The Effects of Skin Color and/or Situational Phenomena upon Race Relations

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express his grateful appreciation to the following people who have contributed generously to the successful completion of this research.

To Anonymous, for the grant which financially enabled the art work, photographic elements, etc., to be instituted for this research completion.

To Dr. William Martinson, Dr. Robert L. Betz and Dr. Lewis Walker for their encouragement, understanding, and availability which contributed significantly to my professional growth; also Dr. Michael Stroline for his statistical analysis assistance. These men with all of my project interest served as members of my committee. To Dr. James Lowe, Dr. Louise Forsleff, and Dr. Jane Stroud whose helpful suggestions, advice and assistance aided in planning insights.

To Peggy Corbius, Beverly Parker, Paula Kerman, and Rhonda Brenton and Ann Roseberg for working as survey examiners in data collection. To Therese Douville and Debbie Reda for art creativity and photography, respectively. To all the students and participants who cooperated for the research data.

To others too numerous to mention.

To my children, Steven, Kimberly and Dawn for their understanding.

To my wife, Shirley for her advice, support and patience when they were needed most.

Wyatt Douglass Kirk

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THE EFFECTS OF SKIN COLOR AND/OR SITUATIONAL
PHENOMENA UPON RACE RELATIONS.

Western Michigan University, Ed.D., 1973
Sociology, race question

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Nature of the Problem

American society has been experiencing a state of rapid change. One of the most significant changes has been in the social revolution in racial matters. Of major interest within the racial issue is the attitude of Blacks and Whites to "blackness."

Empirical evidence strongly suggests that the lighter the skin color or the more closely a Black person approximated the White race, the greater the likelihood that he would be accorded better treatment than his blacker or darker brother. Although there has been some significant changes in the society regarding civil rights, job opportunities, housing, etc., for the Black population as a whole, the issue remains, however, whether these changes have been significant enough to eradicate or minimize the importance of skin color gradation among black Americans.

Since the Black Power Movement, the Revolution of the late '50's and '60's, it appears that the previously highly valued light-skinned Black is experiencing the opposite reaction. In the socialization process, psychologically as well as sociologically, many light-
complexioned Blacks are having to make an abrupt adjustment to what in the past has been a given, that having light skin is better than having dark skin.

Evidence of this change in attitudes toward the light-skinned Black today can be observed in several segments of our society, in such places as our educational institutions, employment agencies, the advertisement industry, as well as in mental health agencies, private and public. Some examples of the above are evidenced in the following situational dynamics. Miss Foucher, speaking to a Jet magazine writer, puts it this way: "Today, if you haven't got black skin, you can't make it. Black is really beautiful. If you look on television or in the movies, you see what? Dark-complexioned girls, that's what. You don't see girls with fair skin like mine." The Jet writer, in agreeing with Miss Foucher, said the following: "If a light-skinned black woman has career ambitions in show business, she had better seek realization in singing or in the theater and forget modeling."

This change in attitude toward the light-skinned Black also has been reported by school personnel at all levels of education. School officials who deal with racial problems in the school setting are finding that there are two distinct problems—interracial and intraracial—in that not only are Blacks and Whites continuing to have interracial problems, but also Blacks seem to be experiencing intra-
racial problems among themselves.

The light-skinned Black appears to be having more frequent problems with his darker skinned peers. Blacks are having to declare where they stand and are being forced, in some cases through physical means, to stand up for blackness. Also, the lighter-skinned children who traditionally served as the model for teachers are in a less favorable position with teachers as well as with some students.

From early in the history of this country, preferential treatment was most likely to be given to those Blacks who were "light, bright, and damn-near white." One of the first attitudes such Blacks learned was that they were different, and these differences were based largely on physical characteristics, skin pigmentation, hair texture, and physical appearance.

The noted Black sociologist, E. F. Frazier (1939) noted that, "historically, lighter-skinned Negroes who were physically less different from Caucasians, were often given positions as house servants and learned the basic skills of European-American culture from their white masters. The darker Negroes, on the other hand, were usually assigned to work in the field where they had little opportunity to assimilate white American culture patterns." Following Frazier's thinking, Crawford (1968) states: "The assumption of Caucasian racial superiority led to the conclusion that light-skinned Negroes who approached the skin pigmentation of their masters, must be superior to their
darker peers since they were more physically similar to their masters. The implications of this basic assumption on color have been numerous and lasting. " To be sure, the scientific literature is replete with accounts attesting to the differential treatment accorded Blacks, based on skin gradation. It must be pointed out, however, that while it is true that many light-skinned Blacks did indeed receive preferential treatment, at no time were they accorded the same status as Whites in the larger society. In the minds of most Whites, as long as a Black person had a known African ancestor, regardless of how far back one had to go to find him, then, he was "Negro." This was true, in spite of the fact that he or she was phenotypically similar to Whites in all respects. For example, a Black person might have blue eyes, white skin, blond hair, etc., but as long as that person has a "Negro" ancestry, then he is considered a "Negro."

The favorableness accorded "light skin, " is further reflected in a study conducted by Parrish (1946) which reported that "nearly sixty percent of the persons to whom the questionnaire form was submitted attributed greater physical strength to dark Negroes. This notion is probably even more widespread than the percentage indicates. It is, however, not a notion that is frequently verbalized; it is rather taken for granted. This notion seems to be a survival of the slave tradition involving the belief that the black Negroes were ideally suited, constitutionally, for work in the field and for other
tasks too arduous for the weaker and somewhat unstable Mulatto group." Moreover, Parrish (1946) comments on the favoritism of teachers and the discrimination by sororities and by black employers on the basis of color. In a terse statement he concludes that "the Negro community provides more opportunities for status enhancement to the light people than it does to the dark person."

Since the mid-sixties, many significant shifts have occurred in the thinking and mood of black Americans. Because of these changes, questions must be raised about the skin color phenomenon among Blacks and Whites. This country has felt the influence of the Martin Luther Kings, the Whitney Youngs, the Philip Randolphins, the James Farmers, the Eldridge Cleavers, the LeRoi Jones, the Malcolm Xes, the Stokely Carmichaels, the H. Rap Browns, the Angela Davises, and others too numerous to mention. All of these personalities have helped to alter interracial and intraracial circumstances in the United States. In the light of these social changes, the question can be posed, to what extent does the lightness or darkness of a Black person's skin affect his life chances? Thus, the task in this study is one of measuring what affect, if any, skin color plays in the everyday life of Black and White people.

In essence, the following questions were investigated in this study. What is black? How black is black: How do Whites see black? How do Blacks see black?
Statement of the Problem

This investigation was an attempt to determine to what extent color gradation and situational phenomenon affect racial prejudice. This study was specifically designed to assess attitudinal preferences as they relate to color consciousness and color distinction in interpersonal racial relations. The attitudinal preferences investigated were: (1) individual preference for black skin gradation, (2) individual preference for white skin gradation, (3) the dynamics of color identification, and (4) factors affecting misidentification. The major question being asked was "to what degree" does color consciousness and color distinction serve to reinforce racial attitudes and racial stereotypes between Blacks and Whites.

The research addressed itself to the following questions:

1. Will attitudinal preferences affect individuals viewing varied gradation of skin color?

2. Will current attitudes and/or behavior cause more of a response to color gradation in a racial setting than previously held attitudes and/or behavioral responses?

3. Will the response of Blacks to black be different than White responses to black?

4. Will the research show that color gradation now considered preferred, is different from that which the literature indicated earlier for Blacks and for Whites?

5. Will a difference in sex affect response patterns?

6. Will a difference in age affect response patterns?
7. Will a difference in education affect response patterns?

Statistical Hypotheses

The objective of the study was to test two major hypotheses and to search for answers to a series of related questions. The hypotheses and the questions of this study were as follows:

Major Hypotheses

H₁ There will be significant differences between male and female, Black and White subjects, regarding preference for: (a) color gradation, (b) hair, (c) length of hair, (d) facial features, and (e) mixed couples who are racially paired, and/or racially similar couples.

H₂ There will be significant differences existing between one's own color gradation and the color gradation preferred racially.

Exploratory Questions

1. Will there be differences in the acceptance of blackness based on race of the respondent?

2. Will there be differences in the acceptance of blackness based on sex of the respondent?

3. Will there be differences in the acceptance of blackness based on age of the respondent?
4. Will there be differences in the acceptance of blackness based on education of the respondent?

Definition of Terms

The definitions listed below are terms used in the statement of the problem, and the hypotheses, as well as terms that were used in this research.

1. The terms color gradation and skin gradation as used in this study indicate degrees of skin color on a continuum from white to dark.

2. Skin pigmentation refers to skin color--white, brown, and black.

3. Light-skinned person refers to a Black person whose skin color, and physical features are phenotypically closer to those found among Whites in our society.

4. Brown-skinned person refers to a Black individual whose skin color is brown and whose physical features are less Caucasian than the light-skinned person.

5. Dark-skinned person refers to a Black individual whose skin color ranges from dark brown to ebony black and whose physical features are Negroid.

6. The term color misidentification refers to the selection of a skin color that is markedly different from the respondent's own skin color.

7. The term hair style refers to types of hair styles as well as the contemporary natural and Afro hair styles.

8. The term color identification or color consciousness was used interchangeably and refers to the color selection a person makes that was the same or reasonably close to his own.

9. The term attitude and/or behavior as used in this study refer to any act or response recorded by those individuals
who responded to the survey questionnaire. Because of the paradoxical discussion surrounding the relationship between attitudes and behavior, the writer took the position that these terms can be used interchangeably, meaning that any response recorded in this study is both an attitude and a behavior. The writer was in agreement with Kiesler, Collins, and Miller in their suggested thinking concerning this debate. In their chapter on "The Concept and Measurement of Attitudes," they stated that, "in spite of this historical and theoretical pressure in the direction of a behaviorally defined attitude, attitudes are almost universally measured by pencil and paper or verbal report techniques. The highly sophisticated and specific techniques for the measurement of attitudes typically lack the global scope implied by many of our definitions and most of our theory about attitudes. Considered in this context, the title for this section "Attitudes and Behavior" is paradoxical. To begin an attitude response (whether verbal or pencil and paper) is a kind of behavior."

Importance of the Study

The significance of a study of this nature has several important aspects. It was hoped that this study would make a valuable contribution to the present state of knowledge about interaction between Blacks and Whites, and that it would shed some light on the psycho-therapeutic process and techniques for working with Blacks. It was also hoped that the results of this study would be of value in the field of education, regarding student-student, and student-teacher relationships.

In the area of interpersonal and intrapersonal relations, most present research has only been concerned with the global effect of prejudice. The writer believes that it is necessary for social
scientists to have a clearer knowledge in the social dynamics between
the races. Suchman, Dean, and Williams (1958) stated:

Another current shift in thought involved a further
demphasis of attitudes and an increased stress on
actual behavior in intergroup situations. Reorientation
has proceeded in several main directions. First of all,
attention has turned more and more toward the study of
actual intergroup contacts and relationships, rather
than of prejudices treated in isolation from these re-
lations. In particular, we are beginning to study
changes in attitudes consequent to, or associated with,
changes in intergroup contact patterns.

The interest in interaction derives part of its impetus
from practical or policy interests, especially in con-
nection with legal struggles over segregation and dis-
crimination in political life, education, employment,
and public facilities and accommodations. It has been
argued by many that the control of discrimination is more
feasible than the control of prejudice.

Researches on the effects of interracial interaction
have largely concentrated upon formalized social
situations in which there is a measure of authoritative
control over the behavior of the interacting persons—
military organizations, public housing projects, factories,
boys' camps. The direct study of interactional patterns,
as reported in recent publications, has been confined to
areas outside the South. Within the limits of such
coverage, however, the studies show that integration of
Whites and Negroes in situations of social interaction
is accompanied and followed by an overall reduction in
the prejudices of White people toward Negroes.

New light thrown upon the development of concepts,
stereotypes, and intergroup attitudes in young children
makes the study of the effect of desegregation upon
students' attitudes particularly timely.

The writer's hope was that the research would focus on the
causation regarding attitudes and/or behavior in interpersonal and
intrapersonal relations. An increasing number of studies demonstrates
the inconsistency between attitude and behavior, in interplay between each race, "Black to Black and Black to White." Two such studies were coordinated by Bovell (1943) and LePiere (1934). Bovell's study, "Psychological Considerations of Color Conflicts Among Negroes" notes:

Any remark of color discrimination among Negroes might, at first thought, occur to many as scandalous and absurd. This ungracious transgression nevertheless, is everywhere so convincing and spectacular that it can hardly escape the attention of the casual observer. The diffused stratification of color presents such a constant clash of differences and such a subtle advantage for selection, that a perverse discrimination has become almost ubiquitous among them.

LePiere's study also deals with the apparent inconsistency created when motel or restaurant proprietors actually served a Chinese couple even though they said they would not do so when asked by letter. The response to the letter is somehow more like an "attitude and less like a behavior" than what the desk clerks and waitresses did when the Chinese couple arrived on the premises.

Also, the writer believes that as stated in the quotation by Suchman, Dean, and Williams (1958), this study is particularly relevant for education as mentioned earlier in the listing of major contributions.

Another major contribution having to do with the mental health of Blacks, concerns the social disorganization of Black life in our culture. Mental health connotes the ability of each individual to cope
satisfactorily with the conditions of existence. According to Grossack (1963), "Healthy Factors in Negro Life," Epidemiological research is needed to identify mentally healthy Negroes empirically and then learn their modes of successful adaptation. What do emotionally healthy Negroes have in common? Are there factors in childhood experiences, group membership, social attitudes, ego structure, defensive processes? The determinants and dynamics of mentally healthy Negroes can be ascertained by:

1. Screening large samples of Negroes on a community survey basis, using structured instruments like the Cornell Index, Edwards Test and Cattrell 16 Factor Instrument.

2. Quantitative and qualitative procedures selecting the upper 10% of the sample for males and females and for difference economic levels.

3. Psychiatric interviews and clinical examination of each individual selected as healthy.

Essentially, this study can help in furthering the knowledge needed to improve conditions for Blacks, as well as serve as realistic objectives for helping them to adjust to the social conditions of individuals in a dual-culture, who are consistently faced with defeating social dynamics and racial differences. Research of this dimension can help to dispel many of the myths and debates concerning the true status of Blacks.

Finally, there is the problem of ascertaining correct techniques for helping Blacks in psychological consultant situations. Counselors, as well as psychotherapists, working with Blacks must understand the
special problems of Black people in discovering and affirming their identity. Therapeutic techniques formulated for Blacks must embrace the psychological experiences of Blacks. Mary Lou Kincaid (1969) states the following:

> If the counselor is committed to his client's freedom, then he must see his task as one of helping Black clients understand the discrepancy between their values, and those of the larger society and make choices based on their own values, free of the threat of external evaluation and condemnation by the counselor for "wrong choices." This is likely to be more difficult for the counselor, a middle-class practitioner with middle-class values, possessed with the feeling that his Black client is making the wrong choices.

Kincaid (1969) also states, "Some of the value conflicts that emerge between the counselor and client, reflecting a conflict between individual and societal goals, are not unique to the counseling relationship. The therapists working with Black clients finds himself in the unique position of living in and being supported by society and yet faced with the task of seeing that society through the eyes of its victims. He must affirm and support his client's choice of movement toward a role within the present society or toward a marginal existence in some newly discovered role that may conflict with the mainstream."

In essence, studies concerning Blacks can contribute significant data, relevant to the counseling situation for Black and White counselors. Understanding the role of the counselor is related to comprehending how Blacks feel about their color, their attitudes of

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self-hatred, expression of hostility, identification, and interpersonal relations.

The results of the study may add to the literature in all of the areas mentioned, or at least add more understanding and awareness in this most complex area of human interaction and concern.

Assumptions Underlying Study

The major assumptions underlying this study were that skin color is a socio-psychological variable that affects the development, growth, and personality formation of Black people. This is not to say that there aren't other sociological and psychological determinants that had an equal effect. According to Warner, Junker, and Adams (1941), "While we do not claim that color evaluations have a greater influence than some other factors in developing Negro personality, we do insist that social sentiments organized around color greatly affect this development and that all Negroes, by living in the American Negro system, are forced to adjust themselves to evaluations of this sort." Other personality formulating characteristics are just as important according to Warner, Junker, and Adams (1941) who stated that "the other propositions basic to the criteria selected can be stated as follows: That age, sex, and educational differences contribute to variations in personality among Negroes as among White people: That the home background out of which modern
urban Negroes have come has an effect upon their present personalities; and that the classification into 'respectable' and 'shady' members of society made by Negroes themselves is a factor in their personality formations. Inasmuch as the major hypothesis was designed to test to what extent skin color affects interpersonal, and intrapersonal relationships between Blacks as well as Whites, there are other situational phenomena that must be considered.

According to Kluckholm and Murray (1948), "the personality problems that are more or less peculiar to Negro children are closely associated with the peculiar social status that their elders are socially and legally compelled to occupy in this society and the peculiar evaluations of skin color, hair texture, and other physical features that are imposed upon them by the White majority. The effects of discrimination and segregation upon Negroes in the matter of making a living in other spheres of activity are many. So far as the personality development of Negro children is concerned, the most important conditions resulting from living under caste restrictions seem to be the preponderance of lower-class families with their special codes of conduct, broken homes accompanied by the dominance of maternal authority, the special importance attached to skin color and other physical features, and the extraordinary stress on matters of social status. Each of these cultural situations is apt to leave its indelible imprint on the personality of the Negro child."

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This study acknowledges the fact that the above socio-psychodynamics also contribute to the personality formation of Blacks, and in no way attempts to lessen the significance and/or presence of other sociological conflicts.
CHAPTER II

RELATED RESEARCH AND LITERATURE

Phenomenological Field and Skin Gradation

The term "phenomenological" is derived from "phenomenon." Phenomenon is defined as, (1) a fact, occurrence, or circumstance observed or observable, (2) something that impresses the observer as extraordinary; a remarkable thing or person, (3) an appearance or immediate object of awareness in experience. Phenomenal field means, according to Harper (1959), "Everything, including awareness of the self, experienced by an individual at any moment. Objects physically present, but not perceived, are not part of the phenomenal field, and objects not physically present, but not perceived, are not of the phenomenal field, and objects not physically present, but thought about are."

Accordingly, for this study the phenomenological field is defined as, something that impresses the observer as extraordinary, in this instance, the skin color and/or the physical appearance of a person. What a person perceived in his or her phenomenal field is critical to understanding. How that person will think or behave, tersely, the crucial or important aspects of one's phenomenal field often is translated into both overt and covert behavior.
Watson (1919) points out that,

If we look over the list of problems in human behavior . . ., we shall see that there are common factors running through all forms of human acts. In each adjustment there is always both a response or act and a stimulus or situation which call out that response. Behavior, therefore, is always a response to a stimulus. In this sense every behavior is an adjustment to stimulating reality, and the term 'stimulus' has here a biological-physiological meaning. The situation is nothing else than a complex of physiological stimuli. None accurately expressed, the situation is the whole of physiological stimuli which at a given moment act upon an organism; the adjustment is a reaction eliminating the stimulating action; the organism is a being that adapts itself to the situation in the sense indicated above.

Thus, the theoretical assertion that an individual's behavior may be explained in terms of his phenomenal field has a direct relationship with skin color and how one experiences it. For instance, if the skin color of two persons is the same, a person would behave one way, but if it is different, a person may react another way. If the latter, what extraordinary emphasis is the person applying to his immediate experience? What inferences are being made? What cues, stereotypes, patterns, symbols, or clues, or the lack of them, stimulate a different response in a person when the skin color of another individual differs from his own?

Many studies indicate that skin color has historically had different meaning for Blacks and Whites, and these differences in meaning of skin color may still exist in our contemporary society among Blacks and Whites. Thus, if the phenomenological field
provides the visibility or perception for us, then in order to predict
behavior, it becomes important to define those events or phenomena
which determine such behavior, i.e., differential reactions to skin
color. A review of the studies suggest that there is a theoretical
relationship between behavior and the phenomenological field. Rankin
and Campbell (1965) found that Blacks and Whites responded differ-
etly in a Galvanic Skin Response experiment. In the (GSR) experi-
ment which was undertaken because of its methodological implications
and for the light it might throw on the adequacy of current conceptions
of social attitude phenomena, the experimenter (E) and subjects (Ss)
engaged in a number of social contacts and encounters. From the
study, Rankin and Campbell make the following interpretation:

Forty white male subjects participated in what was
nominally a word association test with GSR being
recorded. Two E's, one Black and one White, alternated
in making simulated readjustments of a dummy apparatus
attached to the S's left wrist, while a right-arm appa-
ratus remained in operation. A highly significant dif-
fERENCE in GSR response to the two E's was found. A
significant adaptation process was manifested in les-
sening degrees of response during the successive
contacts. An attempt to correlate the degree of differ-
ential response to the Negro and White E was direct
and indirect attitude tests was weakened by difficulties
in matching and timing. The limited results are in
general positive, and favor the direct test over the
indirect, but are not of clear statistical significance.

In a similar study DeFleur and Westie (1958) investigated the rela-
tionship between attitude and behavior, with Blacks and Whites, by
measuring their autonomic responses. These autonomic response
techniques measured changes in blood pressure and the nervous system. They found that "when prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects viewed photographic slides portraying Negroes and Whites of both sexes shown singly and in all possible pairs, the results indicate that attitudinal response include changes in the autonomic system which differ for types of subjects classified as prejudiced and unprejudiced." In addition, other such studies conducted, point to the inconsistency in behavior due to skin color. Generally, Horowitz (1936), Minard (1952), Kutner, Wilkins, and Yarrow (1952), findings indicate a behavioral difference, and a differential treatment based on the color of an individual's skin.

The studies would seem to support a need to further investigate the saliency of skin color as perceived in the phenomenological field of Blacks and Whites in the United States, and how it affects their behavior toward one another.

In conclusion, this discussion has centered around two specific concepts. First, establishing an operational definition of the phenomenal field, and how it relates to the question involved in this investigation. Secondly, the attempt has been made to demonstrate through a review of the literature, how the phenomenal field and one's behavior may affect interracial interaction.
Review of Related Literature

In reviewing the related literature, the "color question" continues to be one of the most important problems of race relations. Earlier studies of Blacks in this country have stressed the significance of the value in which lightness of skin is a desideratum. In this connection, Silberman (1946) writes about a young lady who describes her childhood as a never-ending obsession with color, and who stated that,

> The world revolved on color and variations in color. It pervaded the air I breathed. I learned it in hundreds of ways. I picked it up from grown folks around me. I heard it in the house, on the playground, in the streets, everywhere. Always the same tune, played like a broken record, robbing one of personal identity... It was color, color, color all the time... two shades lighter! two shades darker! dead white! coal black! high yaller! mariny! good hair! bad hair! stringy hair! nappy hair! thin lips! thick lips! red lips!

Historically, then, the color gradation of one's skin played an important role regarding preferential and differential treatment, especially among Black people. Gibson (1931) reveals that,

> At one time, not many years ago, there stood in a large southern city a Negro Episcopal Church, the doorways of which were painted a light shade of tan. If, upon entering the church, an individual was seen to be of a complexion darker than the doorway, membership in the church was denied him. This is but one instance of intraracial segregation which is based on the heterogeneity of color and, because of this peculiar composition, the race is herein divided... into three groups,
vis.: (1) black, including the truly black and dark brown; (2) brown, including the lighter shades of brown and yellow; (3) pale, including those whose color and features, incidentally, are more Caucasian than Negroid.

Parenthetically, the above skin color categories are the ones the writer is investigating in this study, with the task being one of ascertaining to what extent such a phenomenon exists in contemporary society.

Black and White Pre-adolescent Children and Skin Color

In the remaining sections of this chapter, the writer will attempt to show how color gradation, consciously and unconsciously, permeated the lives of Black people, at all stages and all levels, thus, creating a conflict, intraracially as well as interracially.

As mentioned earlier in this study, no Black, regardless of age, sex, or otherwise, escapes the saliency of his color, and the handicaps that he encounters because of the negative attitudes found in the larger society regarding color differences.

Most relevant research in the past sought to examine mainly the skin color preferences for Blacks, and historically, Blacks and Whites have shown a preference for the physical characteristics associated with "whiteness." A number of studies involving Black and White children (or just Black children) have demonstrated a negative evaluation of black skin color and a positive evaluation of
white skin color. The original study by Clark and Clark (1947) cogently pointed up the fact that Black children preferred white skin color over black skin color. Succinctly, in this study they "found that Negro children preferred a white doll and rejected a black doll when asked to choose which was nice, which looked bad, which they would like to play with and which was the nice color." What this means in part, is that Black children have indeed internalized the negative attitudes found in the larger society toward black skin color. This contention is further supported by Seeman (1946) who writes that,

Third and fourth grade Negro children, in a uniracial group context, reveal clearly their commitment to the superior value of light skin; and skin color differences are associated with differences in friendship and reputational status . . . though favorable friendship choice is significantly associated with lightness of skin, these children do not verbalize skin color preference as a basis for choice. The writer's hypothesis is that color values, like many other social norms, become established quite early as a basic frame of reference for the child; but it is not suggested that the color frame of reference which channelizes choice need be a matter of conscious awareness on the part of the child.

Other empirical evidence concerned with the social norm theory, suggested by Seeman, is also supported by Sherif (1936) who write that, "experiments in the establishment of social norms suggest that these norms may be developed without the subject awareness of their operation." However, the question can be raised as to how are youngsters aware of the importance of skin color regarding Black
Children. Goodman (1952), Landreth and Johnson (1953), Plait (1950), and Raklke and Frager (1950) agree with Clark and Clark (1939) when they found that, "as early as the age of three (or four for some) Negro children preferred white dolls to brown ones and described the brown dolls as being 'bad' and 'dirty'." Studies of White children reveal that their responses are similar to Blacks regarding skin color preferences (Goodman, 1952; Greenwaid and Oppenheim, 1968; Horowitz, 1936; Helgerson, 1943; Morland, 1962; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958). As with Black children, White children evaluate white as positive. Goodman (1952) made the statement that White children "share a freedom from the shadow cast by color. They belong to the 'right' race, if not to the right religion or national background. They are looking down at the people under the shadow of color." Also: "White children ask (about Negroes), 'Why are they colored?' 'Is she sunburned?' 'Can she change?' The questions are uniform in one respect; These White children do not ask about themselves—why their own color, or lack of it. They take it completely for granted in the fashion of the 'primitive' tribesmen, that they are 'the people'. The others, those under the shadow of color, 'they're different', as Paul put it. Being different, they are, as Diane says, 'strangers'.' Why children of both races reject black and accept white is an important question. Johnson (1941) attempted to provide an answer when he stated that,
... there has been a pronounced disadvantage for Blacks in the ideological heritage of society generally. The concept of blackness was held, in the popular mind, an unfavorable connotation. 'Black as evil,' 'black as sin,' black as the devil,' are phrases which suggest the emotional aesthetic implications of this association. The evil and the ugliness of blackness have long been contrasted in popular-thinking with the goodness and purity of whiteness. Whether with respect to men or things this color association has been deeply meaningful; it is an inescapable element of the cultural heritage."

This and numerous similar statements are offered as an explanation of why our children treat each other as they do. Thus, these studies would lead one to believe that in order to change this situation there is a need to change the meanings attached to skin color.

That meaning in skin color may be changing in today's society is revealed in a recent study concerning Black children's attitudes toward skin color. Unlike previous studies, Hraba and Grant (1969) found that Black children did not show a greater preference for white dolls:

This study examined the racial preference of Black children in an interracial setting. The Clark and Clark doll study was duplicated in Lincoln, Nebraska, during May, 1969. Unlike the Clarks, the present researches found that the majority of the Black children preferred the Black dolls. Like the Blacks, the majority of the White children preferred the doll of their own race. The racial identifications of both Black and White children were reported. Furthermore, the effects of age and skin color upon racial preference and identification were compared with those reported by Clark and Clark.

The Hraba and Grant study seems to represent a significant shift in skin color preferences, especially among Blacks. Undoubtedly, the
Civil Rights Movement and the subsequent Black Power Movement played an important role in focusing attention on the fact that "blackness" (skin color) among Black people should be looked upon with dignity and respect. Hence, the concept "black is beautiful" was born accompanied by the Afro garb, the Afro hair-do, etc. These outward manifestations of "blackness" strongly suggest that a significant shift had occurred in the mood and thoughts of Black Americans. In part, then, Hrabá and Grant might be capturing this shift among Black youth. Since the majority of White youth still preferred the White dolls, a question can be raised concerning the extent to which their attitudes have changed toward black skin color. An argument can be made that because the majority of Whites chose white dolls, does not mean that they also continue to possess negative attitudes toward black skin color. Hrabá and Grant's study does not allow one to make a conclusive statement about this issue, which remains an important one to settle at this point in interracial relations.

In summary, the findings of these studies emphasize how early ethnic awareness and personality formation is an assignment of roles for Black and White children. The inferior role ascribed to Blacks is a result of at least two main factors: (1) visual response sets, (2) color association, both of which are a learned pattern of behavior for Blacks as well as Whites. Also, these studies demonstrate that the ability to discriminate the physical differences between
Black and White develops at an early age.

Black Adolescence and Skin Color

There is a scarcity of studies dealing with White adolescents in that white studies are in short supply. Most research studies dealt with pre-adolescents and adults. This does not mean, however, that the problem of color preference for the adolescent is less greater in the former categories of people. Black youngsters, at this stage of development, seem to show quite a definite pattern of color conceptions, and the adjustment can be seen in two specific ways: (1) a more in-group pattern of socialization, and (2) a much greater need for self-identity. In regard to the former, many of the conflicts facing the Black teenager are similar to other teens, except for Black teenagers the conflict concerning color becomes more personalized and they tend to socialize along definite color lines. In the latter instance, a profound awareness of color complexion as a salient factor, especially when there is a color comparison, can result in an identity crisis, or role confusion. Often this identity crisis occurs when family members (or friends) discuss or debate, sometimes heatedly, who has the "best hair," the "prettiest skin," the "nicest features," etc.

Up until now, color preference has been rather consistent in acceptability as one moves from light to darker skin, with light skin
remaining the most desirable. Johnson (1941) states that some children "... may even harbor resentment against the parent who was biologically responsible for their own undesirable appearance. By far, the most frequent instances of color sensitivity, however, occur outside the home as the child attempts to make adjustments to new groups." A partial evidence of the conflict surrounding the color crisis is provided by Johnson (1941) in the following personal account:

Nettie Stamps is the 15-year-old daughter in a family that is above the average in economic status and in general living standards. They have a comfortable home and such conveniences as electricity, a radio, and a small automobile. She is dark-brown in complexion, but refers to herself as brown. Black is the very worst color you can be. It's ugly and people treat Black people so mean. I really think colored people are worse to Black people than White people are. They are first to call names like 'black' and 'nigger'. It's bad when White people call that, but worse for colored to call their own race names. They are all colored together.

Seems to me like Black people don't have the advantages that brown and yellow people have. I can't exactly think of what advantages I mean, but around the school the real dark children don't get much attention. Some of the teachers don't like them and call them 'black' and 'dumb'.

Black people just look ugly. I'm between black and yellow: I think brown, but I'd rather be light skin. You look better, but best of all I'd rather be real light-brown. Any color is better than black!

In the following account, Johnson (1941) provides a contrast with the previous case:
Melvina Ingram is a mulatto girl of 17, in a comfortably well-off family. Her complexion is light, and she has curly hair. Her sister, Constance, is of the same complexion. Although apparently adjusted at home, they both have had such difficulty with the children at school that the family plans to move to another community. I don't get along at all with the children at school. They are always sneaking around and talking about you. They are just a selfish bunch. Some of the girls wrote letters to Professor Giles. They don't like me because I change my clothes every day and they wear a dress a whole week. I always raise my hand to recite, and they say that I think I'm smart. I cry about the whole thing, and then they started talking about the principal and me.

In summary, during adolescence, large numbers of young Blacks are victims of the usual adolescent role confusion, but many also suffer humiliation and loss of self-esteem due to an identity crisis, generally because of the importance attached to skin color and other physical features.

Black College Students and Skin Color

What do differences in skin color mean to Black college students? Intraracially, color preferences once meant, according to Bovell (1943) that, "each symbol denotes a particular intensity of whiteness and is used not only for the convenience of description but also to indicate glorification, social advantage, prestige, and popular qualities of beauty." In other words, "a cult of color worshippers." But today's Black college students are observably more militant in attitude, less docile in behavior, and show more self-assertiveness.
Despite this seeming change in college age Blacks, there are no studies that show that because the Black students are more self-assertive, that they are any less concerned about the physical self.

In retrospect, Black college students have shown a consistent preference for light-skinned peers, whose complexions were decidedly lighter than their own. The exaggerated importance of skin pigmentation in these students is mainly for the same reasons as earlier reported. The belief that to be dark is an inherent evil, while being light is in and of itself more desirable. Bovell (1943) discovered this notion in a study in which he stated the following:

Greek-letter organizations in a colored college, an extreme partiality to color is manifest by both male and female groups. Both elements take pride in the display of color, and the technique of discrimination by each is characteristic and amusing; the female organization apparently strives to maintain an exclusive membership of brown light-complexioned individuals, who, however, show no scruples about the complexion of the men they carry to their social functions; the male organization, on the other hand, while scarcely concerned than the female one about complexion of its membership, habitually undertakes an almost exclusive selection of light-complexioned females for its social functions. Together, they virtually comprise a cult of color worshippers.

Whether or not this is true for all Black students, it expresses the feelings of many. The burden seems to relate directly to the person or person's self worth. This obsession with lighter skin and superior features is also associated with social status.

Vontress (1963) noted that,
The Negro's ideal type becomes the *sine qua non* for participation in society. Cover girls, beauty queens, and models have light skins, straight hair, and general non-Negroid features. Negro college student bodies glorify the ideal type, too. Leafing through college yearbooks confirms the belief that the light-skinned, fair-haired girl is usually elected campus queen, Miss Homecoming, fraternity sweetheart, or to other such campus status positions.

In other words, the devaluation of the dark skin, broad nose, and kinky hair is due to the fact that many Blacks believe that they would be better able to accept themselves, and ultimately be more acceptable to others. This is reflected in a finding by Marks (1943) using a group of Black college students for his population. He asked subjects to rate their own skin color and to judge the skin color of their preferred associates. Marks found that subjects tended to displace their values of themselves and showed a preference for lighter-skinned associates.

In an opposite opinion, a study aimed at focusing on skin color and physical appearances, as perceived by Black college students, some researchers found that the light-skinned Black seemed to be having the most difficulty. They examined the interaction between self-perception and the perceptions of others to clarify the role that skin color plays in intraracial interactions. Generally, as Bayton and Muldrow (1968) findings indicated, "the light-skinned male is more sensitive to the skin color of the role playing situation than either medium or dark skinned Blacks." The paradox of the position...
reported above is that this study appears to support the notion that
Blacks may be shifting their opinion in terms of the once highly
accepted standard ascribed to light skin, straight hair, and general
non-Negroid features.

One could speculate from this that the present evidence about
light-skinned Blacks having less social status and prestige may have
some accuracy. Also as implied above, the more militant and self-
assertive position of the Black student showing "black pride" and
less concern with "whiteness" may be signaling a new developmental
change in the phenomenon of color.

Black Adults and Skin Color

Historically, glorification of light skin started with the
mulatto (mixture of black and white) and the treatment accrued to
them. Racial mixturing has had far reaching effects through the
black populous. Mulattoes were different and treated differently
than other more "colored persons," and treated differently by other
Blacks.

Skin color has symbolized inferiority in the sense that it
served to place Blacks in different categories among themselves.
Light-skinned Blacks have symbolically represented the upper class,
as is evidenced in the following statement by M. Davis (1949):

From the social standpoint, the effects of race
mixture are far reaching. The mixed type (whom
for the sake of brevity we will call mulattoes regardless of the degree of inter-mixture) has long enjoyed superior opportunities and a superior social status as compared with unmixed Negroes. Most of the Negro leaders have been mulattoes, in view of the long history and the great extent of race mixture in the United States.

The preoccupation with idealizing the complexion of the dominant group by Blacks and Whites has helped to perpetuate the "white ego-ideal" and the "rightness of whiteness" syndrome down through the generations. This sort of attitude on the part of many Black adults has helped to perpetuate the dominate group concept, while at the same time allowing the mulattoes or light-skinned Blacks to believe the same. According to M. Davis (1949),

There are reasons for the superior attitude on the part of the mulattoes. A larger proportion of them than of the full Blacks derive from the free Negroes and from the favored class of house slaves. In a number of instances, they are descended from the masters themselves. Even from eminent persons like Alexander Hamilton, Patrick Henry (who had a Negro son named Melancthon), and Thomas Jefferson (who had at least five mulatto children). Frequently the mulatto offspring were well educated by their white fathers; especially was the son in the case of the famous quadroons of New Orleans. Following emancipation, as we have already noted, the mulattoes more than the Blacks entered business and professions. Their superior social and economic position has been maintained to this day.

Perhaps another example of the traditionally "white is right" syndrome can be demonstrated by the remarks from Crawford's research.

Crawford (1968) found that,

Upon reviewing the Negro leadership class and successes
in the past and in American contemporary society, there has traditionally been a disproportionate number of light-skinned making up the bulk of the successful segment of the Negro population. Dark-skinned Negroes compose a small part of this group. Since the majority of the Negro population is not light-skinned, the probability of such a phenomenon occurring by chance seems most unlikely.

Evident in the above statement is the notion that Black adults, unfortunately, had felt that light-skinned Blacks were better off and have sanctioned this system psychologically as well as sociologically in the Black community.

Reflecting the beliefs of Whites, M. Davis (1949) reports a similar finding:

In placing high social value on light skin color and unfrizzled hair, the Negroes reflect the attitude of the dominant Whites, whose standard of beauty and prestige is white. It also seems that the Whites prefer mulattoes because they look more like White people. White America puts a premium on lack of color. As one colored man said, 'Have a white skin, and all things else may be added unto you.' Another Negro remarked, 'It's no disgrace to be Black, but it's often very inconvenient!'

A number of other noted researchers, such as Drake and Clayton (1945), Davis, Gardner and Gardner (1941), Glenn (1963), Freeman, Ross, Armor, and Peitigrew (1966) and Dai (1961) just to mention a few, indicate similar findings pertaining to the exaggerated importance historically, placed on skin gradation by Blacks.

How are Black children affected in their efforts to comprehend interracial color prejudice? Color preference may vary
somewhat interracially depending upon social class, degree of color in regard to the social norm, and primary group concern with color preference. The evidence that color preference and the suggestion of the "goodness of whiteness" does not go unidentified long in terms of the Black child. Transference many times is a very subtle process of identification, but adults and parents unintentionally do show their frustration with certain situations. In the case of color gradation and color preference, many times it is the position or attitude that parents take that influences children to relate to one degree of color as opposed to another. So the degree to which color prejudice affects Black children and becomes a part of their personality makeup is a definite obstacle to their acceptance of a specific color gradation. Black children can and do show quite definite patterns of color preference as has been stated earlier in this investigation.

Understanding how Black parents many times predispositions the Black child for the acceptance of the "rightness of whiteness" has been the subject of many studies in reference to this topic. Ventress (1963) states that, "the personality problems that are more or less peculiar to Negro children are closely associated with the peculiar social status that their elders are socially and legally compelled to occupy in society and to the peculiar evaluations of skin color, hair texture and other physical features that are imposed upon them by the White majority and transmitted directly by Negro significant." How
this evaluation by Black adults may affect the conceptions of Black children may be seen in the following view. Dai (1961) states that,

Preoccupation with skin color and other racial features, the most obvious, but none the less detrimental, obstacle to the growth of a secure self system among Negro children is the blind acceptance of white racial prejudices and measuring one's personal worth by the degrees of proximity to white complexion or other Caucasian features. These evaluations of skin color and other physical features, however, do not affect the Negro child directly before he comes in close contact with White children; they are mostly mediated by the child's parents and other significant people in his primary group.

Many times parents and "significant others" are unaware of the repeated influence they are having on children when expressing a particular preference for one "color" as opposed to another, and how this may affect the child in terms of identification of self or other important persons in that child's life.

Earlier, we stated that there seems to be a changing in attitudes toward the light-skinned Black (see Introduction section). In a number of recent reports, as well as some of the older ones, we are now witnessing a different notion of color consciousness among Black youth as a result of the Civil Rights Movement and the Black man's quest for equality.

In light of a new identification with the Black society, Blacks are becoming more narcissistically inward, and showing more pride in self as well as what they are "about as a people."

Whether or not this has had any measurable effect on the
adult population is not known. There are studies showing that the change started sometime before the Rights movement and then again other studies show that there has been an de-emphasis on color due to the unification around "black pride." How this has affected the adults seems to be an open question. Some studies state that Blacks are now less concerned with color preference and complexion as any kind of obstacle to prestige or achievement. Some feel that Blacks are now using other vehicles to gain self-acceptance. According to Crawford (1968),

Those Negroes who have succeeded in many Caucasian-dominated fields such as business and government (and who are held up as examples of success to Negro school children) are almost without exception light-skinned, may be a coincidence. But if we look around at today's hiring practices, we find a paradoxical situation. It is the feeling of many Blacks and some Whites, that Blacks with darker skin are deliberately hired first. 'The blacker you are the better'. This being the case, does not this denote the value placed on darker skin and/or the value of light skin in the black, white socialization process?" 

Here we see one example of the de-emphasis of lighter skin color as a determinant agent in the Black man's pursuit of prestige.

In another study, aimed at researching the lessening affect of skin color, Drake and Clayton (1945) report a discussion with a doctor who said the following:

Color-distinctions among Negroes are gradually disappearing. Some older people have told me of the time when color was the thing."
He added:

I feel that ability counts more now.

Another man observes that "with the older group color played an important part. With the younger generation it is different. I don't think color is as important as it used to be." Many factors have contributed to the lessening importance of skin color as the measure of the man within Bronzeville: The extension of education, the increase of "race price", the accumulation of money by dark people. An additional factor of extreme importance should be mentioned—the tendency of successful dark men to marry light. Most of the children will be darker than mother and lighter than the father. Any tendency toward the growth of a light-skinned caste is continually being defeated by the rise of the darker people into the higher-status bracket.

In a similar study, Frazier (1957) came up with the same findings as Drake and Clayton.

In the large urban communities in the North, it is one's occupation, education, and income or standard of living rather than family and color that determines status. Then, too, in the large city, one's public behavior. In the northern city, as color and family descent decline in importance as the basis of upper-class status, the character of the class structure of the Negro community approximates that of the Western world generally, where social status is correlated with occupational status, income, and education.

From the foregoing statements, several facts stand out.

First, while light color preference may not be more of a hindrance to prestige, it is not evident that light or darker counterparts are
any more accepting of each other. Secondly, intraracial marriages between the various color combination may be lessening the visibility of light-skinned blacks; meaning that they are lessening in number, but not necessarily any less desirous. Thirdly, dark-skinned blacks may be increasing in number and also challenging other groups more for prestige and status.

While this study did not examine some of the variables mentioned above, it did investigate the most desirable color complexion irrespective of the other factors. Freeman, Armor, Ross, and Pettigrew (1966), Glenn (1963), Davis, Gardner and Gardner (1941) are other studies which support the contention that skin color in the past has been a major agent in the prestige and status mobility for many light-skinned blacks. It is now their belief that it has very little to do with whether or not a Black person can gain significant social status today.

Whites and Skin Color

From observing current developments in interracial operation in the larger society, it is evident that at least two different phenomena are occurring. First, Blacks, irrespective of skin color, are getting more visibility in employment that would have traditionally gone to light-skinned Blacks or Whites (see Introduction), and are noticeably more visible. Secondly, at a time when there is
a reported widening of the gap in interracial relations, with Whites and Blacks becoming more conservatively in-group oriented, there is a lessening of social distance among Whites and Blacks in some relationships, meaning that skin color may not be a barrier to communication.

There are no areas of research related specifically to studies pertaining to White adults. This means that comparative studies of Whites involving attitude and behavior in judging Blacks are unavailable, simply because to what extent Whites engage in comparing themselves to Blacks is unknown. To paraphrase Asher and Allen--Intuitively it seems reasonable to believe that both middle and lower-class Whites use middle-class Whites as a comparison group. It could be argued, however, that the lower-class Whites closer social position and more frequent contact with Negro people will make for greater comparison. On the other hand, there are some assumptions that can be hypothesized from what is already known. From studies of other younger Whites (see Section 1, Chapter II), shows that their attitudes and behaviors are controlled primarily by the immediate surroundings and immediate group relations.

In attempting to understand some of the current developments, the one area that would serve to show a probable shift in philosophy concerning Whites' attitudes toward skin color is in the field of advertising.

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Today on television, in magazines and newspapers, Black fashion models are the ones who are most noticeably identified with Black characteristics. In the past, black magazines, as well as white-owned magazines, used to feature Black models most closely identified with the white ego-ideals or white symbolism. In one study, the research showed that, "until very recently a survey of advertisement in periodicals showed that the models were almost all light-skinned and possessed features traditionally associated with whites." Also, Blacks with definite Negroid features are more visible particularly in educational settings and the field of business, as up-front office personnel.

This being the case, and it is with Blacks having features as looking more Negroid, would appear to indicate a change in the White's heretofore concern over skin color. Also, would that not indicate a devaluation of their own skin color importance, vis-a-vis Negroid skin color? The acceptance of this change in skin color behavior also must be seen as a change in the attitude of Whites regarding what Negroid features are desirable, may be consciously or unconsciously motivated. The point being made here isn't to argue the issue of white or black skin. It is to demonstrate that some change has taken place and that the whole question of skin color needs to be investigated as it relates to Whites' relationships with Blacks.

At the same time, white racial tensions are reportedly in-
creasing between the races, as mentioned earlier; ironically enough, there is evidence that in some manner, race relations are improving between Whites and Blacks. The perception gap for some Whites is becoming less serious based on continued discrimination on the basis of skin color. For example, the March 1st issue of Jet Magazine reported that more Blacks are marrying Whites. In brief, according to the article,

The lastest U. S. Census Bureau report issued last week shows that more Black men than ever are marrying White women. The report says that more than twice as many Black men were married to White women in the 1960's as in the 1950's. According to the 1970 census, there were 16,419 Black men with White wives who were married for the first time during the decade and whose marriages were still intact.

Whether or not this kind of change is significant enough to eradicate or minimize the importances of skin color gradation among White Americans or not, it does mean that some Whites are less hung-up on the skin color of Blacks. They are less symbolically conscious of skin color. Also, this would seem to indicate that some whites are less preoccupied with self and the delusion of inherent superiority with skin complexion at least phenomenologically. Again, the point being made is not to argue the rightness or wrongness of black skin and white skin, but to question whether or not color prejudice is still influencing the interracial experiences between Whites and Blacks.

Have Whites' stereotypes along color lines changed, and are Whites
perceptually more accepting of Blacks visibly?

In the absence of knowledge or literature to the contrary, numerous studies have been cited that point up the importance of skin color and demonstrate how early color-conflict affect the lives of Whites and Blacks and becomes a significant factor in interpersonal communication. While there are few studies that demonstrate how Whites now see skin color due to the psychological and sociological changes in our race relations, there is an indication that this investigation is needed if we look at this whole matter historically from the past to present in terms of the color preference continuum.

In summary, in view of the widespread practice of color selection which has prevailed, the task at this point with reference to Whites is twofold. One, does skin color still uniformly play a critical role in the selection of Blacks in interracial relationships? Secondly, if heretofore light skin has occupied the highest value for Whites, what is now the acceptable norm?

Summary

In Chapter II, the phenomenological field has been defined as it relates to this research. Studies have been cited that demonstrate how important the color of one's skin can be to all Americans, Blacks and Whites alike. According to the phenomenological approach, behavior is not entirely the result of one's past or culture or situa-
tional personality factors but rather a result of one's perceptions at any given moment.

A review of the literature appears to support both of the writer's contentions. First, in retrospect, Blacks learn early the negativistic reactions to the color of their skin. Secondly, there is some evidence supporting the belief that a subsequent change concerning the importance of skin color is occurring among Blacks and Whites alike.
CHAPTER III

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The design and methodology used in the study are reported below under six headings: (1) Restatement of the Problem, (2) Population and Sample, (3) Instrumentation and Variables, (4) Procedures, (5) Data Collection, and (6) Statistical Analysis of the Data.

Restatement of the Problem

This investigation was an attempt to determine to what extent color gradation and situational phenomenon affect racial prejudice. This study was specifically designed to assess attitudinal preferences as they relate to color consciousness and color distinction in interpersonal racial relations. The attitudinal preferences investigated were: (1) individual preference for black skin gradation, (2) individual preference for white skin gradation, (3) the dynamics of self-identification, and (4) the factors affecting misidentification. The major question asked was, "to what degree" does color consciousness and color distinction serve to reinforce racial attitudes and racial stereotypes between Blacks and Whites.

Historically, the color gradation of one's skin played an important role regarding preferential and differential treatment,
especially among Black people in the United States. Since the black movement, the revolution of the late '50's and through the '60's, it appears that the previously highly valued light-skinned Black person is experiencing the opposite effect. Thus, this study was an attempt to assess how Blacks and Whites perceive skin color and their preference, as measured by a skin color gradation scale.

Population and Sample

Initially, the subjects for this study based on sex, race, and educational level, were to be drawn from seven categories: (1) elementary students, (2) junior high school students, (3) high school students, (4) college freshmen, (5) some college (mainly sophomores and juniors), (6) college senior, and (7) graduate students. Unfortunately, one category (college freshmen) was eliminated during data collection. The fundamental reason for selection of these various categories was the belief that at each of these levels, there would be a different level of awareness as it relates to the phenomenological world. Also, life adjustment and maturity were thought to affect responses to certain situational phenomena.

The complete sample for the study was selected from the Kalamazoo Public School System and Western Michigan University, during the Spring term, 1973. Some Black students, because of the lack of availability in the school systems selection process, were
drawn from a local para-school learning center. They were selected in order to ensure representation in all categories.

The samples used in this investigation cannot be considered truly random or necessarily representative of students in each category. Two major factors worked against an attempt to achieve random and representative samples.

First, limitations were placed on who could participate in the survey. Before an assessment could be made of elementary, junior and high school students, the school system required a Parental Approval Form. This form had to be signed by each child's parent or guardian before he or she could participate in the survey. Because many parents did not sign the form, this automatically crippled any chance of having a random and representative in this study.

Parenthetically, at the time of this investigation, the school system was sensitive to any attempt to conduct research in the schools. Reluctance to let investigation in the school stemmed, in part, from the fact that the school was involved in a desegregation case surrounding the busing of Black and White students for racial balance. Many parents expressed dissatisfaction with the school board and many of its administrators. Hence the school system felt that a study dealing with black-white issues might further complicate an already problematic school situation.

The second limiting factor was that students at the university
level could refuse to participate in the study. While this was not a major problem, there were students who did not want to participate under any circumstances, due primarily to the nature of the study. Thus, the original plan to randomly select students from each category had to be abandoned since each student did not have an equal chance of being selected.

The next step was to try for a proportional sample. Isaac and Michael (1971), state that, "When there are two or more ways of classifying the data--sex, age, educational level, intelligence level, socioeconomic status, or ethnic membership--and it is important to insure that each category is proportionately represented in the sample, the population is subdivided into the appropriate strata and then a predetermined quota of cases is drawn at random from each sub-stratum," whereby, a group's representation would be equal to its population proportion. In proportional sampling, there is an underlying assumption that stratification and random sampling are automatic with population representation, in that with proportional sampling all classification and membership categories are included.

For example, if Black are 20% of the total population, then all you need is a 20% sample in order to have a representation of that group. If we examined Table 1, we would observe an adequate proportion representation across all categories, thus ensuring the probability that the samples are representative of the total. In
Table 1. -- Percentage Distribution of Black and White Subjects by Sex and Educational Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Black Students</th>
<th></th>
<th>White Subjects</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black males</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black females</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black males</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black females</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black males</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24.0</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black females</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior College</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black males</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black females</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate Students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black males</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black females</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Subjects</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Total sample size of the subjects surveyed for all categories was 513 of which 159, or 30.9%, were Black, and 60.1% were White.)
Table 2, the Black population percentages are actually better than their subsequent representation in the original sample. As for the White sample, it, too, approaches a good balance in terms of the original population.

Instrumentation and Variables

Under instrumentation and the variables section in this study, I will discuss: (1) the rating scales, (2) use of photographic scale, (3) the independent variable, and (4) the dependent variable.

Two instruments were used in this study: (1) a rating scale, hereinafter called the Kirk Color Scale, and (2) the photographic test, henceforth called the Black-White Picture Scale.

The Kirk Color Scale

The Kirk Color Scale, developed specifically for this study, was constructed to assess individual preference regarding skin color, hair length, and facial features. Subjects were required, through a forced-choice method, to select from a series of four visual objects (picture slides) those they most preferred. For example, the subjects were shown a slide with four drawings of a Black female whose skin color ranged from white to black. The subjects were asked to select the skin color that was most preferable to them. This choice was marked on the Kirk Color Scale, which consisted of twenty
Table 2. --Percentage Distribution of Total Population and Samples Drawn for Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Categories</th>
<th>Total Subjects</th>
<th>White Subjects</th>
<th>White Subj.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Black Subjects</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Subjects Surveyed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>1118</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>55.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>9819</td>
<td>9305</td>
<td>95.0</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>66.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior College</td>
<td>4979</td>
<td>4848</td>
<td>98.4</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>78.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>3084</td>
<td>3011</td>
<td>97.6</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>81.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>19557</td>
<td>18497</td>
<td>94.6</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>.018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
forced-choice responses. (A more detailed discussion of the slides is presented in this chapter under the Black-White Picture Scale.)

The Kirk Color Scale was intended to get at the same information as most other attitude scales, but was modified for this particular evaluation of the perceptual behavior in connection with skin color as a phenomenon and the phenomenological field. (See Chapter II.)

The Kirk Color Scale was constructed because most techniques used in previous research of this nature seemed to be outdated or mechanically not useful for this study. Nevertheless, the writer agrees with other researchers who agreed with Secord, Bevan and Katz (1932) who state that, "the use of ratings of Negro photographs as a means of assessing the degree of prejudice deserved further attention as an alternative to the more familiar attitudinal techniques of measurement."

To pretest the instruments validity and reliability, as to its socio-perceptual value, it was administered to 87 undergraduate students at Western Michigan University during the Winter Semester of 1973. The subjects were members of two classes in the Black Americana Studies Department. Twenty-nine students (or 25%) were Black males and females, while 48 students (or 65%) were White males and females. All respondents participating in the preliminary study reported no difficulty in clarity or comprehension of either the Kirk Color Scale or the Black-White Picture Scale. Also, three
independent judges, that is a person who was not acquainted with subjects being surveyed, felt the scale to be valid and reliable for this inquiry.

The Black-White Picture Scale

The use of photography or pictures as test material is not unprecedented (Deutsch, 1923; DeFleur and Westie, 1958; Horowitz, 1936; Landreth and Johnson, 1953; Murphy and Likert, 1932; Radke and Trager, 1949; Rice, 1926-27; Secord, Bevan and Katz, 1932; Schwartz, 1932; Sherman, 1932; Woodrow, 1926). The use of drawings and paintings as diagnostic tools, as well as therapeutic instruments have a voluminous history. A review of the literature revealed that studies related to this technique according to Horowitz (1931) who stated:

Of general methodological interest: These techniques were developed after preliminary experimenting with outline drawings, a set of matched dolls, and the later use of a questionnaire and free composition, using two 'matched' photographs. The need here was for testing techniques provided except the outline drawings; and later were found to be less satisfactory than the photographs, though they do permit greater comparability of stimuli presented in the tests. The realism of the photographs proved especially valuable.

The writer feels that this is especially true in collecting empirical data concerned with the phenomenological emphasis, as well as any time one is concerned with stereotype, cues, visual lables, or symbolic objects that may affect behavior.
In the construction of the slides, all pictures on the slides were actual drawings. The drawings were done by an art student at Western Michigan University in consultation with the writer, and the doctoral committee. They also serve as an expert panel of judges, that adjudged the slides to be able to adequately assess one's preferences regarding skin color, hair length, and facial features.

After the drawings were found to contain the proper color tones, as well as physiogomic traits believed to be characteristics of Blacks and Whites, they were photographed for the slides. In attempting to transfer the drawings to photographic material, some problems were experienced in holding skin tones constant, due to the appropriate prototype, lighting, film, and camera. After several shootings of a number of rolls of film and a step by step procedure to correct each of the above problems mentioned, the final product was judged to be perceptually realistic and usable.

The Black-White Picture Scale underwent a preliminary pretest, as did the Kirk Color Scale and was found to be acceptable by the pretest group.

**Independent Variables**

The independent variables in this study were skin color, hair, and features. The key variable, skin color, was delineated by four distinctive shades: white, light brown, brown, and dark brown.
These four categories may be described as follows:

1. **White.** pictures of individuals in this group had white skin, with their features either caucasoid for those in the white group of picture, or Negroid for those in the black group.

2. **Light brown.** pictures of individuals in this group had light brown skin, with their features either Caucasian for the white group, or Negroid for those in the black group.

3. **Brown.** pictures of individuals in this group had brown skin, with their features either Caucasian for the white group, or Negroid for those in the black group.

4. **Dark brown.** pictures of individuals in this group had dark brown skin, with their features either Caucasian for the white group, or Negroid for those in the black group.

When photographs in the slide presentation were black, the hair texture and facial features were those physiognomic traits believed to be characteristics attributed to Negroes, and the same was true of photographs shown of Whites.

In this study, the independent variables used were believed to have a direct effect on perceptions as well as behavior. An objective of the research was to determine to what extent these four levels
of skin color affected an individual at any given moment and caused him or her to respond in a positive or negative manner. Hair and features were included because responses to situations or phenomenological data perceived by an individual are not always singular in nature. A response may be made to a series of cues as opposed to just one.

**Dependent Variables**

In this study, the dependent variables presumed to have the most effect were age, education, race, sex, and one's own skin color.

A question of primary theoretical relevance was: What accounts for the relative importance of these variables upon racial prejudice. (Prejudice as used here, and throughout this study, was not used to characterize respondents of the study, but it seems reasonable to consider the lack of willingness to accept as a manifestation of prejudice.) An important task was to determine how these variables effect attitude and behavior.

**Procedure**

In this study, the Black-White Picture Scale, twenty film slides containing four photographs, were used to elicit participant responses. The participants were asked to select from each slide,
the photograph they liked best. The four photographs on each slide contained four degrees of skin gradation, ranging from white to dark brown. The slide presentation was arranged in six different categories. These six categories may be described as follows:

1. **Sample slides.** Initially, in the slide presentation, four sample slides were used depicting four different subjects. Slide one showed four different kinds of fruits, slide two showed four different colored cats, slide three showed four different dogs. Each photograph in the slides was numbered from one to four, with the numbers being randomized, as well as the position of the photograph rotated on each of the twenty slides to avoid a response set. The rationale for sample slides was that it would help to illustrate for the subjects what they were to distinguish between as they responded to each slide.

2. **Black males.** Each of the three slide sets in this category was comprised of four photographs of Black males. The photographs showed a white-looking male with Negroid features, a light, brown-skinned male with Negroid features, a brown-skinned male with Negroid features, and a dark, brown-skinned male with Negroid features. The only change in each of the slide sets was hairstyle. The three different hairstyles used were those believed...
to be most commonly worn by Blacks. The three hair styles were: (1) short, natural looking hair cut close to the head and shaped, (2) a medium-cut Afro hair style, (3) a large Afro. All photographs were full-face, color pictures.

3. **White males.** each of the three slide sets in this category was comprised of four photographs of White males. The photographs depicted a white-looking male with Caucasoid features, a light, brown-skinned male with Caucasoid features, and a dark, brown-skinned male with Caucasoid features. The three different hairstyles were: (1) short-looking hair, like some White males wear their hair, (2) a medium Afro, (3) a large Afro hair style. All photographs were full-face, color pictures.

4. **Black females.** each of the three slide sets in this category was comprised of four photographs of Black females. The arrangement for the Black females was the same as that for the Black males, with one exception. One set of the female's photographs showed the Black female wearing long straight hair. All photographs were full-face, color pictures.

5. **White females.** each of the three slide sets in this category was comprised of four photographs of White females. The
The arrangement again was the same as for the White males, with one exception. One set of the female's photographs showed the White female wearing long straight hair. All photographs were full-face, color pictures.

6. Black-White and White-Black pairing. In this set of photographs, there were four different combinations:

(1) Black male with a Black female, (2) Black male with a White female, (3) White male with a Black female, (4) White female with a White male. In each set of slides, color, features, and hair were held constant. The males' hair styles were short, regular hair and the females' hair styles were medium Afro hair. There was only one slide per slide. All photographs were full-face, color pictures.

In the original planning of the study, it was the writer's intention to use real models, and to photograph them to give the pictures more authenticity, but in the developmental stages it was discovered that there was too much internal variance. So, in order to hold the phenomenological stimuli constant, it was more desirable to use drawings. The rationale was that individuals who were definitely smiling, frowning, or exhibiting other strong signs of emotions, would influence the outcome. For the same reason, drawings of the different individuals were only shown from the neck up.
The following chart shows the actual arrangement of the slide presentation.

In responding to the Kirk Color Scale, each subject was asked to do three specific tasks. The first task was to supply the demographic data concerned with race, sex, age, and the level of education by checking the appropriate items on the scale. During the second phase of the exercise each subject was asked to respond to the twenty slides and check the photograph and number that he liked best, by marking his scale when each of the twenty slides were shown. In answering the first four questions (sample questions), the subjects were given instructions they were to follow with each of the sample slides. Once the actual exercise started, the participants were not to talk or solicit information, but were told to follow the previous instructions.

In viewing each slide, the subjects were allowed ten seconds per slide, and ten seconds between each slide. After each slide was shown, a blank slide was shown to give them time to respond instantly to what they had just observed. However, in the case of the last four slides, the viewing time was increased to fifteen seconds to allow for the additional photographs that each subject would have to observe. The marking time remained ten seconds throughout. In the second phase of the exercise, the total time for viewing and marking the scale was exactly seven minutes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fruit</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Sample Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Houses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dogs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black Male, Short Hair</td>
<td>LB</td>
<td>BL</td>
<td>BR</td>
<td>white</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Black Male, Medium Afro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Black Male, Big Afro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>White Male, Short Hair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>White Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black Female, Long Hair</td>
<td>LB</td>
<td>BL</td>
<td>BR</td>
<td>white</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Black Female, Medium Afro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Black Female, Big Afro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White Female, Long Hair</td>
<td>LB</td>
<td>BR</td>
<td>BL</td>
<td>white</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>White Female, Medium Afro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>White Female, Big Afro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black Male &amp; Black Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>White Male &amp; Black Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>White Male &amp; White Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Black Male &amp; White Female</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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On the third phase of the scales, each subject had to identify his own skin color; the coises were white, light-brown, brown, or black. For further details concerning the Kirk Color Scale and the instructions given, see Appendix

Data Collection

After the respondents in the study were selected in each category, the next step was to work out the details as to how the subjects were to be administered the scales. This was accomplished by working directly with the various principals in the case of the school system. At the university level, direct contact was made with the various instructors. The study was explained and if the instructor was found to be receptive of the study's content (which was important at that point), the final details for administering the instruments were worked out. In any class if the instructor permitted the study to be conducted, he was asked not to give the class any information or instructions concerning the study and the same was true for the principals and teachers in the case of the school system.

The Kirk Color Scale and the Black-White Picture Scale were administered in twenty different settings. The groups varied in numbers depending upon how many subjects were in each class singled out for the study. Some situations were segregated and others, were integrated. The subjects were assessed under normal...
condition of the classroom. Most situations were uniracial with majority being predominantly White, with a lesser number being the reverse.

In administering the scales, each of the groups had two examiners. For administration of the scales, the examiners were either Black or White. On the questions, regarding the color of the examiner, whether or not this is a valid question—some agree that there is an effect, others disagree, saying there is no significant consequences. Some agree with what Landreth and Johnson (1953) have to say: "While a question may be raised concerning the effect of a White tester on Negro children, the alternative of a Negro for Negro children and a White tester for White children would also have introduced a social variable. Incidentally, both three and five year old Negro children had White teachers." Others see it as just the opposite and agree with Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) who state that, "apparently, then, different samples and sample sizes, the difference of an entire generation. The use of different dolls, and also White examiners did not bring about appreciably different answers to these basic questions." This means that there is some question as to how much the color of the examiners involvement is really a social variable. In order to hold the color of the examiner's construct concerning the dispute, it was the writer's opinion that the two examiners surveying the groups would be of the same color. This way, hopefully offsetting any adverse effects. For information concerning
how the examiners conducted the survey, see Appendix

Finally, the answer sheets were checked for correct responses and those having unnecessary marks were discarded. The answer sheets were on I.B.M. sheets and transferred onto I.B.M. machine cards, using a key prepared especially for scoring of the Kirk Scale.

Statistical Analysis of the Data

Several statistical techniques were utilized to determine the relationships between the independent and dependent variables. The data analyses used were intended to achieve two specific objectives: (1) to analyze each question on the questionnaire, due to the subject's age, skin color, education, race, and sex, (2) to analyze the different response patterns for each person answering the questions due to skin color, hair length, and sex.

The one-way analysis of variance techniques was the most commonly used statistic. The analysis of variance technique employed, was to determine whether significant difference between color choice did in fact exist. A two-way analysis of variance technique was used to determine similar information, as well as to compare the intercorrelation among the independent variables and dependent variables.

This investigation also included the T-test and a repeated measurement observation technique, for the purpose of judging the
interpretability of the data, in terms of the underlying assumption concerning the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

In summary, the statistical models employed in this study were used mainly to allow the greatest amount of inference concerning socio-psychological interpretation in research of this nature.
CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter presents statistical evidence pertaining to the research hypothesis listed in Chapter I. The primary objective of this study was to determine the influence of color gradation and situational phenomenon upon racial attitudes and behavior.

Review of the Problem

Two research hypotheses and several questions were formulated to assess the extent to which being a male or female, Black or White, and responding to a series of key variables have an effect on the subject's racial attitude and/or behavior. Hypothesis 2 was formulated to examine the extent to which an evaluating of black and white skin color is influenced by one's own skin color. Aside from the formulated hypotheses, several questions were also raised to determine how differential treatment may be effected by one's own age, education, race, and sex.

Measurement of Skin Color

In conjunction with the statistical findings relevant to the
hypotheses, skin color was the important factor. In order to identify
the preferred color chosen by the respondents, the assigning of a
"color score" was done along a continuum of one to four in the con-
struction of the slides on the Black-White Picture Scale. Thus, each
picture was assigned an arbitrary weight from one to four for statisti-
cal purposes, and many of the tables, charts, etc. will show four
scores, and the level of significance. The technique for identifying
the color scores is illustrated in Table 4.--Skin Color Scores on the
Skin Color Scale.

Reporting of Results

Findings were reported in this chapter in relation to the conven-
tional levels for rejecting the research hypotheses. In other words,
the rejection of the hypotheses was at the traditional .05 or .01 levels
of significance.

The statistical techniques utilized were those associated with
R. A. Risher (1951), a one-way analysis of variance (repeated
measurement) and a two-way analysis of variance. The techniques
used for analyzing the unequal subclass analysis were derived from
T. A. Bancroft (1968), "Topics in Intermediate Statistical Methods."

Because our hypotheses contain a series of F-ratios, a technique
utilized for evaluating a series of statistical tests has been applied in
this study, in order to make a final decision on the empirical finding,
before accepting or rejecting the null form of the hypotheses. The
Table 4.--Skin Color Scores on the Skin Color Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skin Color Categories</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. White</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Light Brown</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Brown</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dark Brown</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*5. Black</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*the arbitrary assigning of a fifth score numerically equalizes the distance between each interval*
technique used for analyzing a series of statistical tests was derived from Sakoda, Burton, Cohen, and Beall (1954), "test of significance for a series of statistical tests."

The results of the study are presented, first by stating the hypothesis in the form of a question, then as a null hypothesis, and finally reporting the statistical value. Since the exploratory questions were not set up as research hypotheses, and were only preliminary questions, they are reported in question form.

Preliminary Statistical Analysis

A one-way analysis of variance using repeated measurement (see Appendix J) summarizes the results of the subjects' responses to questions for all educational levels and categories by race and sex. The findings indicate significant scores, and since this was a preliminary investigation of the F-ratios, this analysis suggested further investigation. The data strongly suggest that mean differences did occur in the majority of the categories (23 out of 30) at the .05 or .01 level, meaning that further inquiry should be observed.

A two-way analysis of variance on subjects by educational level and categories on questions one through sixteen from the survey questionnaire was computed (see Appendix K). This preliminary investigation was made to investigate several factors: (1) to further inspect the subjects' responses to the questions; (2) to aid in inter-
preting the F-values across each question and category; (3) to aid in revealing the significant values across each question; and (4) a test of interaction to determine if differences between Black and White depend upon whether a person was male or female. The results reported above were valid, with one exception. In the case of Category I, the number of F-ratios were low in comparison (also see Appendix L) to the other categories, meaning that some statistical irregularity was showing up. The F-ratios for Category I tend to suggest that the problem is due to smallness of sample, and that it becomes a problem of representativeness in terms of male, female or Black and White subjects (four Black males, nine Black females, eight White males, and seven White females). Thus, any conclusion concerning the group can only be tentative, and hence our decision to eliminate Category I from any further analysis.

A one-way analysis of variance using repeated measurement (which is shown in Appendix L) is a comparison of subjects regarding race and sex as to the "average color" preferred by category and educational level. The results revealed that "average color" preferred by category and educational level was significantly different across categories I, II, III, and IV, but that IV and V showed similar significant values. The F-ratios and level of p obtained suggest that the observed results were probably due to chance. The mean scores for "average color" preferred were significantly different between categories in relation

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to educational levels. The results suggest that a difference in color preference does exist between Blacks and Whites, and that the color preference depends upon whether a person is male or female. The conclusion was drawn that because of the similarity in categories V and VI on F-values, they should be presented together in further reporting of the data. The results further suggest that because the significant differences between male and female are based on race, further inquiry is proper.

Appendix M was the result of additional investigation of the data beyond the preliminary inquires as interpreted from Appendix J and because of the consistent conclusions drawn from the earlier finding. The apparent importance of skin color suggests that further statistical analyses were needed in order to interpret the research hypotheses.

In the second analysis of the data, certain underlying questions were investigated which were believed to have direct effect upon the research hypotheses, but were not stated in hypotheses form. These questions underwent the same statistical analyses as the survey questions, and are reported in Appendix M.

As before, the analyses in the second state of investigation were one-way analysis of variance using repeated measurement involving the original questions mentioned elsewhere.

One-way analysis of variance using repeated measurement, as
seen in the appendices, is a comparison of significant levels between Blacks and Whites, male or female, by category and educational level.

From an inspection of Appendix N one can see that we were concerned with those attributes or cues which the writer believed contributed most heavily to racial perceptions. The results of these analyses were concentrated on the highest order of significant interaction; mainly those at the .05 or .01 level across categories and levels of education, male and female, Black or White.

The results reveal that significance did occur at the .05 or .01 levels for most of the attributes or cues believed to be important, and that the interactions were different depending upon the levels of education, whether the person was Black or White, male or female.

The conclusion was drawn that from the results, racial perceptions are affected as a consequence of the levels of education, race, sex, and the skin color of the subjects.

One-way analysis of variance using repeated measurement as seen in Appendix N is a comparison of F-ratios between Blacks and Whites, male or female, by category and educational level.

The results reveal that the range of F-ratios varied with race, sex, and the levels of education, for all subjects depending upon the question. Where no significant differences exist, there is no difference in acceptance and the subjects' perceptions (the higher the score,
the lower the level of acceptance, also the higher the score, the lower the level of White acceptance), regarding the particular characteristics or traits being questioned.

The data supported the conclusion that F-ratios were deterred by differences between Black and White depending upon whether a person was male or female.

Research Hypotheses

The five independent variables stated in the first hypothesis were classified in the following order for statistical reasons and in order of importance regarding perceptual evaluation: (1) color gradation and facial features; (2) hair style and length of hair; (3) couples, racially paired. Statistical tables are presented for each of the three classifications.

In the research hypotheses, age and education were assumed to be synonymous, since the subjects did not specifically list their age, and since the age range was the same as the educational range on the K. C. S.

Educational categories on the statistical table were listed as follows: 5-9; junior high school; 10-12; high school; some college; sophomores and juniors in college; seniors and above. Would-be seniors in college and above referred to those students in graduate school.
$H_1$ There will be Significant Differences Existing Between Male and Female, Black and White Subjects Regarding Preference for: (1) Color Gradation, (2) Hair, (3) Length of Hair, (4) Facial features, and (5) Mixed Couples who are Racially Paired, and/or Racially Similar Couples.

To test the above hypothesis it was decided to systematically assess the various components of it in the following manner: an assessment will be made to determine if differences exist by sex and race regarding (1) color gradation and facial features, (2) hair style and length of hair, and (3) racially mixed couples. Thus, Table 5 presents data relevant to males and females, black and white, as they perceive color and facial features as measured by the Kirk Color Scale. Parenthetically, Table 5 is specifically constructed with the following question in mind: How will males and females, black and white, perceive color gradation and facial features as related to the levels of education of the subjects?

The testable null form of the above research question is: there is no significant difference in the responses of males and females, black and white, to color gradation and facial features as related to educational levels. (See Table 5. -- F-Values for Color Gradation and Facial Features of Black-White Males and Females by Educational Levels.)
Table 5. --Values for Color Gradation and Facial Features of Black-White Males and Females by Educational Level
N = 485

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0.051</td>
<td>1.185</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.421</td>
<td>3.587</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>5.9500</td>
<td>0.107</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.793</td>
<td>7.027</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomores-Juniors in</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>2.735</td>
<td>1.382</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.987</td>
<td>43.716</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seniors-Grads in</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>3.067</td>
<td>0.660</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.079</td>
<td>69.082</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Sig .05
** Sig .01

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An analysis of the data in Table 5 reveals that ten statistical tests were significant out of sixteen. This indicates that the null form of the research hypothesis was statistically significant at the $p < .001$ level of confidence (Sakoda, Burton, Cohen and Beall 1954).

**Black Males**

Black males who have achieved educational levels of high school, sophomores-juniors in college, and seniors-graduate students exhibited differences in preference regarding skin color and facial features as measured by the K.C.S.

The results found in Table 5 revealed that Black males at the high school level had an $F$-value significant at the $p < .01$ level, while those in the sophomore-junior and seniors and graduate students categories scored $F$-values significant at the $p < .05$ level of significance.

No significant difference exists among junior high Black males regarding skin color preferences and facial features as measured by the K.C.S.

**Black Females**

In Table 5 the Black females in junior high school was the only group for whom a significant difference existed regarding preferences for skin colors and facial features. The $F$-value for this group was
significant at the $P < .01$ level.

There was no significant differences among Black females at the educational levels of high school, sophomores-juniors in college, and senior-graduate students concerning skin colors and facial features, as measured by the K.C.S.

**White Males**

As evidenced in Table 5, white males who have attained the educational levels of college sophomores and juniors, and seniors-graduate students revealed significant differences in their preferences for skin colors and facial features. Both groups had F-values significant at the $P < .01$ level.

On the other hand, white males in junior and senior high school showed no significant differences in their preferences when they responded to color gradation and facial features, as measured by the K.C.S.

**White Females**

For white females Table 5 reveals that regardless of the respective educational levels there was a significant difference in preferences for skin colors and facial features as measured by the K.C.S.

The results in Table 5 indicate that white female subjects at the junior high level had an F-value score significant at the $p < .05$ level, while those in the high school, college sophomores-juniors and
seniors-graduate students categories had scores significant at the 
P < .01 level.

In conclusion, results in Table 5 indicate that the observed 
results were due to significant differences in the subjects' responses 
to color gradation and facial features and not to chance. (For the 
mean scores by sex and race regarding color gradation and facial 
features, see Appendix O).

We now turn our attention to the second component of our 
hypothesis that relates to hair style and length of hair. In this connec-
tion, Table 6 presents the data relevant to males and females, black 
and white, as they perceive hair style and length of hair. The basic 
question asked here is: How will males and females, black and white, 
perceive hair style and length of hair as related to their achieved 
levels of education?

The testable null form of the aforementioned research question 
is: there is no significant differences in the responses of males and 
females, black or white, to hair style and length of hair as related 
to their educational levels. (See Table 6. --F-Values for Hair Style 
and Length of Hair, of Black-White Males and Females by Educa-
tional Levels).

An inspection of the data in Table 6 reveals that six statistical 
tests were significant out of sixteen, indicating that the null form of 
the research hypothesis was statistically significant at the P < .001
level of confidence (Sakoda, Burton, Cohen and Beall 1954).

Black Males

Table 6 shows that no significant differences exist among black males in the several educational categories regarding hair style and length of hair. This finding suggests that a consensus of preference exists among black males in a given educational category, e.g., black male students in junior high school, but it does not mean that there is consensus between the several educational categories. The data in Table 6 do not allow us to make a statement between categories, only within categories.

Black Females

The F-values found in Table 6 suggest that black females are not unlike their black male counterpart regarding preferences for hair styles and hair length. More specifically, no significant differences were found among black females in the several educational categories with respect to their preferences for a given hair style and length of hair. Hence, there is no reason to believe that there is a relationship between the amount of education they have and hair styles or length of hair since the F-values did not approach the .05 or .01 level of significance on any of the educational categories, or on any of the hair styles and length of hair categories.
Table 6. -- Values for Hairstyle and Length of Hair of Black-White Males and Females by Educational Level

\[ N = 485 \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0.641</td>
<td>0.945</td>
<td>4.983</td>
<td>4.796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>1.766</td>
<td>0.890</td>
<td>1.511</td>
<td>0.972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomores-Juniors in</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>0.675</td>
<td>0.525</td>
<td>8.683</td>
<td>12.280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seniors-Grads in College</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>0.960</td>
<td>0.193</td>
<td>17.043</td>
<td>13.194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Sig .05
** Sig .01

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White Males

Table 6 reveals that white males have different preferences for hair styles and length of hair in the junior high, college sophomores and juniors and seniors-graduate students categories. F-values for all three categories were significant at the $p < .01$ level of confidence.

White males, however, in the high school category expressed no significant difference in preferences for hair styles and length of hair as measured by the K.C.S.

White Females

White females followed their white male counterparts in expressing their preferences for hair styles and length of hair in that Table 6 also shows that white females have different preferences for hair styles and length. The only exception is found among white females in the high school category where no significant differences were found. F-values for the other three categories were at the .01 level of significance.

A final observation from Table 6 indicates that, with the exception of the high school category, there appears to be some relationship between preferences for hair styles, length of hair, and education among white females. Also, the magnitude of the F-values obtained suggests that the observed results were probably not due to chance and that the whites tend to be more sensitive to hair styles and length of
hair than the Blacks in the study. For the mean results of the color gradation, hair style, and length of hair by race and sex, see Appendix P.

In the following section we shall consider the third component of the first hypothesis. Here we are concerned with the question: How will males and females, black and white, perceive racially mixed couples as related to the educational levels of the respondents?

In response to the above question, we will be testing the following null hypothesis: there is no significant difference in the responses of males and females, black and white, in various educational categories to racially mixed couples and color gradation. (See Table 7. -- F-Values for Racially Mixed Couples of Black-White, Males and Females by Educational Levels.

An inspection of Table 7 reveals that only two statistical tests were significant out of sixteen, indicating that the null form of the research hypothesis is statistically significant at the P .01 level of confidence (Sakoda, Burton, Cohen, and Beall (1954).

Black Males

The data in Table 7 strongly suggest that no significant difference in preferences for racially mixed couples exists among black males regardless of the educational level of the respondents, and regardless of the color gradation as measured by the K.C.S.
Table 7.--Values for Racially Mixed Couples of Black-White, Males and Females by Educational Level

N = 485

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.386</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>9.947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomores-Juniors in College</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>1.857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seniors-Grads in College</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.588</td>
<td>0.547</td>
<td>10.008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sig .05
**Sig .01
The results indicate that the relationship between educational levels and preference for racially mixed couples is negligible or non-existent among black males. In no category did the F-value approach the prescribed level of significance.

**Black Females**

The findings for black females were similar to those of our black male respondents, in that no significant differences could be found among black females by educational levels regarding their preferences for racially mixed couples. This finding held true even when the skin color varied from "white" to "black" as measured by the K.C.S.

**White Males**

Not unlike their black counterparts, both males and females, white males also failed to show any significant differences in their preferences for racially mixed couples by educational category. Moreover, the fact that the skin colors differed in each of the four cases did not elicit any major differences in responses among white male respondents.

**White Females**

Table 7 shows that significant differences exist among white
females in the junior high and senior-graduate student categories regarding their preferences for racially mixed couples, by color gradation as measured by the K.C.S. The other two categories (high school and college sophomores and juniors) of white females, however, failed to express any significant differences in their preferences regardless of color gradation. For the former two categories of white females, the F-values were significant at the .01 level of confidence. For mean results of color gradation of racially mixed couples by race and sex, see Appendix Q.

Tables 5, 6 and 7 were constructed to reveal the data pertinent to the three null hypotheses derived from our general hypothesis. Table 8 is provided here in order to show the extent to which our general hypothesis is either accepted or rejected.

Our first hypothesis states that:

There will be significant differences existing between male and female, black and white subjects regarding preference for: (1) color gradation, (2) hair, (3) length of hair, (4) facial features, and (5) mixed couples who are racially paired, and/or racially similar couples.

From an inspection of Table 8 we observe that of the series of 48 statistical tests, 18 tests were significant at either the .01 or .05 level of significance. According to Sakoda, et al. (1954), this can be interpreted to mean that our general hypothesis was statistically significant at the p .001 level of confidence. Hence, our first hypo-
Table 8. --Results of First Hypothesis by Race, Sex, Level of Education, and Statistical Significance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Black Males</th>
<th>White Males</th>
<th>Black Females</th>
<th>White Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Categories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 A*</td>
<td>1 B</td>
<td>1 C</td>
<td>1 D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 A** N = 77</td>
<td>2 B N = 140</td>
<td>2 C N = 69</td>
<td>2 D N = 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 A***</td>
<td>3 B</td>
<td>3 C</td>
<td>3 D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Accept N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Reject Null p &lt; .01</td>
<td>Reject Null p &lt; .05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Accept N. S.</td>
<td>Reject Null p &lt; .01</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Reject Null p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Accept N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Reject Null p &lt; .01</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Reject Null p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Accept N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Accept N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomore-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>1 Reject Null p &lt; .05</td>
<td>Reject Null p &lt; .01</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Reject Null p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Accept N. S.</td>
<td>Reject Null p &lt; .01</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Reject Null p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Accept N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seniors and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate Students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Reject Null p &lt; .05</td>
<td>Reject Null p &lt; .01</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Reject Null p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Accept N. S.</td>
<td>Reject Null p &lt; .01</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Reject Null p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Accept N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
<td>Accept Null N. S.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1A, 1B, 1C and 1D refer to color gradation and facial features by race and sex
**2A, 2B, 2C and 2D refer to hair styles and length of hair by race and sex
***3A, 3B, 3C and 3D refer to racially mixed couples and color gradation by race and sex
thesis was, in part, supported by the empirical findings.

\[ H_2 \text{ There Will be Significant Differences Existing} \]
\[ \text{Between One's Own Color Gradation and the Color} \]
\[ \text{Gradation Preferred Racially.} \]

In the above hypothesis we are interested in answering the following question: How will males and females, black and white, perceive their own skin color and their preferred skin color as related to the achieved educational level of the respondents? Thus, our null hypothesis is: there is no significant difference in the responses of males and females, black and white, regarding their own skin color and their preferred skin color by educational levels of the subjects. (See Table 9.-F-Values for Color Preference of Black-White Males and Females by Educational Levels).

**Black Males**

Table 9 shows that two of the four educational categories of black men held preferences that differed significantly from one another. Black male students in the high school and sophomore-junior categories had significant F-value scores, the former was significant at the .05 and the latter at the .01 level of confidence.

Black males in junior high and senior-graduate student categories expressed no significant differences in their preferences between
Table 9. --Values for Color Preference of Black-White Males and Females by Educational Levels

*N = 485

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Black Males</th>
<th>Black Females</th>
<th>White Males</th>
<th>White Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0.645</td>
<td>0.054</td>
<td>11.103</td>
<td>81.181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomores-Juniors in College</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>1.752</td>
<td>0.560</td>
<td>257.535</td>
<td>553.746</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Sig .05
** Sig .01

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their own skin color and other skin colors.

**Black Females**

For black females, two educational categories (high school and college sophomores-juniors) manifested statistical significance between their own skin color and other skin colors. The junior high and college seniors and graduates failed to show any significant differences between the preferred skin color and their own skin color.

It is interesting to note that within each of the educational categories the black males' responses are in agreement with the black females' responses in that, when significant differences exist in preferences for the males, the differences were also significant for the females, and when they are not significant for the males, the females also fail to show any significant differences.

**White Males**

Data in Table 9 suggest that regardless of educational category, there are significant differences among white males concerning their preferred skin color and their own skin color. In all categories the F-value is significant at the $p < .01$ level of confidence, as measured by the K.C.S.
White Females

Our findings for white females are the same as those for white males. Again, regardless of the educational category, white females expressed that there is a significant difference between their preferred skin color and their own skin color. In each instance the significant level was $p < .01$. For a mean results of own color gradation and color gradation preferred racially by race and sex, see Appendix R.

Our second hypothesis states that:

There will be significant differences existing between one's own color gradation and the color gradation preferred racially.

From an inspection of Table 10 we observe that of the series of 16 statistical tests, 12 tests were significant at either the .01 or .05 level of significance. According to Sakoda, et al. (1954), this can be interpreted to mean that our general hypothesis was statistically significant at the $p < .001$ level of confidence. Hence, our second hypothesis was, in part, supported by the empirical findings.

Exploratory Questions

The exploratory questions investigated were questions believed to have effects upon the research hypotheses that any self-perception, or perception of others, not only the function of personality but also the
Table 10. — Result of Second Hypothesis by Race, Sex, Level of Education, and Statistical Significance

N = 485

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Black Males</th>
<th>White Males</th>
<th>Black Females</th>
<th>White Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Categories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 A* N = 77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High</td>
<td>Accept Null</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
<td>Reject Null</td>
<td>p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>Reject Null</td>
<td>p &lt; .05</td>
<td>Reject Null</td>
<td>p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophomore-Junior in College</td>
<td>Reject Null</td>
<td>p &lt; .01</td>
<td>Reject Null</td>
<td>p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior and Grad Students</td>
<td>Accept Null</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
<td>Reject Null</td>
<td>p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*2A, 2B, 2C and 2D refer to subjects own color gradation and color gradation preferred racially by race and sex
influence of ascribed roles, e.g.

The purpose of the exploratory questions was to investigate differences in the acceptance of blackness based on race, sex, and education.

These questions underwent the same statistical analysis as the research hypotheses, and were formulated to facilitate examination of the variables mentioned above.

The results based on the questions are discussed in relation to the measure of blackness and whiteness, maleness and femaleness, and the acceptance of blackness based on education.

Blackness and Whiteness

The application of a one-way analysis of variance using a repeated measurement technique to the measure of blackness and whiteness was to analyze how black and whites responded to the black-white portions of the Kirk Color Scale in selecting a color gradation based on whether they were black or white, regardless of whether the pictures were black or white, and aside of facial features, hair styles or length of hair viewed. (See Table II)

The results disclosed in Table II shows that blacks, male and female, reflected a clear preference of a darker color gradation than their white counterparts in 15 out of 16 categories and at each level of education. Showing a strong need to identify with blackness as a measure
Table 11. --Results of Question One, The Acceptance of Blackness and Whiteness Based on Race of Respondent  
\( N = 485 \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Black Males ( \bar{X} )</th>
<th>F-Values</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>White Males ( \bar{X} )</th>
<th>F-Values</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Black Females ( \bar{X} )</th>
<th>F-Values</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>White Females ( \bar{X} )</th>
<th>F-Values</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Blackness</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whiteness</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Significant</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.836</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.433</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.356</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Blackness</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whiteness</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Significant</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.293</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.295</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.174</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Blackness</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whiteness</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Significant</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.981</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
<td>20.680</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.718</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Blackness</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td>Whiteness</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Significant</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.584</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
<td>56.772</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.700</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sig \( p < .05 \)
**Sig \( p < .01 \)
0 = no significance
2 = Junior High
3 = High School
4 = Sophomores-Juniors in College
5 & 6 = Seniors-Graduate Students

Color scale:
1. White 1.0 - 1.6
2. Light brown 1.7 - 2.2
3. Brown 2.3 - 2.8
4. Dark brown 2.9 - 3.4
5. Black 3.5 - 4.0
of self-identification. By comparison, regardless of being male or female, whites also showed a preference for a darker color gradation than their own, indicating an acceptance of or respect for a darker color gradation. In seven out of eight measures, their color choice was darker, but not as dark as their black counterparts.

In addition, eleven out of sixteen mean scores showed an increase in the acceptance of a darker color gradation concomitant with an increase in education for blacks and whites.

In terms of F-values, the significant differences shown in some categories indicate a within group variance (less agreement) in the significant categories.

Finally, by comparing these results it can be determined that the acceptance of blackness, with blacks as well as whites, appears to be a function of age and education, in both the acceptance of self and persons of other races.

Maleness and Femaileness

The application of a one-way analysis of variance using a repeated measurement technique to the categories of maleness and femaleness was to analyze how males and females responded to the black-white portions of the Kirk Color Scale. Again, regardless of whether the pictures were black or white, and aside of facial features, hair styles or length of hair viewed.
The data in Table 12 indicates rather mixed results, according to the subject choice of a color category. The acceptance of blackness by males and females appears to be more of a function of race than maleness or femaleness. As reflected by the table, the frequency for a specific color category by black males and black females was the same for the majority of their selections. Likewise the color category selection for white males and females was similar, indicating that race is the major intervening variable.

Furthermore, according to Table 12, color preference expressed by the sample is not significantly related to increase in education, nor was there any relationship between maleness or femaleness in regard to increase in educational achievement.

In terms of F-values, the significant differences displayed in some categories indicate a within group variance, (less agreement) in the significant categories.

In summarizing the results, it appears that sex is a variable within the limitations of the study and the sample selected was not a criterion in color preference.

Acceptance of Blackness Based on Education

The application of a one-way analysis of variance using a repeated measurement technique of education levels analyzed blacks and whites responded to the black-white portions of the Kirk Color Scale, regardless
Table 12. --Results of Question Two, the Acceptance of Blackness Based on Maleness or Femaleness of Respondent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Black Males</th>
<th>F-Values</th>
<th>White Males</th>
<th>F-Values</th>
<th>Black Females</th>
<th>F-Values</th>
<th>White Females</th>
<th>F-Values</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maleness</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femaleness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significant</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.073</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.469</td>
<td><strong>10.763</strong></td>
<td><strong>8.488</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maleness</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femaleness</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significant</td>
<td><strong>5.524</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.438</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.153</td>
<td><strong>7.116</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maleness</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femaleness</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significant</td>
<td><strong>5.708</strong></td>
<td><strong>20.680</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.704</td>
<td><strong>8.088</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maleness</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femaleness</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significant</td>
<td><strong>13.462</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.336</strong></td>
<td><strong>140</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.395</strong></td>
<td><strong>12.529</strong></td>
<td><strong>199</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sig p < .05  
**Sig p < .01
0 = no significance
2 = Junior High
3 = High School
4 = Sophomores-Juniors in College
5 & 6 = Seniors-Graduate Students

Color Scale:

1. White  1.0 - 1.6
2. Light brown  1.7 - 2.2
3. Brown  2.3 - 2.8
4. Dark brown  2.9 - 3.4
5. Black  3.5 - 4.0

96
of whether the pictures were black or white, and aside of facial features, hair styles or length of hair viewed. (See Table 13)

The mean scores displayed in Table 13 suggest that there is a relationship between one's level of education and the acceptance of blackness regardless of being black and white or male and female. According to the subjects' responses, mean scores show that for all subjects in the senior-graduate students category the color gradation preferred is darker, in relation to lower educational levels. Of interest is that black males indicated an earlier preference for a darker color category than either.

Further, the relationship between the color preferred and the level of education increases consistently for all subjects going from a lighter category preference to a darker category as educational level increases.

Blacks, male and female, preferred a darker color gradation earlier than white subjects, regardless of the level of education.

Also, it is interesting to note that, within each of the educational categories for blacks and whites, they were in agreement, when a significant difference existed in preferences for the males, the mean differences were also significant for the females.

In terms of F-values, the significant differences shown in some categories indicate a within group variance (less agreement) in the significant categories.
Table 13.--Results of Question Three, The Acceptance of Blackness Based on the Level of Education of Respondent
N = 485

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Black Males</th>
<th>F-Values</th>
<th>White Males</th>
<th>F-Values</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Black Females</th>
<th>F-Values</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>White Females</th>
<th>F-Values</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Average Color
Q = 1 - 12 | 2.8 | 17 | 1.7 | 16 | 2.5 | 18 | 2.0 | 16 |
| Significant | 0 | 0.645 | ** | 11.103 | 0 | 0.054 | ** | 81.181 |
| Average Color
Q = 1 - 12 | 2.6 | 11 | 2.0 | 16 | 3.0 | 18 | 2.0 | 21 |
| Significant | * | 2.849 | ** | 30.571 | ** | 44.294 | ** | 43.592 |
| Average Color
Q = 1 - 12 | 3.1 | 23 | 2.2 | 28 | 2.7 | 10 | 2.2 | 38 |
| Significant | ** | 19.315 | ** | 125.153 | ** | 4.741 | ** | 261.257 |
| Average Color
& Q = 1 - 12 | 3.1 | 26 | 2.4 | 80 | 3.3 | 23 | 2.4 | 124 |
| Significant | 0 | 1.752 | ** | 257.535 | 140 | 0 | 0.560 | ** | 553.746 |

*Sig p .05
**Sig p .01
0 = no significance
2 = Junior High
3 = High School
4 = Sophomores-Juniors in College
5 & 6 = Seniors-Graduate Students

Color Scale
1. White 1.0 - 1.6
2. Light brown 1.7 - 2.2
3. Brown 2.3 - 2.8
4. Dark brown 2.9 - 3.4
5. Black 3.5 - 4.0
In conclusion, it would seem reasonable to assume from the results of this study that of the factors considered which might make a difference in terms of the three variables discussed, level of education attained and race of the subject, but not the sex of a person, were significant factors in color preference.

Summary

The primary objective of this study was to assess attitudinal preferences as they relate to color consciousness and color distinction in interpersonal race relations. The attitudinal preferences investigated were: (1) individual preference for black skin gradation; (2) individual preferences for white skin gradation; (3) the dynamics of color identification; and (4) factors affecting misidentification. The major question being asked was: To what degree does color consciousness and color distinction serve to reinforce racial attitudes and racial stereotypes between Blacks and Whites?

The analysis of the data investigated the relationship between the independent and dependent variable on the Kirk Color Scale and the Black-White Picture Scale. F-ratios, a one-way analysis of variance, using repeated measurement, a two-way analysis of variance, and a testing of the significance of a series of statistical tests' techniques were performed on the independent and dependent variables.

A preliminary analysis of the data revealed that significant differences
were due to factors other than chance and were the result of skin color and/or situation phenomena, and whether a person was male or female, Black or White.

Significant differences were discovered between male and female, Black and White subjects based on their perception of: (1) color gradation; (2) hair style; (3) length of hair; (4) facial features; and (5) mixed couples who were racially paired. Similar significant differences were discovered in terms of the subject's own color gradation and color gradation preferred racially. Other significant differences were found to exist in the acceptance of Blackness based on education and race.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSIONS, IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELING AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Numerous studies which predated the Civil Rights Period (1950's to 1960's) showed that in the past Blacks have negatively evaluated Black skin color and positively evaluated White skin color, (Clark and Clark, 1947; Johnson, 1941, Moreland, 1962; Greenwald and Oppienhein, 1968; Mark, 1943; Myers and Yochelson, 1943; Seeman, 1946). Conversely, there is relatively little current information available comparing how Blacks evaluate skin color during the post-Civil Rights Period. There are, however, a few current studies that have found that Blacks now demonstrate positive intraracial preferences (Johnson, 1966; Hraba and Grant, 1970; Bunton and Weissbach, 1971). From the latter it is virtually impossible to predict what specific changes have taken place among Black Americans in 1973.

The purpose of this study was to gather knowledge concerning preferences regarding intraracial and interracial preferences. The study was specifically designed to assess attitudinal preferences as they relate to color consciousness and color distinction in inter-
personal racial relations. Attitudinal preferences investigated were (1) individual preference for black skin gradation, (2) individual preference for white skin gradation, and (3) the dynamics of color-identification and factors affecting misidentification. The major question asked was: to what degree does color consciousness and color distinction serve to reinforce racial attitudes and racial stereotypes between Blacks and Whites?

The sample in this study consisted of 513 students from various elementary, junior and senior high schools, and one college. The Kalamazoo Public School System and Western Michigan University were the sources for obtaining the sample for study.

The independent variables in this study were skin color, hair and features. They key variable (skin color) was defined by using four distinctive shades: white, light brown, brown and dark brown. The independent variables used were believed to have a direct effect on perceptions as well as behavior; thus, objective of the research was to determine to what extent these four shades of skin color affected an individual and influenced him or her to respond in a positive or negative manner. Hair and features were included because responses to situational or phenomenological data perceived by an individual are not always singular in nature. Responses may be made to a series of cues and not just to one.

Instrumentation used to assess the differential effects of

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each of the independent variables included two measurements: (1) a Black and White Picture Scale, designed to measure attitudes toward color gradation, and (2) the Kirk Color Scale, designed to measure perceptual behavior in connection with skin color as a phenomenological occurrence. In administering the scales, each of the groups had two examiners, either black or white. It was the writer's opinion that the two examiner's surveying the groups should be of the same race. The relationships between the variables were analyzed by means of a one-way analysis of variance (repeated measurement) and a two-way analysis of variance technique. Two research questions and several exploratory questions were formulated. Hypothesis 1 was developed to determine the differences between male and female, Black and White subjects, regarding their preference for: (1) color gradation and facial features, (2) hairstyle and length of hair, and (3) racially mixed couples and color gradation. Hypothesis 2 was developed to determine the differential effect between one's own color gradation and the color gradation preferred racially. The purpose of the exploratory questions was to investigate the differences in the acceptance of blackness based on race, the differences in the acceptance of blackness based on sex, and the differences in the acceptance of blackness based on education.

Significant differences were discovered between male and female, Black and White subjects based on their perception of:
(1) color gradation, (2) hairstyle, (3) length of hair, (4) facial features and (5) mixed couples who were racially paired. Similar significant differences were discovered in terms of the subject's own color gradation and color gradation preferred racially. Other significant differences were found to exist in the acceptance of blackness based on education and race. More specifically, the following are the major findings in this study by race, sex and educational category.

**Color Gradation and Facial Features**

1. Black males in high school, sophomores and juniors in college, and seniors and graduate students demonstrated significant F-values when they viewed color gradation and facial features. Black males in junior high showed no significant differences.

2. Black females in junior high school exhibited a significant F-value when they viewed color gradation and facial features. High school sophomores, juniors in college, seniors and graduate students showed no significant differences in their preferences.

3. White males who were sophomores, juniors, seniors, seniors and graduate students displayed significant F-values when they viewed color graduations and facial features, but junior high school males showed no significant differences.

4. White females, regardless of education level, evidenced significant F-values when they viewed color gradation and facial
features.

**Hairstyle and Length of Hair**

1. Black males, regardless of educational level, displayed no significant differences when they viewed hairstyle and length of hair.

2. Black females, in conjunction with their Black male counterparts, exhibited no significant F-values, regardless of educational level, when they viewed hairstyle and length of hair.

3. White males in junior high school, sophomores and juniors in college, seniors, and graduate students displayed significant F-values when they viewed hairstyle and length of hair. White males in high school showed no significant difference.

4. White females in junior high, sophomores and juniors in college, seniors and graduate students demonstrated significant F-values when they viewed hairstyles and length of hair. White females in high school showed no significant differences.

**Racially Mixed Couples**

1. Black males, regardless of educational level, exhibited no significant differences regarding racially mixed couples.

2. Black females, regardless of educational level, exhibited no significant differences in regard to racially mixed couples.
3. White males, regardless of educational level, exhibited no significant differences in regard to racially mixed couples.

4. White females, junior, senior and graduate students in college displayed significant F-values when they viewed racially mixed couples. White females in high school and sophomores and juniors in college displayed no significant differences.

**Color Preference**

1. Black males in high school and sophomores and juniors in college showed a preference when responding to their own color and color gradation preferred. Junior high and seniors and graduate students showed no significant differences when they viewed their own skin coloring and color gradation preferred.

2. Black females in high school and sophomores and juniors in college showed a preference when responding to their own color and color gradation preferred. Junior high and seniors and graduate students showed no significant differences when they viewed their own skin coloring and color gradation preferred.

3. White males, regardless of educational category, displayed significant F-values when they viewed their own skin color and color gradation preferred.

4. White females, regardless of educational category, displayed significant F-values when they viewed their own skin color.
and color gradation preferred.

Conclusions

Before any conclusions were drawn, consideration was given to the limitations of the study. One of the most important limitations was the "parental approval" requirement. In the local school system, the school administration would not permit students to participate unless a "parental approval form" had been signed and returned to the participating schools' principals.

At the university level, the only students allowed to participate were those who volunteered of their own volition. Another crucial limitation imposed on the research was the lack of availability of Black students in the school system and at the college level. Under these circumstances, we were unable to equalize the cells as to Black-White representation. This limitation also accounts for the uneven cell sizes of the four by four factorial research design. Further, as a result of the elimination of two of the original categories, any interpretations were limited to only part of the total sample. Thus, generalization of the results was limited to the specific samples assessed in this study.

The conclusions were based on the findings related to the two research hypotheses and the exploratory questions formulated for this study. **Hypothesis 1** was proposed to explore the differential
effect of two different attitudinal preferences as they relate to color consciousness and color distinction in interpersonal racial relations. The attitudinal preferences investigated were: (1) individual preference for Black skin gradation (2) individual preference for White skin gradation. Hypothesis 2 was developed to determine the differential effect of color identification and factors affecting misidentification. The exploratory questions were proposed to explore the relationship of the interaction effect of Blackness based on Race, the differences in the acceptance of Blackness based on Sex, and the differences in the acceptance of Blackness based on Education.

The results of this investigation provided supportive evidence for certain conclusions, based on the research hypotheses and the exploratory questions. The conclusions are enumerated below.

Preference for Black Skin Gradation.

Unlike previous studies, mainly Clark and Clark (1947), Heigerson (1943), Radke, Sutherland and Rosenberg (1950), Trager and Yarrow (1952) and Stevenson and Stewart (1958), results of the present study revealed that Black subjects showed a much greater preference for a darker color gradation. This suggests that Blacks are now evaluating Black skin color more positively. Along similar lines, contrary to previous studies concerned with White color preference (Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1968; Horowitz, 1936; Heigerson,
1943; Moreland, 1962; Stevenson and Stewart, 1953), results in the present study consistently showed Whites preferred a color gradation other than white. Mean scores of significant p levels were evidenced for both White males and White females.

Preference for White Skin Gradation

Contrary to previous studies, White subjects in the present study showed preferences for a color gradation category darker than their own. F-scores were significant at the .05 and the .01 levels of significance, regardless of age, sex, or level of education. Despite other findings, specifically (Asher and Allen, 1969) concerned with whether or not Whites compare themselves with Blacks, our results indicate that some comparisons do occur, regardless of age, race, or education. On the other hand, the present results were supportive of other studies by Johnson (1966), Gregor and McPherson (1966), Hraba and Grant (1970), Bunton and Weissbach (1971) in that Blacks positively evaluated Blackness.

Factors Affecting Misidentification

Results as indicated in this study suggest that perhaps misidentification is nothing unusual. This indicates that regardless of race, all individuals may think in terms of an alternative person whom they would like to be without looking upon themselves with dis-
favor or feelings of insecurity. The writer is of the same opinion as Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968), in regard to the phenomena of misidentification in studies of his nature. "Perhaps the misidentification results are misleading. In studies employing only two alternatives, the responses of light-skinned Negro children may have been forced artifactually. Moreover, a certain percentage of children in any race may have an erroneous picture of themselves." Also, misidentification, at least in this study, seems to be a function of what is sociably desirable, group acceptable, and the number of choices open to an individual at any given time.

**Attitude and/or Behavior**

It will be recalled that in this study attitude and behavior were synonymous (Kiesler, Collins and Miller, 1969). We advanced the notion that any answer given would not only represent the attitude of the respondent but would also explain how the person would tend to behave when confronted with a racial situation. Our results seem, at least in a measure, to substantiate this position. Although there were significant differences within the several categories of respondents and on different variables, an argument can be made that the respondents indeed had specific attitudes about skin color gradation and when given an opportunity they also responded (i.e., behaved) based on those attitudes, as measured by their preferences.
for skin color, hairstyles, hair length, and preferred color gradation.

It must be pointed out, however, that our data do not allow us to predict behavior from attitudes with a great deal of precision which means that further research is needed regarding the relationship of attitude and behavior in interpersonal race relations.

The Phenomenological Field

For the purpose of this study, we defined the phenomenological field as an experience, object or situation that impresses the observer as extraordinary. In this study, color gradation, hairstyles, length of hair, facial features and racially mixed couples were the extraordinary or immediate objects of awareness.

Our results indicate that an important relationship exists between skin color gradation and racial features in terms of the phenomenological field, and supports the contention that an individual's attitude and/or behavior is due, at least in part, to his immediate perceptions. The importance of this finding is pointed out in the following statement by Berscheid and Walster (1972) who stated that:

"For the past few years we have investigated the impact of one aspect of appearance-physical attractiveness-upon relationships between persons. Our initial interest in attractiveness was negligible. We shared the democratic belief that appearance is a superficial and peripheral characteristic with little influence on our lives. Elliot Aronson has suggested that social scientists have avoided investigating the social impact of physical attractiveness for fear they might learn just how powerful it is. It may be, however, that we
have simply given too much credence to collective assertions that internal attributes are more important determinants of who wins or loses our affections than external appearances is.

Discussion: Current Trends, etc.

The findings of this investigation indicated that skin color gradation and facial features affect color consciousness and color distinction; analyses of these data were presented in Chapter IV.

Important trends gathered from the data (See Tables in Appendix ) regarding color gradation and facial features will now be discussed. As Black males increased their educational level, there was also a greater preference for a darker skin color as well as a greater preference for facial features that are "typically" Negroid. When comparing White males to Black males on the variables of skin color, White males also showed a similar trend.

Black females followed the same trend in their preferences as Black and White males, but White females showed a different trend. White high school students, college seniors and graduate students showed a preference for a darker skin color, while junior high and White college sophomores and juniors did not. Thus, these findings appear to underscore a change in White attitudes toward skin color, and suggest that Whites are taking a more positive attitude toward darker skin color. Hence, these findings were markedly different from previous studies regarding skin color.
Regarding hairstyle and length of hair, White males and females showed a trend across all three hairstyle categories. They displayed higher mean scores on "large Afros" which indicated that the larger Afro was associated with darker color gradation, or the more typically Negroid features. Also, as their educational level increased, there was a greater preference for a darker skin color, i.e., "typically Negroid." When comparing Black males and females on hairstyles and length of hair, there was an inconsistent trend in the mean scores. Black males and Black females did not make the same association. Lack of an association indicates that hairstyle and length of hair is not indicative of the lightness or darkness of typically Negroid features (See Tables in Appendix).

In analyzing the data regarding racially mixed couples, White males and females, as their educational level increased, also indicated a greater preference for a darker skin color as well as a greater preference for a skin color that was typically Negroid. When comparing Black males and Black females on the same variable, no such trend existed (See Tables in Appendix).

In reference to color preference, White males and females exhibited an increase in skin color gradation when contrasting color identity and color preferred. They indicated a trend toward a darker skin color which was more typically Negroid. As their
educational level increased, so did their preference for a darker skin color, once again demonstrating the increased acceptance of a darker skin color gradation (See Tables in Appendix).

From the data regarding Black male and females, there was displayed a different trend. In five out of eight educational categories, both Black males and females preferred a different skin color than their adjudged color gradation. Black males in comparison to Black females preferred a different skin color gradation in more educational categories than Black females.

In conclusion, below are other significant findings important to the overall results:

1. Significant difference was obtained in skin color gradation for Blacks. The current study suggests that the racial attitudes of Black and Whites are indeed changing. Although this appears to be truer for Blacks, as contrasted to Whites in terms of Black identity and Black acceptance. These data agree with other studies, (Heiss and Owens, 1973; Johnson, 1966; Hrab and Grant, 1969; Bunton and Weisbach, 1971).

2. Whites showed significant difference in attitudes toward blackness. According to the present study, Whites appear to have more tolerance and respect for Blacks regardless of skin color gradation. These findings
agree with other studies (Williams and Staber, 1973; Porterfield, 1973).

3. Considering the limitations of the present study, and the sampling procedure employed, color gradation and racial characteristics are more a function of race and education.

4. Considering the limitations of the present study, and the sampling procedure employed, preference for a darker color gradation increases concomitantly with education for all respondents.

5. Considering the limitations of the present study, and the sampling procedure, White and Black subjects viewed gradation, features, hair and physiognomic traits when viewing slides of racial subjects in contradictions to what was previously believed.

Implications for Counseling

Several implications for counseling were drawn from the results of this study. They are enumerated below:

1. Counselors should be sensitized to special problems of Black identity and personal development. Sensitivity to these unique problems can help the counselor understand the special implications attached to skin color and

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physical features, and the extraordinary stress
these implications mean in situations involving social
status.

2. Counselors need to understand White notions of Black
differences based on theories of biological inferiority,
because of the color of a person's skin.

3. Counselors need to understand how Blacks form inter-
personals resulting from being Black and male or Black
and female, as well as being White and male or female.
These ascribed roles affect the forming of relationships
across color and sex lines.

4. Significant results obtained concerning levels of education
and perceptions of racial awareness can help counselors
meet the needs of students, Black and White, struggling
with this problem. The chronological forming of racial
attitudes based on clues and stereotype symbols changes
as the Black and White progresses educationally.

5. Counselors, teachers and school personnel could better
understand how racial visability, mainly from a phenomen-
ological point of view, colors the perceptions and dictates
egocentricities and actions concerning interracial contact.
Recommendations

The following section suggests some of the recommendations that resulted from the present study. The recommendations are principally of two types: (1) those that make reference to further research, and (2) those that include recommendations for additional investigations which can be conducted involving the significance of skin color gradation and racial characteristics as they affect racial relations.

Recommendations for Future Research

Attention should be given to the following:

1. Implications for sex as a factor for interaction and intraracial attitudes. Although there was no significant data indicating that sex operated as a variable in this research, future research should not dismiss it as a non-significant factor.

2. The affects of minority group status upon Black males and females. Results from the study suggest the need for additional research concerning the psychological aspects of minority group status for Black males and females.

3. The determinants of White males and female stereotypes, notions, etc. As evidenced in the study, additional
evidence is needed to better understand the interpersonal relationships between White males and females as they relate to Blackness.

4. Racially mixed couples. The lack of significant data obtained regarding attitudes and behavior toward mixed couples indicate a need for more study of this interaction and concomitant behaviors.

5. Pre-college and early college data. Because of the lack of relevant information concerning attitudes toward race relations experienced by elementary children indicates a need for more relevant research in regard to this population.

6. The relationship of attitudes and/or behavior in interpersonal race relationships. It seems clear from the available data that future research should be conducted to gather additional information into the relationship of attitudes and behavior in interpersonal race relations.

7. The phenomenological approach to intraracial and inter-racial relations. The research results evidenced in this study suggests that the theoretical concept of the phenomenological field, in fact, was an intervening variable. Future research concerning this approach should be pursued.
Recommendations Resulting from this Study

The analysis of findings of the study warranted several recommendations.

Limitations of Sample Size

In future research involving interracial inquiries, the sample population should be limited in terms of age grouping or educational classification, for more sophisticated statistical analysis.

Volunteer Nature of Student Participation

Since the volunteer nature of student participation in the study was a serious limitation, the researcher recommends that future studies with volunteer participants should attempt to gain written assurance before the subjects participate.

Instrumentation

See Appendix
APPENDIX A

KALAMAZOO PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Department of Research and Development

PROCEDURAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR SUBMITTING, SECURING APPROVAL FOR, AND PURSUING A RESEARCH STUDY IN THE KALAMAZOO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

In approach and operation while in the process of initiating and pursuing research, the researcher will be expected to:

1. Remain cognizant of the school's instructional mission and strive to minimize intrusion into or interference with school routine, instructional schedule or operations.

2. Develop and maintain good human relationships with school personnel in approach to and conduct of research.

3. Recognize the integrity of cooperating students and observe good human relations in all interactions with students.

4. Be aware of and respect the necessity for privacy, safety, welfare and health of cooperating students.

5. Shall explain clearly and fully the immediate and/or potential values of research activity to personnel associated with the study.

6. Protect the confidentiality of data collected as pertains to student responses and/or performances, disassociating data from names of students, school and system in the process of data organization and analysis.

7. Employ only treatment and assessment procedures accepted by the educational community and the researcher's professional area.

PROCEDURAL CONSIDERATIONS WITHIN THE LOCAL SETTING

1. Based on previous approval by the building principal for conducting the proposed research, supply the principal or principals and

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teachers with an accurate time schedule of data collection activities within the school.

2. Delineate prior to beginning research the amounts and kinds of data and information to be gained through school personnel or files.

3. Outline procedures and secure their approval by the building principal for securing parent's permission in those cases the principal recommends this procedure before releasing data or allowing data to be collected. (This is a requirement if any interpretation of invasion of privacy is potentially involved.)

4. Keep school personnel informed as to the progress of the study after data collection. The kind, amount and time of feedback will be mutually agreed upon by school personnel and the researcher.

5. The principal of the school and the Department of Research and Development each will be supplied with a copy of the completed research document. (This may be limited to areas which pertain to data collection procedures, data collected, analysis of data, findings, conclusions and recommendations.)
KALAMAZOO PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Department of Research and Development

PROSPECTUS CONTENT

(Three copies of a prospectus of the proposed research must be submitted as a preliminary step in applying for the privilege of conducting research in the Kalamazoo Public Schools.)

INFORMATION RELATIVE TO APPLICANT

Name of Investigator__________________________________________________________

Kalamazoo Address________________________ Kalamazoo Telephone_____

Advisor's Name__________________________ Telephone ____________________

Present in form as normally required for graduate study the following information relative to your proposed research

I. Problem Statement

II. Related Research

III. Hypotheses, objectives and/or questions

IV. Procedures

A. Population and sample
B. Design
C. Data and instrumentation (attach instrument)
D. Analysis procedures
E. Time schedule

V. Reporting and dissemination

VI. Implications and benefits
KALAMAZOO PUBLIC SCHOOLS  
Department of Research and Development  

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION OF  
REQUESTS FOR RESEARCH  

(Preference will be based on level which research proposal meets these criteria.)

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INTERRELATIONSHIP OF STUDY TO NORMAL SCHOOL OPERATIONS

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distractions and disruptions of normal school routines? . . . .

2. Does the study require a minimal amount of instructional time for data collection? . . . . . . . .

3. Is utilization of instructional time justified by potential contribution of the study to educational practice? . . . . . . . .

4. Is the amount of teacher time and data required for data collection minimized? . . . . . . . .

5. Is the amount of information which must be supplied directly by school personnel minimized? . . . . . . . .

6. Does the study require minimum space and facilities requirements from the Kalamazoo Public Schools? . . . . . . . .

7. Does the study minimize the special characteristics which are required within students? . . . . . . . .

**FEEDBACK TO SCHOOL PERSONNEL**

1. Is the data collected of direct value to the ongoing activities of the school system? . . . . . . . .

2. Does the study propose a plan for effective dissemination of the results of the study to school personnel? . . . . . . . .

3. Does the study clearly and effectively explicate the implications of findings to the school system? . . . . . . . .
NOTIFICATION TO PRINCIPAL OF REQUEST
TO PURSUE APPROVED RESEARCH WITHIN BUILDING

FROM: Melvin L. Miller, Director of Research and Development
TO: Juanita Goodwin, Principal, Hillside Junior School

RE: Request to pursue research in your building

Wyatt Kirk has applied to and has had approved by the Department of Research and Development his plan for research within the Kalamazoo Public Schools. Your building has been chosen as one in which the research study will be pursued with your permission.

You will find enclosed a prospectus of the proposed study for your review. The applicant will make arrangements for a conference with you to discuss the possibility of pursuing such study in your building.

Please notify on the attached form your disposition of his application.

Mr. Kirk will bring materials to cover hypotheses and procedures of study.
NOTIFICATION TO PRINCIPAL OF REQUEST
TO PURSUE APPROVED RESEARCH WITHIN BUILDING

FROM: Melvin L. Miller, Director of Research and Development

TO: Jay Flowers, Principal Woodward School

RE: Request to pursue research in your building

Wyatt Kirk has applied to and has had approved by the Department of Research and Development his plan for research within the Kalamazoo Public Schools. Your building has been chosen as one in which the research study will be pursued with your permission.

You will find enclosed a prospectus of the proposed study for your review. The applicant will make arrangements for a conference with you to discuss the possibility of pursuing such study in your building.

Please notify on the attached form your disposition of his application.

Mr. Kirk will bring materials to cover hypotheses and procedures of study.
NOTIFICATION TO PRINCIPAL OF REQUEST TO PURSUE APPROVED RESEARCH WITHIN BUILDING

FROM: Melvin L. Miller, Director of Research and Development

TO: James Perich, Principal Northeastern Junior School

RE: Request to pursue research in your building

Wyatt Kirk has applied to and has had approved by the Department of Research and Development his plan for research within the Kalamazoo Public Schools. Your building has been chosen as one in which the research study will be pursued with your permission.

You will find enclosed a prospectus of the proposed study for your review. The applicant will make arrangements for a conference with you to discuss the possibility of pursuing such study in your building.

Please notify on the attached form your disposition of his application.

Mr. Kirk will bring materials to cover hypotheses and procedures of study.
NOTIFICATION TO PRINCIPAL OF REQUEST TO PURSUE APPROVED RESEARCH WITHIN BUILDING

FROM: Melvin L. Miller, Director of Research and Development

TO: Richard Hawe, Principal Central High School

RE: Request to pursue research in your building

Wyatt Kirk has applied to and has had approved by the Department of Research and Development his plan for research within the Kalamazoo Public Schools. Your building has been chosen as one in which the research study will be pursued with your permission.

You will find enclosed a prospectus of the proposed study for your review. The applicant will make arrangements for a conference with you to discuss the possibility of pursuing such study in your building.

Please notify on the attached form your disposition of his application.

Mr. Kirk will bring materials to cover hypotheses and procedures of study.
APPENDIX F

Parental Approval Form

FROM:    Mr. Wyatt Kirk

TO:      Mr. Wyatt Kirk's Doctoral Dissertation Survey

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This letter is to inform you that your child has been randomly selected to participate in a research project being conducted in the Kalamazoo Public Schools. The research examiner is now a student at Western Michigan University and a past employee of the Kalamazoo Schools. The study is in partial fulfillment of the doctoral degree requirement.

The survey deals with how a person perceives himself, how he sees himself in relationship to other students, and the importance of skin color to Whites as well as to Blacks. Central to the methodology of the study is the use of film slides which will require your child to respond to a checklist of twenty questions. Time involved in total will consist of roughly twenty minutes in length.

All information received will be confidential. All students participating will remain anonymous (no names), and none of the schools involved in the survey will be identified.

---------------------------------------------------------------

Mr. Wyatt Kirk

---------------------------------------------------------------

Principal's Name

Mr. Wyatt Kirk's Doctoral Dissertation Survey

Dear Sir:

I hereby grant my permission for my child, __________________, to participate in the above mentioned survey.

---------------------------------------------------------------

Signature of Parent or Guardian

Date_________________

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APPENDIX G

Please check the appropriate line that applies to you.

1. RACE  Black or Negro____  White____  Other____
2. SEX    Male____        Female____
3. AGE    8-12____  13-17____  18-21____
          22-27____  28-36____  Above____

The first five questions are SAMPLE 
questions designed to show you how to 
mark the questionnaire. PLEASE 
follow the instructions you are given. 
As you see each set of pictures, mark 
either 1, 2, 3, or 4, depending on 
the one you LIKE BEST.

* * * * * * * *
PLEASE NO TALKING

Now you are ready for the actual 
exercise. Please follow the 
previous instructions. MARK 
only ONE. Be sure to mark 
the proper line after each set of 
pictures.

4. LEVEL OF EDUCATION

K-4____  5-9____
10-12____  Freshman
College____  Some
College____  Senior
College____  Above____

Which Do You Like Best? 

1  2  3  4

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5. HOW WOULD YOU BEST DESCRIBE YOURSELF?

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APPENDIX H

PROTOCOL SHEET

These are instructions for giving the questionnaire. Please follow them in the respective order.

I. First welcome all persons who are participating in this exercise. Ask for their undivided attention. Explain that this won't take too long. Please stress that this exercise is an individual concern and is confidential. Only they will know what they have answered.

II. Pass out survey sheets and pencils. Tell them not to put their name on the sheet, nor write on it until they receive instructions from you. Please, they are not to write in the box in the upper right-hand corner.

III. Have each participant fill in the first four questions on the left side of the sheet. But not Question five until the last thing. They should check ( ) the proper line. Look at some of the sheets to see if they are following your instructions.

IV. Next, Read the first set of instructions dealing with the sample questions; then show the participants how they will fill in each answer. Use the blackboard if there is one in the room, or use one of the questionnaire sheets by holding it up and demonstrating how they should mark it.

V. Next, Show the first four slides at this point. Tell them that each time they see a new slide, there will be four pictures for them to look at, and each picture will have a number from one to four. When they pick the one picture they like best, mark the number of that picture on the answer sheet next to the proper question. (Remember to call out the question number for them so they can follow along with you.) At this point, remind them it's the picture you like best--only one.

On the sample slides, be sure to keep saying--the one you like best, and for them to associate the number with the picture.

After you finish the sample questions, ask if there are any questions about how they should fill in the sheet.

Do not answer any questions about the study is what this means.
VI. NO TALKING FROM THIS POINT ON!

Now, Read the second set of instructions. Tell them that they should start this next part at Question number 10.

Also, from here on they will have so much time to look at the slides, and so much time to mark; so they should look at the pictures as long as they can, and mark the sheet during the marking time.

VII. After they are all finished with the slides--tell them to fill in Question 5 in the lower lefthand corner of the sheet.

In completing this question tell them to pencil in the double lines (——) under the proper number. Also, the question is asking them what color they are, or how they can compare the four colors to themselves.

Thank them for their participation. Explain the study only if you are asked, and then only if we have completed surveying all the subjects.
APPENDIX I

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Kalamazoo, Michigan 49001

COUNSELING CENTER

June 8, 1973

Dr. William Coats
Superintendent, Kalamazoo Public Schools
1220 Howard Street
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49001

Dear Dr. Coats:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you and all of your colleagues for the excellent cooperation I received in your allowing me to collect the data for my dissertation through the Kalamazoo Public Schools.

I sincerely hope that we didn't disrupt the regular school program more than was necessary, or that you didn't receive any negative feedback concerning the survey. While we haven't completed the data analysis, the results at this time look very favorable.

I'm hoping to be able to furnish the school system with a copy of the finished production, for those who may be interested.

Once again thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

/s/ Wyatt Kirk

Wyatt Kirk
Counselor

cc: Dr. M. Miller
Mr. Richard C. Haw
Mrs. Juanita Goodwin
Mr. James Percich
Mr. Jay Flowers
Dr. David Bartz

WK/sov

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### APPENDIX J

One-way Analysis of Variance (Repeated Measurement) Summary of the Results of the Subjects' Responses to Questions One Through Sixteen of the Survey Questions for All Grade Levels and Categories

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0 = not enough (smallness of sample)  
- = no significance  

Sample size for all categories contain fifteen or more variables per category, with the exception of category one.
APPENDIX K

Two-way Analysis of Variance on Subjects by Categories and Grade Level on Questions One Through Sixteen from the Survey Questionnaire Primary Investigation of Question Means

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*p .05  
**p .01  
- = no significance

B-W = Black X White  
M-F = Male X Female  
Int = Within

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APPENDIX L

One-way Analysis of Variance (Repeated Measurement) Comparison of Subjects Regarding Race and Sex as to the Average Color Preferred by Category and Educational Level

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* p .05
** p .01

One-way analysis color scale
1. white 1.0 - 1.6
2. light brown 1.7 - 2.2
3. brown 2.3 - 2.8
4. dark brown 2.9 - 3.4
5. black 3.5 - 4.0

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APPENDIX M

One-way Analysis of Variance (Repeated Measurement) Comparisons of Significant Levels Between Blacks and Whites, Male and Female by Category and Educational Level on Survey Questionnaire and Computer Questions

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* Sig. *p* < .05

** Sig. *p* < .01

0 = no significance

Q = 0 = own skin color

APPENDIX N

One-way Analysis of Variance (Repeated Measurement) Comparison of Mean Score Between Black, White Male and Female by Category and Educational Level on Survey Questionnaire and Computer Questions

| Subjects          | Categories | 5  | 9 | 12 | Some College | Senior and Above | 5  | 9 | 12 | Some College | Senior and Above | 5  | 9 | 12 | Some College | Senior and Above | 5  | 9 | 12 | Some College | Senior and Above |
|-------------------|------------|----|----|----|--------------|------------------|----|----|----|--------------|------------------|----|----|----|--------------|------------------|----|----|----|--------------|------------------|----|----|----|--------------|------------------|
| Questions         |            |    |    |    |              |                  |    |    |    |              |                  |    |    |    |              |                  |    |    |    |              |                  |
| Hair              | 1          | 2.8| 3.0| 3.4| 3.5          | 3.1              | 3.4| 3.3| 3.7| 1.4          | 2.1              | 2.0| 2.5| 2.0| 2.0          | 2.1              | 2.3|    |    |              |                  |
| Length            | 2          | 3.1| 3.0| 3.2| 3.3          | 3.0              | 3.0| 3.2| 3.7| 1.9          | 2.0              | 2.0| 2.4| 1.8| 2.0          | 2.3              | 2.2|    |    |              |                  |
| B Males           | 3          | 2.6| 2.7| 3.3| 3.3          | 3.0              | 3.4| 3.4| 3.1| 1.8          | 2.4              | 2.7| 2.7| 2.0| 2.1          | 2.6              | 2.6|    |    |              |                  |
| Hair              | 4          | 2.8| 2.6| 3.1| 3.3          | 2.4              | 3.0| 2.1| 3.2| 1.2          | 1.8              | 1.8| 2.0| 1.6| 1.7          | 1.7              | 2.0|    |    |              |                  |
| Length            | 5          | 3.0| 2.8| 2.8| 3.1          | 2.5              | 2.8| 1.8| 3.5| 1.4          | 1.7              | 1.6| 2.0| 1.6| 1.7          | 1.7              | 2.0|    |    |              |                  |
| W Males           | 6          | 2.9| 2.9| 3.3| 3.2          | 2.6              | 3.1| 2.8| 3.3| 1.8          | 2.2              | 2.5| 2.7| 2.4| 2.0          | 2.0              | 2.6|    |    |              |                  |
| Hair              | 7          | 2.9| 2.4| 3.3| 2.9          | 2.4              | 3.2| 3.1| 3.1| 1.8          | 2.4              | 2.6| 2.8| 2.4| 2.3          | 2.7              | 2.6|    |    |              |                  |
| Length            | 8          | 2.9| 2.4| 3.0| 2.8          | 2.3              | 2.9| 3.2| 3.3| 2.0          | 2.2              | 2.6| 2.7| 2.3| 2.2          | 2.5              | 2.6|    |    |              |                  |
| B Females         | 9          | 2.8| 2.7| 3.1| 3.0          | 2.6              | 2.7| 2.6| 3.3| 1.8          | 2.4              | 2.9| 2.8| 2.7| 2.6          | 3.0              | 3.0|    |    |              |                  |
| Hair              | 10         | 2.4| 2.2| 2.5| 2.7          | 2.0              | 2.6| 2.3| 3.0| 1.4          | 1.7              | 1.7| 1.9| 1.6| 1.9          | 1.5              | 2.0|    |    |              |                  |
| Length            | 11         | 2.3| 2.3| 3.1| 2.7          | 2.2              | 3.0| 2.1| 3.0| 1.5          | 1.9              | 1.8| 2.1| 1.7| 1.9          | 1.7              | 2.0|    |    |              |                  |
| W Females         | 12         | 3.0| 2.6| 3.3| 3.3          | 2.5              | 3.1| 2.7| 3.3| 2.0          | 2.0              | 2.5| 2.5| 2.4| 2.1          | 2.3              | 2.4|    |    |              |                  |
| W Male            |            |    |    |    |              |                  |    |    |    |              |                  |    |    |    |              |                  |    |    |    |              |                  |
| B Female          | 14         | 2.6| 2.9| 2.9| 3.0          | 2.7              | 2.8| 2.8| 3.2| 1.6          | 2.1              | 2.3| 2.4| 1.8| 2.1          | 2.2              | 2.2|    |    |              |                  |
| Vs                |            |    |    |    |              |                  |    |    |    |              |                  |    |    |    |              |                  |    |    |    |              |                  |
| B Male            | 16         | 2.8| 2.9| 3.0| 3.0          | 2.6              | 3.1| 2.8| 3.4| 1.6          | 2.1              | 2.3| 2.5| 2.4| 2.0          | 2.4              | 2.5|    |    |              |                  |
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Color Scores for Color Gradation and Facial Features
By Race, Sex, and Level of Education
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**APPENDIX P**

Color Scores for Hairstyle and Length of Hair by Race, Sex, and Level of Education

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<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 &amp; 6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Junior High
3 High School
4 Sophomores-Juniors in College
5 & 6 Seniors - Graduate Students

Color Scale
1. White 1.0 - 1.6
2. Light Brown 1.7 - 2.2
3. Brown 2.3 - 2.8
4. Dark Brown 2.9 - 3.4
5. Black 3.5 - 4.0
## APPENDIX Q

Color Scores for Racially Mixed Couples by Race, Sex and Educational Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racially Mixed Couples</th>
<th>Racially Mixed Couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W Male B Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 &amp; 6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **2** Junior High
- **3** High School
- **4** Sophomores - Juniors in College
- **5 & 6** Seniors - Graduate Students

### Color Scale

1. White 1.0 - 1.6
2. Light Brown 1.7 - 2.2
3. Brown 2.3 - 2.8
4. Dark Brown 2.9 - 3.4
5. Black 3.5 - 4.0

The table continues with additional data for educational levels 5 & 6.
### APPENDIX R

Color Scores for Color Preferred by Race, Sex, and Level of Education

\[ N = 485 \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Color Preference</th>
<th>Black Males</th>
<th>Black Females</th>
<th>White Males</th>
<th>White Females</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Color Identity</td>
<td>Color Preferred</td>
<td>Color Identity</td>
<td>Color Preferred</td>
<td>Color Identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 &amp; 6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Junior High
3. High School
4. Sophomores - Juniors in College
5 & 6. Seniors - Graduate Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Color Scale</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. White</td>
<td>1.0 - 1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Light Brown</td>
<td>1.7 - 2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Brown</td>
<td>2.3 - 2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dark Brown</td>
<td>3.9 - 3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Black</td>
<td>3.5 - 4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX S

Considerable time was expended designing an instrument to measure color preference. The Kirk Color Scale should be used in other studies of racial attitudes to determine measures of reliability and validity of the scale. Since instruments measuring variables considered in this study are rare, the KCS could prove to be an important tool for use in future research.
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