likewise, within the family and racial community contexts, the present study did not examine if Black women perceive and respond to colorism differently when expressed by specific members of their families (i.e. their mothers, Wilder & Cain, 2010) or racial communities (i.e. other Black women, Hunter, 1999). Hence, potential research should similarly seek to differentiate the relevance of specific relationships within family and racial in-group community contexts on Black women's experiences and reactions to colorism.

Furthermore, one unexpected discovery in the current study was a dimension of colorism, positive and resilient colorism responses, which is not ordinarily discussed in research. Future theory and research should explicate this concept further by examining the essence of the affirming ways that Black women respond to their skin-color shade and associated experiences. If in fact some Black women engender positive coping strategies to combat colorism, research that considers the factors that mediate colorism encounters and aid in Black women's resilience would be valuable.

Clinical Implications

The results of the present study also have implications for clinical practice and training. Throughout this study, the nuances of colorism have echoed—highlighting the complex ways that colorism is related to, and yet different from racism, and is manifested in various contexts that Black women encounter. Considering the implications of the present study, it is imperative that practitioners recognize colorism as a derivative of racism to such an extent that it may have similar cumulative and potentially traumatic effects on Black women as other forms of racism.

Moreover, practitioners should be aware of the variety of emotional and cognitive responses that Black women may express in reaction to colorism. In the present study, hurt, anger, and confusion were the strongest emotions and they occurred across social contexts—though most strongly with respect to racial out-group members and society. Findings also illustrated the subtle and indirect colorism that Black women may encounter and react to. Therefore, practitioners should also be aware that Black women might experience psychological distress without necessarily being aware of its source. Effective diagnosis and treatment may require practitioners to aid Black women clients in naming and giving voice to colorism even when Black women do not initiate identifying it themselves.

As supported in the present study, Black women's colorism experiences are complex and multidimensional. Therefore, clinicians should approach topics around colorism in therapy with multi-layered and integrative approaches. In light of results in the present study that illuminated racial out-group and society as most salient contributors to Black women's experiences and reactions to colorism, clinician's should realize that

the colorism that Black women face might not be changeable. Therefore, practitioners should seek interventions that acknowledge context as an important contributor to an individual's distress, and promote healthy resilience and resistance skills that assist Black women in coping with and addressing colorism in their everyday lives.

Training Implications

Finally, it is important that mental health professionals, researchers, and educators incorporate colorism awareness training in their professional development. The field of psychology is becoming increasingly more aware of the dynamics of racism across several dimensions and contexts. However, the concept of colorism needs to be explored in much greater depth.

Given that the present study highlighted the potential influence of an individual's skin-color shade on her awareness of colorism, trainees should be encouraged to engage in ongoing self-reflection regarding their relative skin-color shade privilege, colorism-awareness, and associated skin-color values. Any of these factors may contribute to internalized colorism messages and biases. Therefore, training programs should facilitate opportunities for trainees to increase their skills in recognizing how they potentially perpetuate colorism either intentionally or unintentionally. Finally, trainees of Color in particular should be provided with trustworthy spaces that inspire them to acknowledge their potential colorism triggers and responses as they pertain to their personal and professional development.

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Appendix A: Demographic Questionnaire

Instructions: Please provide the following information:

1) What is your age?

2) Gender
(a) Female (b) Male (c) Transgender (d) Other (please specify) _____

3) Socioeconomic Status
a) Less than $10,000 b) $10,000 to $19,999 c) $20,000 to $29,999
d) $30,000 to $39,999 e) $40,000 to $49,999 f) $50,000 to $59,999
g) $60,000 to $69,999 h) $70,000 to $79,999 i) $80,000 to $89,999
j) $90,000 to $99,000 k) $100,000 to $149,999 l) $150,000 or more

4) Country of Birth: _____

5) If not born in the U.S., how many years have you lived in the U.S.?

6) Highest Level of Education Completed in the U.S.
a) Some high school b) High School graduate c) Some College
d) Associates Degree e) Bachelors Degree f) Some Graduate School
g) Advanced Degree (MA, PhD, PsyD, JD, MD)

7) Current Occupation (please specify):
_____

8) Racial Identification (Choose *as many* as apply)
a) African American/Black b) White American/White c) Asian/Pacific Islander
d) Latino/a or Hispanic (of Color) e) White Latino/a or Hispanic
f) Native American/Indigenous g) Biracial/Multiracial/Mixed-Race

9) Ethnicity (e.g. Haitian, Dominican, Filipino/a, Irish, etc.): _____

10) Relationship Status
a) Single b) In a Relationship c) Married d) Separated e) Divorced f) Widowed

11) Please provide racial and ethnic information regarding your biological parents (Parent 1 and Parent 2) below:

Biological Parent 1
Parent Race (Choose as many as apply)
a) African American/Black b) White American/White c) Asian/Pacific Islander
d) Latino/a or Hispanic (of Color) e) White Latino/a or Hispanic

f) Native American/Indigenous g) Biracial/Multiracial/Mixed-Race h) Uncertain

Parent Ethnicity (e.g. Haitian, Dominican, Filipino/a, Irish, etc.): _____

Biological Parent 2

Parent Race (Choose as many as apply)

a) African American/Black b) White American/White c) Asian/Pacific Islander

d) Latino/a or Hispanic (of Color) e) White Latino/a or Hispanic

f) Native American/Indigenous g) Biracial/Multiracial/Mixed-Race h) Uncertain

Parent Ethnicity (e.g. Haitian, Dominican, Filipino/a, Irish, etc.): _____

Skin Color Self-Identification

1. In comparison to other women my age in my racial group, **I believe** my skin color can be best described as:

   a) Very Dark b) Dark c) Medium d) Light e) Very Light f) Uncertain

2. In comparison to other women my age in my racial group, **other people** would likely describe my skin color as:

   a) Very Dark b) Dark c) Medium d) Light e) Very Light f) Uncertain

3. In comparison to other individuals their age in their racial group, **I believe** my biological parents skin color can be best described as:

   Parent #1:
   a) Very Dark b) Dark c) Medium d) Light e) Very Light f) Uncertain

   Parent #2:
   a) Very Dark b) Dark c) Medium d) Light e) Very Light f) Uncertain

Appendix B: Preliminary Perceived Colorism Scale

Instructions: This questionnaire includes statements about your skin-color shade, including messages you have received and your personal experiences and views. Use the scale beside the statement to respond to each statement based upon how true it is for you. In the column next to each item, click in the category that best describes your response to each statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	**Disagree**	**Neither Agree or Disagree**	**Agree**	**Strongly Agree**

Please respond to the following statements regarding experiences with individuals within your **FAMILY**.

Within my family, I have…

…been treated differently because of my skin-color shade.
…had comments or jokes made about my skin-color shade.
…been labeled because of my skin-color shade (e.g. "the dark child", "the light sister").
…had positive (e.g. intelligent) and/or negative (e.g. unattractive) stereotypes associated with my skin-color shade.
…been told I am advantaged and/or disadvantaged because of my skin-color shade.
…been told there was a problem with my skin-color shade (e.g. being "too dark", not being "dark enough" or "too light").
…been told to do things like "stay out of the sun" or "stay in the sun" in order to avoid changing or to change my skin color shade.

My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have…

…influenced how I think about my skin-color shade
…positively influenced my self-image.
…negatively influenced my self-image.
…made me wish I were a different skin-color shade.
…made me want to maintain my current skin-color shade.
…made me want to change my current skin-color shade.
…made me feel like my skin-color experiences are not real or important.
…made me feel more or less included.
…made me feel more or less attractive.

My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel…

… hurt.
…ashamed.

…happy.
…confused.
…anxious.
…sad.
…angry.
…encouraged.
…comfortable.

Please respond to the following statements regarding experiences with individuals **WITHIN** your **RACIAL GROUP**.

Within my Racial Community, I have…

…been treated differently because of my skin-color shade.
…had comments or jokes made about my skin-color shade.
…been labeled because of my skin-color shade.
…had positive (e.g. intelligent) and/or negative (e.g. unattractive) stereotypes associated with my skin-color shade.
…been told I am advantaged and/or disadvantaged because of my skin-color shade.
…been told there was a problem with my skin-color shade (e.g. being "too dark", not being "dark enough" or "too light").

My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have…

…influenced how I think about my skin-color shade
…positively influenced my self-image.
…negatively influenced my self-image.
…made me wish I were a different skin-color shade.
…made me want to maintain my current skin-color shade.
…made me want to change my current skin-color shade.
…made me feel like my skin-color experiences are not real or important.
…made me feel more or less included.
…made me feel more or less attractive.

My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel…

… hurt.
…ashamed.
…happy.
…confused.
…anxious.
…sad.
…angry.
…encouraged.
…comfortable.

Please respond to the following statements regarding experiences with individuals **OUTSIDE** of your racial group.

Outside of my racial community, I have…

…been treated differently because of my skin-color shade.
…had comments or jokes made about my skin-color shade.
…been labeled because of my skin-color shade.
…had positive (e.g. intelligent) and/or negative (e.g. unattractive) stereotypes associated with my skin-color shade.
…been told I am advantaged and/or disadvantaged because of my skin-color shade.
…been told there was a problem with my skin-color shade (e.g. being "too dark", not being "dark enough" or "too light").

Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have…

…influenced how I think about my skin-color shade.
…positively influenced my self-image.
…negatively influenced my self-image.
…made me wish I were a different skin-color shade.
…made me want to maintain my current skin-color shade.
…made me want to change my current skin-color shade.
…made me feel like my skin-color experiences are not real or important.
…made me feel more or less included.
…made me feel more or less attractive.

Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel…

… hurt.
…ashamed.
…happy.
…confused.
…anxious.
…sad.
…angry.
…encouraged.
…comfortable.

Please respond to the following statements regarding experiences within larger **SOCIETY.**

In Society, I have…

…felt like my skin color shade was a barrier to educational opportunities (e.g. getting accepted into educational programs).
…felt like my skin color shade was a barrier to obtaining job offers or job promotions.
…felt like my skin color shade was a barrier to receiving fair judicial/criminal processes.
…experienced advantages and/or disadvantages because of my skin-color shade.
…had positive stereotypes (e.g. intelligent, wealthy) and/or negative stereotypes (e.g. unattractive, poor) associated with my skin-color shade.
…received positive and/or negative messages from media advertisements (e.g. news, magazines) and social media regarding my skin color.
…received messages that there is a problem with my skin color shade (e.g. being "too dark", not being "dark enough" or "too light").

Society's reactions to my skin-color shade have…

…influenced how I think about my skin-color shade.
…positively influenced my self-image.
…negatively influenced my self-image.
…made me wish I were a different skin-color shade.
…made me want to maintain my current skin-color shade.
…made me want to change my current skin-color shade.
…made me feel like my skin-color experiences are not real or important.
…made me feel more or less included.
…made me feel more or less attractive.

Reactions to my skin-color shade in Society have made me feel…

… hurt.
…ashamed.
…happy.
…confused.
…anxious.
…sad.
…angry.
…encouraged.
…comfortable.

Appendix C: Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (Helms, 1995)

Instructions: This questionnaire is designed to measure people's attitudes about social and political issues. There are no right and wrong answers. use the scale below to respond to each statement. In the column next to each item, click in the category that best describes how you feel.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	**Disagree**	**Neither Agree or Disagree**	**Agree**	**Strongly Agree**

1	2	3	4	5	1. I believe being Black is a positive experience.
1	2	3	4	5	2. I know through personal experience what being Black in America means.
1	2	3	4	5	3. I am increasing my involvement in Black activities because I don't feel comfortable in White environments.
1	2	3	4	5	4. I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy.
1	2	3	4	5	5. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people.
1	2	3	4	5	6. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.
1	2	3	4	5	7. A person's race does not influence how comfortable I feel when I am with her or him.
1	2	3	4	5	8. I believe that Whites look and express themselves better than Blacks.
1	2	3	4	5	9. I feel uncomfortable when I am around Black people.
1	2	3	4	5	10. I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities.
1	2	3	4	5	11. When I am with people I trust, I often find myself using slang words to refer to White people.
1	2	3	4	5	12. I believe that being Black is a negative experience.
1	2	3	4	5	13. I am confused about whether White people have anything important to teach me.
1	2	3	4	5	14. I frequently confront the system and the (White) man.
1	2	3	4	5	15. I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (art shows, political meetings, Black theater, etc.)
1	2	3	4	5	16. I involve myself in social action and political groups even if there are no other Blacks involved.
1	2	3	4	5	17. I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways which are similar to White people.
1	2	3	4	5	18. I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black or Afrocentric perspective.
1	2	3	4	5	19. I'm not sure how I feel about myself racially.
1	2	3	4	5	20. I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings.
1	2	3	4	5	21. I believe 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.

1	2	3	4	5	23. I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black.
1	2	3	4	5	24. I feel guilty or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people.
1	2	3	4	5	25. I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become part of the White person's world.
1	2	3	4	5	26. My identity revolves around being a Black person in this country.
1	2	3	4	5	27. I limit myself to Black activities as much as I can.
1	2	3	4	5	28. I am determined to find my Black identity.
1	2	3	4	5	29. I like to make friends with Black people.
1	2	3	4	5	30. I believe that I have many strengths because I am Black.
1	2	3	4	5	31. I feel that Black people do not have as much to be proud of as White people do.
1	2	3	4	5	32. I am at ease being around Black people.
1	2	3	4	5	33. I believe that Whites should feel guilty about the way they have treated Blacks in the past.
1	2	3	4	5	34.White people can't be trusted.
1	2	3	4	5	35. In today's society if Black people don't achieve, they have only themselves to blame.
1	2	3	4	5	36. The most important thing about me is that I am Black.
1	2	3	4	5	37. Being Black just feels natural to me.
1	2	3	4	5	38. Other Black people have trouble accepting me because my life experiences have been so different from their experiences.
1	2	3	4	5	39. Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it.
1	2	3	4	5	40. Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the White race.
1	2	3	4	5	41. The people I respect most are White.
1	2	3	4	5	42. I have begun to question my beliefs about my racial group.
1	2	3	4	5	43. I feel anxious when White people compare me to other members of my race.
1	2	3	4	5	44. I tend to bond easily with Black people.
1	2	3	4	5	45. A person's race may be a positive aspect of who he or she is.
1	2	3	4	5	46. When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy the things they enjoy.
1	2	3	4	5	47. When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed.
1	2	3	4	5	48. I believe that a Black person can be close friends with a White person.
1	2	3	4	5	49. Sometimes I think that White people are superior and sometimes I think they're inferior to Black people.
1	2	3	4	5	50. I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black.

1	2	3	4	5	51. I participate in Black culture.
1	2	3	4	5	52. I am not sure where I really belong racially.
1	2	3	4	5	53. I believe that White people are more intelligent than Blacks.
1	2	3	4	5	54. I speak my mind regardless of the consequences (e.g. being kicked out of school, being imprisoned, being exposed to danger).
1	2	3	4	5	55. I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people.
1	2	3	4	5	56. I often feel that I belong to the Black racial group.
1	2	3	4	5	57. I am embarrassed about some of the things I feel about my racial group.
1	2	3	4	5	58. Most Blacks I know are failures.
1	2	3	4	5	59. I am changing my style of life to fit my new beliefs about Black people.
1	2	3	4	5	60. I am satisfied with myself.

Appendix D: In-Group Colorism Scale (Harvey, Banks & Tennial, 2017)

Instructions: This questionnaire includes statements regarding your personal views about skin color. Use the scale to respond to each statement based upon how true it is for you. In the column next to each item, click in the category that best describes your response to each statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	**Disagree**	**Neither Agree or Disagree**	**Agree**	**Strongly Agree**

_____ 1. My skin tone is an important part of my self-concept
_____ 2. My skin tone is an important component of who I am
_____ 3. My skin tone affects my self-esteem
_____ 4. My skin tone is a big part of my identity
_____ 5. You can tell a lot about a person by their skin tone
_____ 6. Blacks with lighter skin tone tend to be more pleasant people to deal with
_____ 7. Dark skinned people are more difficult to work with
_____ 8. There are real differences between light skin and dark skinned people
_____ 9. I'm usually uncomfortable being around people who are a certain skin tone
_____ 10. Most of my friends tend to be the same skin tone
_____ 11. I usually choose who I'm going to be friends with by their skin tone
_____ 12. The majority of my current friends are the same skin tone as me
_____ 13. I'm primarily attracted to people of a certain skin tone
_____ 14. I prefer light skin over dark complexion skin when choosing romantic interests
_____ 15. I prefer a romantic partner who has the same skin tone as me
_____ 16. Lighter skin tone makes others more attractive
_____ 17. Even if you work really hard, your skin tone matters most
_____ 18. Skin tone plays a big part in determining how far you can make it
_____ 19. Skin tone affects how much money you can make
_____ 20. If you want to get ahead, you have to be the right skin tone

Appendix E: Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965)

Instructions: This questionnaire includes statements regarding your general feelings about yourself. Use the scale to respond to each statement based upon how true it is for you. In the column next to each item, click in the category that best describes your response to each statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	**Disagree**	**Neither Agree or Disagree**	**Agree**	**Strongly Agree**

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
2. At times, I think I am no good at all.
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
6. I certainly feel useless at times.
7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

Appendix F: Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Form C

Instructions: This questionnaire includes statements regarding personal views and opinions about yourself. In the column next to each item, click the response that best describes whether each statement is true or false.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	**Disagree**	**Neither Agree or Disagree**	**Agree**	**Strongly Agree**

1. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
2. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
3. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
4. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
5. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
6. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
7. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
8. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
9. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
10. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
11. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
12. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
13. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

Appendix G: Focus Group Study

As an initial step in developing the Perceived Colorism Scale items, focus groups were conducted with a college community sample of Black women to explore colorism themes and generate initial items for the proposed scale.

Method

Participants

Self-identified Black women ($N = 9$) were recruited from a private college in the Northeast region of the US. Criteria for participating in the study included self-identifying as a Black woman and being between the ages of 18-30 years. Participants were recruited through the offices of university organizations and email listservs. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 27 years (Mean= 21.20, SD= 3.03). Most participants indicated that they were single (89%). The sample consisted of six undergraduate and three graduate students. Regarding skin color shade, participants identified as brown skin ($n = 8$) and light skin ($n = 1$; Tables 3-6).

Table 14

Relevant Demographic Information for Focus Group 1 Participants

	Participant 1	Participant 2	Participant 3	Participant 4	Participant 5
Age	18	19	19	27	19
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	Bisexual	Heterosexual	Queer	Heterosexual
Marital Status	Single	Single	Single	Married	Single
Highest Education	Some College	Some College	Some College	Graduate Degree	Some College

Table 15

Racial and Ethnic Information for Focus Group 1 Participants

	Participant 1	Participant 2	Participant 3	Participant 4	Participant 5
Racial background	Black	African American	Bi-Racial (Black/White)	Black	Black
Ethnic background	African American	(did not report)	Black	African American	Nigerian

Table 16

Relevant Demographic Information for Focus Group 2 Participants

	Participant 6	Participant 7	Participant 8	Participant 9
Age	21	25	21	22
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	Heterosexual	Heterosexual	Heterosexual
Marital Status	Single	Single	Single	Single
Highest Education	Some College	Some Graduate	Some College	Some Graduate

Table 17

Racial and Ethnic Information for Focus Group 2 Participants

	Participant 6	Participant 7	Participant 8	Participant 9
Racial background	Black	African American	African American	Black
Ethnic background	Cape Verdean	Haitian	American	Haitian

Measures

Racial Body Image Questionnaire (RBIQ; Hargrove, 1999). As one of few measures directly assessing respondents' perceptions regarding their skin color, this mixed-methods measure was used as a part of the qualitative focus group protocol in order to receive participants' feedback in responding to items and to generate additional conversation and content around participants' experiences with their skin color and colorism. Hargrove's (1999) original 19-item Racial Body Image Questionnaire assesses attitudes about perceived skin color, racial physiognomy, and satisfaction with physical appearance. Participants responded to the items 10 that assessed attitudes toward one's

skin color. One item assessed satisfaction with skin color (i.e., "How satisfied are you with your skin color"). This item was rated on a 5-point satisfaction scale (1 = Very Dissatisfied to 5 = Very Satisfied). Two items assessed desire to change skin color ("In comparison to people in my racial group, I believe my skin color/complexion can be best described as…" and "I wish my skin color was…"). These two items were responded to via 5-point scales (1 = "very dark", 2 = "dark", 3 = "brown", 4 = "light", 5 = "very light"). An open-ended item allowed participants to describe their skin color in their own words. An additional six items assessed behaviors related to skin-color satisfaction (e.g., "I stay out of the sun because I don't want to get darker", "I use products to change my skin complexion"), and aversive experiences related to skin color (e.g. "I have been teased because of my skin color"). These items used 5-point response formats (1=Definitely Agree to 5 = Definitely Disagree).

Protocol. In generating the focus group protocol, researchers asked an expert panel of 10 colleagues who were familiar with the content and concepts to review and provide feedback about the focus group protocol questions and probes. All of the experts had research and clinical expertise in the domains of the psychology of race and culture. In terms of racial/ethnic background, the panel consisted of five women who self-identified as Black, three women who self-identified as multi-racial, one woman who self-identified as Sri Lankan, and one woman who self-identified as Chinese. One of the experts had a doctoral degree and faculty position in counseling psychology, six of the experts were doctoral students in a counseling psychology program, and three of the experts were master's level students in a mental health counseling program.

The main focus group protocol included a procedure that assessed participants' self-perceived skin color classification. Participants were provided with color swatches of various skin color shades and asked to identify the color swatch that they felt most closely matched the color/shade of their skin. The skin color swatches were generated from an online search conducted by the principal investigator and research assistants, and were reviewed by the expert panel to assess skin color shade variation and diversity. This type of procedure has been used in previous studies examining the effects of colorism and skin color perceptions (Bond & Cash, Keenan, 1996) as an additional method to assess perceived skin color. In this study, this procedure was used both to assess participants' perceived skin color and as a part of the focus group questioning in order to engage participants in reflecting on how they understand and define their skin color and associated experiences, as well as assess their experiences completing such a procedure (Appendix I).

The focus group questions (See Appendix I) were developed to explore perceived colorism based on theoretical literature. Theorists contend that Black women encounter colorism in their (a) family relationships, (b) social and community networks, and (c) the larger society, and (d) colorism experiences within these contexts both influence and are informed by individual beliefs and attitudes (Hill, 2002; Maddox & Gray, 2002; Wilder & Cain, 2010). Therefore, a counseling psychology socioecological framework was used to generate focus group questions that assessed participants' colorism experiences across various social contexts. This theoretical lens supports the relevance of dynamic interactions between a person and her various social contexts, including sociocultural factors (e.g., race) and social structures and systems (e.g., racism), and the influence of

these interactions in shaping emotional responses and behavior (Brenner, Zimmerman, Bauermeister, & Caldwell, 2013; Neville & Mobley, 2001).

Using this lens, focus group questions assessed colorism experiences across the: (a) Family Level: participants' perceptions of messages received regarding their skin color or skin color generally from their family; (b) Community Level (within racial community): participants' perceptions of messages received regarding their skin color or skin color generally from Black individuals they interact with, if they compare themselves to other Black women in understanding and how they experience their skin color; (c) Community Level (outside of racial community): participants' perceptions of messages received regarding their skin color or skin color generally from non-Black individuals they interact with; (d) Societal Level: participants' perceptions of messages received regarding their skin color or skin color generally from larger society (i.e. media), perceptions of the influence of their skin color on educational and/or employment opportunities; and (e) Individual Level: how colorism messages and encounters have influenced how they experience, perceive characteristics (i.e. physical attractiveness) associated with, and feel influenced by their skin color, contextual influences on their experience of their skin color (i.e. geographical location, racial demographics, time), their understanding and familiarity with the term colorism (Appendix I).

Demographic Questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire was used to verify participants' match to inclusion criteria (e.g., age, gender, race, ethnicity), and to obtain general descriptive information (e.g., education completed, religion, languages spoken).

Procedures

Quantitative and qualitative data were collected from two semi-structured focus groups led by the principal investigator who self-identifies as a Black woman with medium/brown skin-color shade, and each were assisted by two different research assistants, one self-identifying as a Black woman with light skin-color shade and the other self-identifying as a bi-racial (Filipino and White) woman with very light skin-color shade. Each focus group was 60 minutes and was conducted in a university conference room based on participants' available schedules. The use of a semi-structured focus group protocol allowed the principal investigator to receive direct input from participants, including their personal narratives about their experiences of colorism.

Informed consent was provided and participants first completed the demographic questionnaire, RBIQ and skin-color classification procedure. Participants reflected and provided feedback on their experience of responding to the RBIQ items and the skin-color classification procedure. The main protocol questions were then used to guide the remainder of the focus group process. The questioning process began with the assessment of general messages received about skin color from their family, other Black and non-Black individuals, and the broader society (i.e. "What messages have you received about skin color and/or your skin color from your family?"). Probes were prepared for some questions in order to elicit further information from the participants if the responses provided needed clarification or more information.

Throughout the focus group, facilitators documented participants' interactions and salient topics that emerged as data for future qualitative analyses. Additionally, both of the focus groups were audio recorded and transcribed by the principal investigator. To ensure fidelity in the correct transcription, the principal investigator reviewed the

transcripts against audio recordings. The transcriptions were also read twice by an external researcher, not present during the focus group interviews. The external researcher is a self-identified dark-skin Black woman, with a doctoral degree in counseling psychology, and an expert in the study content and in qualitative methods.

Data Analyses

A directed content analysis was used to allow for deductive and inductive exploration of the data. This approach uses theory and previous literature to guide the analysis while also allowing room for adapting or generating new theory as it emerges from the data. Prior to the main analyses, the transcripts for the focus groups were printed and carefully read line by line by both the principal investigator and the external researcher in order to outline and provide a structure for the analysis process.

In an effort to reduce data in order to focus and organize the analysis process, transcribed data were structurally coded based on responses to questions and sets of questions as outlined by a counseling psychology socioecological theoretical lens (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Structural coding is an effective method for reducing qualitative data and involves coding responses to specific questions or sets of questions that "comprise a conceptual domain of inquiry" (Namey et al., 2008, p. 140). Therefore, data were segmented and grouped based on participants' responses reflecting (a) Individual Level: personal experiences with and reflections on colorism generally; (b) Family Level: colorism experiences and messages within their family; (c) Community Level (Within Racial Community): colorism experiences with and messages from other individuals within their racial group; and (d) Community Level (Outside Racial Community):

colorism experiences with and messages from other individuals outside of their racial group (e) Society Level: colorism experiences and messages within larger society.

Within each of these contextual levels, data was analyzed and further segmented into meaningful analytical themes for additional coding. The principal investigator and external researcher started with one category and both conducted open coding. This involved a process wherein segments of data were highlighted and marked in the margins with descriptive words in order to generate themes across the segmented data. After the completion of coding for one category, the principal investigator and external researcher reviewed the coding process in order to establish inter-coder agreement within the process thus far and to develop a master list of codes. In order to move the coding process along, the principal investigator continued as the primary coder for the remainder of the coding process. According to Campbell, Quincy, Osserman and Pedersen (2013) it is recommended that the development stages of coding schemes require at least two coders; however, a good degree of inter-coder agreement justifies the choice for one, rather than two or more coders during the deployment stages.

The primary coder coded the remaining categories using the master list of codes—reapplying them to new segments of data. This process was completed twice in order to validate the initial coding. Inconsistencies were highlighted and discussed with the external researcher. Following the open coding process, the primary coder conducted axial coding to identify relationships among the open codes in order to establish thematic concepts across these codes. As a final stage, the primary coder conducted selective coding. In this coding process the theoretical lens of socioecological theory as applied to contextual colorism in combination with prior literature on Black women's colorism

experiences were used in order to further identify and refine core concepts and the overall story illuminated in the focus group data.

Validity

Triangulation in qualitative research is "a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126). In this study, data were triangulated by the use of memo notes during and after the focus groups in order to better understand the focus group process and to make note of researchers' self-reflective process throughout the study. Data were also triangulated with the inclusion of an external researcher who was involved in and consistently provided feedback and consultation throughout the analysis process. Lastly, researchers consistently referred back to relevant theoretical literature and personal narratives in order to confirm and disconfirm data trends.

Qualitative Results

The results of qualitative analyses generated broad categories based on structural codes that represent the social contexts where Black women perceive colorism: individual experience of general colorism, family colorism, racial in-group colorism, racial out-group colorism, and society colorism. Subcategories for each of the broad categories were also generated from the analysis and included Black women's (a) awareness of colorism; (b) identity and image; (c) cognitive-emotional reactions; (d) responding; and (e) the relevance of context. Themes generated in each of these subcategories across broad social context categories will be discussed.

Awareness

There was consistency across social contexts with Black women sharing various degrees of awareness of colorism, either as a personal experience, or as an observed experience of others. Specifically, Black women shared being able to remember and recall moments when they first became aware of colorism through their own encounters within their families, communities and in society, through observing encounters and/or hearing stories from others they know, or through other outlets, such as research or documentaries. In both focus groups, Black women specifically referenced two recent popular documentaries, Dark Girls and Light Girls, as important sources of information in their awareness of colorism. They also shared moments where they realized themselves being treated differently or witnessed someone else experience differential treatment due to skin color shade. For example, one woman shared:

> I remember in school in my younger days I had a classmate with darker skin and I just remember her being the subject of a lot of teasing and I remember feeling relieved that I didn't look like that because I would be teased too.

Black women also highlighted the need for greater awareness and knowledge of colorism within their various social contexts. This included some women encouraging the importance of internal self-awareness and collective (family, community and/or society) awareness. For instance, one woman expressed, "It wasn't until I got older that I realized how problematic that was [witnessing someone else experience colorism] and I think

that's why I'm more conscious of it even though nobody else in my family really thinks about it."

Another woman referenced the importance of being "conscious" of colorism:

> I feel like what can you really do to break it down [address colorism], it's a lot, but I feel like as long as you're conscious of it, if you're processing the things that you're saying and the decisions, because I've said some light skin/dark skin comments too…as long as you're processing it, I feel like it's better off than like when people are like "I'm colorblind", you know [sic]…"I don't see color"…they aren't even trying to process what is.

In discussing the colorism they are already aware of across social contexts, women acknowledged the influence of external (others') perceptions of their skin color and both positive and negative messages received from others, and that others (including White individuals) receive around skin color. For example, one woman shared a story in which she became aware of the colorism messages that White people receive. In this story, she shared being asked how Black she was followed by "team light skin" from her White male peers on a social media website. In response to this experience, this participant expressed, "Not that I was surprised, but I was just like…it's real…it's too real. Like they'll have a Black woman, but she has to be lighter skinned [sic]." Another woman responded, "I'm not surprised though…you sort of receive some of those messages within the Black community, so what would make it different that it's [colorism] within the White community, you know?"

Black women also shared their awareness of the consequences of colorism for themselves and others. For example, women shared being aware of how colorism has affected how Black women treat each other, particularly in regards to the resentment they perceive to be directed toward lighter skin Black women. Women who either self-identified with lighter skin shade or have been perceived as light shared their personal experience with this resentment and its influence on them being more aware of their skin color shade. Women also expressed that colorism isn't something that is easily recognized and goes beyond skin color and includes other racial features, such as hair texture and facial structures (i.e. width of nose, eyes and lip size).

Results revealed additional themes that were consistent across only some social contexts. Personally and within their racial in-group and out-group communities, women shared recognizing their own skin color advantage or the advantages that people of particular skin color shades receive among their family and racial community. Women also recognized that colorism goes beyond differential treatment and advantage or disadvantage, and represents a deeper system rooted in racism.

Lastly, results revealed themes that were specific to single social contexts. For instance, while some women shared negative encounters of colorism within their family, others expressed not having negative colorism experiences among their family. This seemed to be associated with what women described as a collective awareness about colorism among their family, where family members were aware of colorism and discussed it openly among each other—often challenging it.

Black women also expressed being aware of differential expectations within their racial community based on skin color shade and discussed the divisions that exist due to these expectations and associated stereotypes that they viewed as often perpetuated within Black communities. For example, one woman shared her experience of being expected to date a White individual due to her skin color shade. She expressed, "it was always expected that me and my sister would marry White guys because we looked so White." In sharing the divisions between dark and light within the Black community, another woman shared "I feel like the dark skinned girls, they still don't get that much love". She later expressed, "I feel like we spend too much time trying to identify ourselves and separate ourselves within our own group that it's putting ourselves down [sic]."

Black women also acknowledged that colorism does not only occur within the Black community, but shared beliefs that colorism is manifested in different ways within the Black community compared to other communities of Color, though not completely able to pinpoint and articulate these differences. With regards to colorism within broader society specifically, women shared their awareness of media that on one hand promote options and mechanisms to change skin color shade (i.e. lightening creams) and on the other hand is now moving toward a stance of over-idealization of dark skin. In providing examples of this over-idealization, women shared their awareness of recent attention being given to darker skin famous individuals, such as Lupita Nyong'o, a newly popular dark-skinned actress.

Identity and Image

There was also consistency across social contexts in women sharing various ways in which they define and identify with their skin color shade and how collective definitions and characteristics (i.e. stereotypes) are often associated with differential skin color shades, producing images for what it means to be a Black woman of a particular skin color shade, and in turn influencing one's own self-image of her skin color. For example, one woman shared, "I think in Black culture people are always like 'oh, I want to be light skin', like that's like the pretty skin [sic]." Another woman shared her experience of having difficulty making friends growing up and one day having a conversation with her mother about why she had this experienced. Her mother's response in providing a reason for this experience was "oh because you are lighter, they think you're stuck up, they think you're too good for them." Similarly, one woman shared being told by someone "you don't act like a light skinned girl", and being confused in what this statement meant.

Black women shared ways in which they define and understand their skin color shade as well as how skin color shade is differentiated, grouped and labeled across social contexts. Women also shared experiencing disagreement in regards to how they view and identify their skin color shade and how others view and identify it. They expressed that this disagreement expands beyond skin color shade to their racial identity as well. For example, in sharing he experience of identifying her skin color shade, one woman shared:

> I compared it [skin color shade] to my friend group…like I have one friend who's lighter than all of us so we would consider her light skinned.

> It was like circumstantial, because in other groups I would be considered light skinned, but I also considered myself brown contrary to what other people considered that to mean.

Another woman expressed, "I try to make it a point to be like 'I'm not light skinned. And maybe to some people I am." Woman also expressed having a difficult time differentiating between experiences related to their skin color shade identity and their racial identity. They shared various experiences associated with their racial identity.

Results revealed additional themes that were consistent only across individual, family and community in-group and out-group contexts. Women shared ways in which they self-identify their skin color and the tendency to define their skin color in comparison to important others or based on the perception that others have on their skin color (i.e. reflected appraisals). For example, one woman expressed, "when I was thinking about answering questions about my skin color, I also thought about what other people say bout my skin color, and, so kind of trying to separate what I think my skin color is from what other people say it is."

Lastly, results revealed themes that were specific to single social contexts. For instance, reflecting individual/personal level experiences, women shared moments of experiencing both positive and negative skin color self-image. For example, in sharing her experience in dating, one woman expressed:

> I think it's [colorism] awful. It totally tears down my self-esteem too. If I have a crush on a White guy, my first thought will be does he like Black girls? Or am I too dark? Or, wait, am I dark enough? Does he like dark

> girls? And What if he doesn't like brown? So that's completely destructive to my self-esteem jus to have to even think that.

On the other hand, some women shared the appreciation of their skin color and for shades that have traditionally been viewed negatively. For example, one woman shared, "I always thought that really dark skin is beautiful."

Cognitive-Emotional Reactions

Black women also shared several emotional (i.e. confused, discouraged, disappointed, frustrated, sad, surprised/shocked) and cognitive (i.e. invalidated, hypervisible, invisible, desire to be different or maintain skin color shade, included, excluded) reactions to colorism experiences across all of the social contexts**.** Most women shared moments in their lives where they have experienced a combination of both positive and negative cognitive-emotional responses to colorism.

Responding

Black women shared ways in which they internally respond to colorism experiences across social contexts, which includes attempting to process, make sense of and adapt to such experiences. They described having a language to communicate about the experience of colorism as a start to this processing. Most women found the focus groups themselves as facilitating the development of a better language to talk about colorism and therefore found the focus groups helpful in increasing their ability to understand and communicate about colorism. Some women shared what they perceived as negative consequences of not processing these experiences. This included colorism being unintentionally and unknowingly internalized and perpetuated.

Women also shared certain actions they can take, reflecting an external response to colorism across social contexts. This was represented in the women's expressed desire and motivation to encourage more communication and dialogue about colorism, increase awareness of colorism by educating themselves and others and advocating for ways to address colorism and promote positive skin color image and resilience.

The Relevance of Context

In different ways, women shared the importance of context in shaping their colorism experiences. They highlighted the historical systemic context of colorism as relevant to how colorism has both been maintained and shifted over the years. The historical context seemed to relate to the context of time as well, in which participants' perceived colorism experiences might look very different than that of their older siblings or parents' generation. For example, one woman shared:

> If people really understood why Black people find ways to nitpick each other [sic] and how it comes from how we've been treated throughout our history, as far as how we've interacted with European society in early times until now, we wouldn't be ding that [perpetuating colorism].

Additionally, they shared time as a context that can result in literal physical changes in their skin color shade or in how they view their skin color (i.e. changes in stereotypes associated with skin color shades across time and generations). Women also highlighted the skin color context (i.e. the skin color shades of those around them) as important to understanding their skin color and influencing their experiences of their skin color. Furthermore, they also shared the context of their own development as relevant to

their colorism experiences, reflecting changes in their colorism, racial, and self-awareness that have changed across their identity development.

Appendix H: Focus Group Study Protocol

Use the scale below to indicate how satisfied you are with the following.

Very Dissatisfied	Mostly Dissatisfied	Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	Mostly Satisfied	Very Satisfied
A	B	C	D	E

_____ Skin color

Use Scale to answer the following questions.

Very Dark	Dark	Brown	Light	Very Light
A	B	C	D	E

_____ 1. In comparison to other woman my age in my racial group I believe my skin color/complexion can be best described as:

_____ 2. I wish my skin color was

Please describe your skin color in your own words:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Use scale below to answer following questions.

Definitely Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Mostly Agree	Definitely Agree
A	B	C	D	E

_____3. I try and get as much sun as I can because I am too "pale."
_____4. I wish I were a shade lighter.
_____5. I wish I were a shade darker.

_____6. I stay out of the sun because I don't want to get any darker.
_____7. I have been teased because of my skin color.
_____8. I use products to change my skin complexion (Ambi, tanning creams).

Please provide the following information:

Age: ____

Gender:

- ❑ Female
- ❑ Male
- ❑ Transgender
- ❑ Other: _____

Sexual Orientation:

- o Heterosexual
- o Lesbian/Gay
- o Transgendered
- o Bisexual
- o Other: _____

Marital Status:

- ❍ Single, Never Married
- ❍ Married
- ❍ Divorced
- ❍ Separated
- ❍ Widowed
- ❍ Domestic Partnership

State/Province you are from: _____

State/Province you currently live in: _____

Country of Birth: _____

If not born in the U.S., how many years have you lived in the U.S.?

_____

Religious Affiliation (if applicable):_____

Race:

- ❑ African American
- ❑ Black American
- ❑ Hispanic/ Latino(a)
- ❑ East Asian (i.e. Indian, Pakistani)/ South East Asian (i.e. Vietnamese)
- ❑ Asian/ Asian American
- ❑ Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander
- ❑ Native American/ Alaska Native/ American Indian
- ❑ Arab American/ Middle Eastern
- ❑ Biracial/ Multiracial: _____
- ❑ White American/European
- ❑ Other: _____

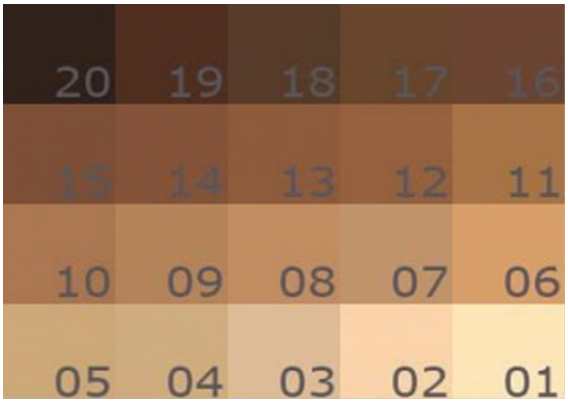
Ethnicity (Haitian, Dominican, Filipino/a, Irish, etc.): _____

Language(s) Spoken: _____

Education (check highest level completed):

- ❑ No School
- ❑ Some Elementary School, Years Completed: _____
- ❑ Some Middle School, Years Completed: _____
- ❑ Some High School, Years Completed _____
- ❑ High School Diploma
- ❑ GED
- ❑ Some College, Years Completed: _____
- ❑ Associates Degree
- ❑ College Degree
- ❑ Some Graduate/ Professional, Years Completed: _____
- ❑ Graduate/ Professional Degree

1. Which color square do you think is closest to your skin color?



2. What messages have you received about skin color/your skin color from:
    a. Your family?
    b. Black individuals you interact with?
    c. Other (non-Black) individuals you interact with?
    d. Larger society (i.e. media)?

    Who is most influential in determining how you feel about your skin color?

3. In deciding how you feel about your own skin color, do you compare yourself to other Black women?
    a. *How does this make you feel?*

4. Do you believe your skin color influences whether others perceive you as physically attractive?
    a. How does your perceived skin color influence your opinion of your own physical attractiveness?
    b. How do you think your skin color influences your romantic relationships?

5. Do you think there are aspects of your environment (i.e. geographical location, racial demographics) that influence the way you feel about your skin color? If so, what and how?

6. Have your feelings about your skin color changed over time (i.e. development, generationally, etc.)? If so, how?

7. How do you believe your skin color has affected various aspects of your life (e.g. educational opportunities, self-confidence, job opportunities, etc.)?

    Have you received differential treatment based on your skin color (or known others who have)?

8. *What is your understanding of colorism? Do you feel you have experienced it?*

9. *What have been your own emotional experiences/reactions of your skin color or possible differential treatment based on your skin color?*

Appendix I: Factor-Derived PCS Subscales

Colorism Experiences (22 items)

Factor 1: Racial Out-Group Colorism Experiences

1. ROUTEXP1: Outside of my racial community, I have… - …been treated differently because of my skin-color shade.
2. ROUTEXP2: Outside of my racial community, I have… - …had comments or jokes made about my skin-color shade.
3. ROUTEXP3: Outside of my racial community, I have… - …been labeled because of my skin-color shade.
4. ROUTEXP4: Outside of my racial community, I have… - …had positive (e.g. intelligent) and/or negative (e.g. unattractive) stereotypes associated with my skin-color shade.
5. ROUTEXP5: Outside of my racial community, I have… - …been told I am advantaged and/or disadvantaged because of my skin-color shade.
6. ROUTEXP6: Outside of my racial community, I have… - …been told there was a problem with my skin-color shade (e.g. being "too dark", not being "dark enough" or "too light").

Factor 2: Family Colorism Experiences

1. FEXP1: Within my family, I have… - …been treated differently because of my skin-color shade.
2. FEXP2: Within my family, I have… - …had comments or jokes made about my skin-color shade.
3. FEXP3: Within my family, I have… - …been labeled because of my skin-color shade (e.g. "the dark child", "the light sister").
4. FEXP4: Within my family, I have… - …had positive (e.g. intelligent) and/or negative (e.g. unattractive) stereotypes associated with my skin-color shade.
5. FEXP5: Within my family, I have… - …been told I am advantaged and/or disadvantaged because of my skin-color shade.
6. FEXP6: Within my family, I have… - …been told there was a problem with my skin-color shade (e.g. being "too dark", not being "dark enough" or "too light").
7. FEXP7: Within my family, I have… - …been told to do things like "stay out of the sun" or "stay in the sun" in order to avoid changing or to change my skin color shade.

Factor 3: Racial In-Group Colorism Experiences

1. RINEXP1: Within my Racial Community, I have… - …been treated differently because of my skin-color shade.
2. RINEXP2: Within my Racial Community, I have… - …had comments or jokes made about my skin-color shade.
3. RINEXP3: Within my Racial Community, I have… - …been labeled because of my skin-color shade.

4. RINEXP4: Within my Racial Community, I have… - …had positive (e.g. intelligent) and/or negative (e.g. unattractive) stereotypes associated with my skin-color shade.
5. RINEXP5: Within my Racial Community, I have… - …been told I am advantaged and/or disadvantaged because of my skin-color shade.
6. RINEXP6: Within my Racial Community, I have… - …been told there was a problem with my skin-color shade (e.g. being "too dark", not being "dark enough" or "too light").

Factor 4: Society Colorism Experiences

1. SOCEXP1: In Society, I have… - …felt like my skin color shade was a barrier to educational opportunities (e.g. getting accepted into educational programs).
2. SOCEXP2: In Society, I have… - …felt like my skin color shade was a barrier to obtaining job offers or job promotions.
3. SOCEXP3: In Society, I have… - …felt like my skin color shade was a barrier to receiving fair judicial/criminal processes.

Colorism Cognitive-Emotional Responses (54 Items)

Factor 1: Racial Out-Group and Society Colorism Responses

1. ROUTCOGRESP1: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …influenced how I think about my skin-color shade.
2. ROUTCOGRESP7: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me feel like my skin-color experiences are not real or important.
3. ROUTCOGRESP8: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me feel more or less included.
4. ROUTCOGRESP9: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me feel more or less attractive.
5. ROUTEMOTRESP1: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - … hurt.
6. ROUTEMOTRESP4: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …confused.
7. ROUTEMOTRESP5: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …anxious.
8. ROUTEMOTRESP6: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …sad.
9. ROUTEMOTRESP7: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …angry.
10. SOCCOGRESP7: Society's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me feel like my skin-color experiences are not real or important.
11. SOCCOGRESP8: Society's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me feel more or less included.

12. SOCEMOTRESP1: Reactions to my skin-color shade in Society have made me feel… - … hurt.
13. SOCEMOTRESP4: Reactions to my skin-color shade in Society have made me feel… - …confused.
14. SOCEMOTRESP5: Reactions to my skin-color shade in Society have made me feel… - …anxious.
15. SOCEMOTRESP6: Reactions to my skin-color shade in Society have made me feel… - …sad.
16. SOCEMOTRESP7: Reactions to my skin-color shade in Society have made me feel… - …angry.

Factor 2: Family Colorism Responses

1. FCOGRESP3: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …negatively influenced my self-image.
2. FCOGRESP4: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me wish I were a different skin-color shade.
3. FCOGRESP6: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me want to change my current skin-color shade.
4. FCOGRESP7: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me feel like my skin-color experiences are not real or important.
5. FCOGRESP8: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me feel more or less included.
6. FCOGRESP9: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me feel more or less attractive.
7. FEMOTRESP1: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - … hurt.
8. FEMOTRESP4: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …confused.
9. FEMOTRESP5: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …anxious.
10. FEMOTRESP6: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …sad.
11. FEMOTRESP7: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …angry.

Factor 3: Racial In-Group Colorism Responses

1. (Reverse) RINCOGRESP2: My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …positively influenced my self-image.
2. RINCOGRESP3: My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …negatively influenced my self-image.
3. RINCOGRESP7: My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me feel like my skin-color experiences are not real or important.
4. RINEMOTRESP1: My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - … hurt.
5. RINEMOTRESP4: My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …confused.

6. RINEMOTRESP5: My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …anxious.
7. RINEMOTRESP6: My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …sad.
8. RINEMOTRESP7: My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …angry.

Factor 4: Non-Family Positive Colorism Responses

1. RINEMOTRESP8: My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …encouraged.
2. ROUTCOGRESP2: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …positively influenced my self-image.
3. ROUTEMOTRESP3: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …happy.
4. ROUTEMOTRESP8: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …encouraged.
5. ROUTEMOTRESP9: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …comfortable.
6. SOCCOGRESP2: Society's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …positively influenced my self-image.
7. SOCEMOTRESP3: Reactions to my skin-color shade in Society have made me feel… - …happy.
8. SOCEMOTRESP8: Reactions to my skin-color shade in Society have made me feel… - …encouraged.
9. SOCEMOTRESP9: Reactions to my skin-color shade in Society have made me feel… - …comfortable.

Factor 5: Negative Colorism Self-Concept

1. ROUTCOGRESP4: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me wish I were a different skin-color shade.
2. ROUTCOGRESP6: Outside of my racial community, people's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me want to change my current skin-color shade.
3. SOCCOGRESP4: Society's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me wish I were a different skin-color shade.
4. SOCCOGRESP6: Society's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me want to change my current skin-color shade.

Factor 6: Skin-Color Perceptions and Attractiveness

1. RINCOGRESP1: My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …influenced how I think about my skin-color shade
2. RINCOGRESP9: My Racial Community's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …made me feel more or less attractive.
3. SOCCOGRESP1: Society's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …influenced how I think about my skin-color shade.

Factor 7: Positive Family Colorism Responses

1. FCOGRESP2: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have… - …positively influenced my self-image.
2. FEMOTRESP3: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …happy.
3. FEMOTRESP8: My family's reactions to my skin-color shade have made me feel… - …encouraged.