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#### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE

# Skin Color Stratification and the Family: Sibling Differences and the Consequences for Inequality

#### DISSERTATION

# submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

## DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Sociology

by

Jessica M. Kizer

Dissertation Committee: Associate Professor Andrew M. Penner, Chair Professor Stanley R. Bailey Associate Professor Cynthia Feliciano Associate Professor Kristin Turney

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# **DEDICATION**

То

Judah, Javana, and Jensine

This is for all of us.

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#### **ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION**

# Skin Color Stratification and the Family: Sibling Differences and the Consequences for Inequality

By

Jessica M. Kizer

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Irvine, 2017

Associate Professor Andrew M. Penner, Chair

Racial disparities in the United States are well-documented, but social scientists know little about how other aspects of race, like skin color, affect people's experiences within different institutions. A growing body of research demonstrates that racial minorities with darker skin have worse socioeconomic outcomes than their lighter-skinned counterparts. However, because this work commonly analyzes individuals from different families, scholars have difficulty extricating whether variations in the outcome of interest are due to skin color bias or to differences in unobserved family characteristics. I improve upon prior studies by using an innovative within-family approach with sibling data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, which I argue provides analytical leverage. I first examine the relationship between skin color and different outcomes among a nationally-representative sample. Then, to account for mutual unobserved and observed family characteristics, I use sibling fixed-effects models to consider whether outcomes vary by skin color among members of the same family. I find that skin color is a significant predictor of the life chances of siblings in arrest outcomes, educational attainment, and income. This dissertation contributes to the existing

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literature by providing a first step towards understanding the implications of skin color for enduring racial inequality. I improve upon existing studies of colorism by analyzing siblings who have a shared family background. In doing so, my study begins to illuminate how skin color continues to be a source of stratification in the United States both across and within families for racial and ethnic minorities.

#### **Chapter 1** Introduction: U.S. Skin Color Stratification in Perspective

The United States is an inherently unequal country. Despite significant social and legal progress, numerous studies document the vast racial disparities that persist in our criminal justice and educational system and the labor market. While scholars have directed much of their focus on studying unequal outcomes *between* racial groups, there is less research on the inequality that exists *within* racial groups by skin color. Furthermore, although researchers have been diligent in documenting racial differences in outcomes, it is hard to discern to what extent enduring inequalities are due to the accumulated advantage embedded in human capital and to everyday discrimination.

The typical approach to examining both racial and skin color inequality is to analyze individuals across different families while controlling for observed demographic and family background characteristics. I argue that an underused strategy in race research —a within-family analysis of siblings— is a critical analytical tool that can help explain both the scope of skin color stratification and disaggregate between the different sources of inequality. Outside of the race literature, stratification scholars have long used this approach to study intergenerational mobility (Jencks et al. 1972; 1979).

This dissertation examines the reach of skin color as a source of stratification among racial minorities in the United States. I systemically study the relationship between skin color and three outcomes in both a nationally-representative sample and a sample of siblings in the same dataset. In doing so, I leverage the shared family background of siblings and show how the pervasiveness of skin color inequality permeates the family and contributes to enduring inequality.

In this introductory chapter, I first provide the historical context of skin color stratification in the United States to ground the dissertation. Next, I discuss the previous research and theoretical framework. Finally, I conclude with an overview of the dissertation, briefly outlining the content of the substantive chapters to follow.

# THE ORIGINS OF "COLORISM": A HISTORY OF WHITE SUPREMACY THROUGH SLAVERY AND COLONIZATION

#### Skin Color Stratification in the United States: African Americans

In her essay, Alice Walker (1983) coined the term "colorism" to describe the preferential treatment of lighter-skinned individuals and the corresponding discriminatory treatment of darker-skinned people within the same racial group. The origins of colorism or skin color inequality among African Americans is rooted in the legacy of slavery and white supremacy. Racial formation theory (Omi and Winant 1994) is a useful framework for understanding how dark skin has taken on negative meanings and has resulted in the unequal distribution of societal resources. Omi and Winant (1994) argue that racial projects link meanings of race through representations and ideologies with the organization and allocation of resources in everyday life. In the United States, scholars maintain that colorism emerged from at least two sources: whites' enslavement of Africans and forced miscegenation through White men's rape of Black female slaves (Hunter 2005; Stevenson 1996). For whites to justify enslaving an entire group of people, blackness came to mean ugliness, evilness, and savageness and whiteness came to signify the opposite: beauty, goodness, and civility (Hunter 2005). Additionally, forced miscegenation produced a Black population with a variety of phenotypes, including skin color, which then came to represent the characteristics that were attached to whiteness and blackness (Hunter 2005).

Indeed, historical evidence suggests that white elites considered slaves with a more European appearance to be more aesthetically and intellectually superior and as a result paid a higher price for these types of slaves and preferred them for as personal servants (Myrdal 1944). The ideology of the time was that slaves with more European ancestry and light skin color were as a result less African and thus better than darker-skinned Blacks (Reuter 1917). Additionally, as Keith (2009) notes that evidence suggests that slave owners treated their slaves with European ancestry better by providing them with more education, higher quality food, finer clothing, more desirable skilled and domestic positions.

#### Skin Color Stratification in Latin America

Hunter asserts that colorism is essential to "the maintenance of white supremacy in [the United States]" (2005:2). Her argument can be extended to Latin America, which has parallels to the United States because of their shared history as participants in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Like the dynamics that were occurring in the United States, in Latin America, Europeans colonized indigenous populations and enslaved Africans, establishing a racial hierarchy (Nielsen 2016). Additionally, centuries of miscegenation produced a population with a variety of phenotypes. Miscegenation did not erase hierarchy, rather it "established a system of [castes], which defined the proportion of Spanish blood that people carried" using skin color and phenotype as markers of genealogy (Telles 2014:15).

#### Skin Color Stratification in Asia

In Asia, there is also a skin color stratification system that affects the distribution of rewards and opportunity by skin color, as well (Hall 2008). However, unlike the United States

and Latin American, the import of skin color did not come from slavery, but rather European colonization and class structures dividing the landowning elite from the peasantry (Rondilla and Spickard 2007). Although Europeans did not rule many of the countries in this region of the world, in East Asian countries, they still adopted these values (Rondilla and Spickard 2007; Ryabov 2016). The elite did not have to do physical labor in the sun because they forced the peasants to do so which in turn made the workers tanned and darker. As a result, skin color became a marker of class. Furthermore, the association with darker skin and negative stereotypes of people with lower-class backgrounds became embedded in South Asian and East Asian countries (Leong 2006; Rondilla and Spickard 2007).

Studies show that for immigrants both their countries of origin and settlement shape immigrants' understandings of race and by extension the meanings of skin color, *even before they arrive* (Kim 2008; Roth 2012). Thus, although the preference for lighter skin may have originated in their country of origin, skin color stratification also operates in the United States, where it is an important part of the racial order. Research shows that there is a global preference for lighter skin as evidenced by the existence of transnational pharmaceutical and cosmetic corporations marketing skin-bleaching products (Glenn 2008). Given that demographic trends show that Asians and Latinos are the fastest-growing racial groups in the United States and that the foreign-born population is also on the rise, it is crucial to understand how skin color is consequential for both Latinos and Asian/ Pacific Islanders.

#### PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON SKIN COLOR STRATIFICATION

Numerous U.S. studies show that darker-skinned Blacks and Latinos earn less, have lower educational attainment complete, live in poorer neighborhoods, and marry people of lower

socioeconomic status than their lighter-skinned counterparts (Arce, Murguia, and Frisbie 1987; Espino and Franz 2002; Hill 2000; Hughes and Hertel 1990; Hunter 1998, 2005; Keith and Herring 1991; Monk 2014).

Most of the research on skin color bias focuses on the labor market outcomes and educational attainment of Latinos and Black Americans (Allen, Telles, and Hunter 2000a; Arce et al. 1987; Espino and Franz 2002; Gomez 2000; Hill 2000; Hughes and Hertel 1990; Hunter and L. 2002; Keith and Herring 1991; Monk 2014; Murguia and Telles 1996; Telles and Murguia 1990). Among Latinos, dark skin is associated with lower income (Telles and Murguia 1990; Allen, Telles and Hunter 2000) and occupational prestige (Espino and Franz 2002). Likewise, similar trends can be found among African Americans. Darker-skinned Blacks earn less money (Johnson, Farrell, and Stoloff 1998), are more likely to be poor (Bowman, Muhammad, and Ifatunji 2004), work in low-prestige occupations, and have less wealth (Allen, Telles, and Hunter 2000b; Keith and Herring 1991; Seltzer and Smith 1991).

While much of this prior research uses older data, more recent work demonstrates that skin color stratification persists. For example, data from the National Survey of American Life (2001-2003), reveals that skin tone continues to be significantly related to Black American's household income and occupational status (Monk 2014). Likewise, using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, skin color is also related to the school-to-work and school-to-college transitions for Black male youth (Ryabov 2013). That is, lighter-skinned Black men are significantly more likely to have secured a job and be enrolled in college than their darker-skinned peers.

Additionally, darker-skinned Mexican Americans and Blacks attain lower levels of education. Research shows that between 1950 and 1980, there was as much educational

inequality by race as there was between Black Americans with light skin and those with dark skin (Hughes and 1990). While some research finds that the skin tone is only linked with the education of just Black women and not Black men (Keith and Herring 1991), more recent work on this topic reveals that skin tone continues to shape the educational outcomes of African-American women and men (Monk 2014). Collectively, these findings suggest that skin color affects the opportunities available to Black Americans. Moreover, this relationship between education and skin color has been found among Mexican Americans. For instance, Murguia and Telles (1996) found that lighter-skinned Mexican Americas have higher educational attainment, even after accounting for family background. Furthermore, Arce et al. (1987) found that darkerskinned Mexican Americans and a more indigenous appearance earned fewer years of education than those with Anglo features.

Most of the skin color stratification research focuses on the experiences of Blacks and Latinos with few studies including Asian/Pacific Islanders or Native Americans. In contrast to conventional studies on racial inequality, Bailey, Saperstein, and Penner use both racial selfidentification and perceived skin color to examine household income inequality in Latin America and the United States among several different racial groups (2014). Their findings reveal that models using both measures do the best job of analyzing economic inequality in the United States (Bailey, Saperstein, and Penner 2014). While these researchers looked at differences across racial groups, including Asian and Native Americans, they focused on only one socioeconomic outcome, household income, and so more research needs to be conducted on how both skin color and race are associated with other types of racial inequality. Another study exceptional for its focus on Asian/Pacific Islanders examines how skin color is related to educational attainment (Ryaboy 2016). This study shows that among Asian/Pacific Islanders and

Hispanics, respondents with darker skin tone are less likely to have completed high school and to be enrolled in college than their lighter-skinned peers (Ryabov 2016). More work still needs to examine the extent to which skin color stratification persists in the United States, for which racial group, and in what aspects of social life.

#### Explanations for Skin Color Inequality

Despite the research documenting the socioeconomic disparities within racial and ethnic groups, social scientists have difficulty explaining the contributing factors for this unwavering stratification. As Monk (2014:1332) notes, "it remains relatively unclear...what mechanisms *specifically* may lead to skin tone inequality" (emphasis in the original). However, scholars contend that skin color stratification is maintained through at least two sources: contemporary discrimination and the accumulated disadvantage or advantage that is embedded in differences in human capital.

The discrimination perspective asserts that skin color stratification is caused by the fact that darker-skinned people experience higher levels of disadvantage and discrimination than lighter-skinned individuals in a variety of dimensions of social life. One of the main arguments for why skin color persists is that numerous negative stereotypes about dark skin exist in people's minds, which in turn affect their behavior. Support for this perspective comes from the social psychology literature. Research in this area shows that Black Americans are frequently seen as violent and criminal (Goff et al. 2008) and that those with darker skin are seen are more criminal still (Eberhardt et al. 2004; Maddox and Gray 2002). Eberhardt et al. (2004), for example, found that when police officers were asked to pick photos of individuals who they thought looked criminal, they were more likely to select pictures of Black people with darker skin and other

more stereotypical features. Furthermore, respondents characterized lighter-skinned Blacks as being more attractive, educated, motivated than darker-skinned Blacks who respondents attributed the opposite qualities (Maddox and Gray 2002).

Besides the social psychology literature, research on self-reported discrimination shows the darker-skinned people continue to be treated more poorly than light-skinned people. Keith et al. (2017) show that skin color is significantly associated with the type and degree to which Black Americans are exposed to racial discrimination. Darker-skinned individuals were more likely to report being treated with less courtesy and respect than those with lighter skin (Keith et al. 2017). Likewise, Monk (2015) finds that skin color is significantly related to various types of self-reported discrimination.

The other source of the persistent differences by skin color comes from the argument that advantage and disadvantage have accumulated and as such is embedded in differences in human capital. As discussed earlier in this chapter, colorism has its roots in slavery. Research shows that slave owners favored slaves with lighter skin, often because they were biologically related to other whites. As such, lighter-skinned slaves worked as house slaves in closer proximity to the white, slave owning, family, while the darker-skinned slaves worked outside as field slaves. Being a house slave meant that these lighter-skinned slaves would be taught to read and learn the skills of a trade (Russell-Cole, Wilson, and Hall 2013). Additionally, slave owners often manumitted their slaves who were biologically related to them and who were lighter-skinned slaves, which as Campbell (2009:151) argues "buttressed the idea of white supremacy within the color-based social order." However, even after emancipation, the socioeconomic advantages that lighter-skinned Blacks had continued (Bodenhorn and Ruebeck 2007). Thus, one source of skin color discrimination comes from the preferential distribution of rewards and opportunities to

lighter-skinned Blacks and in turn the gains in human capital that they could shore up and pass on to their descendants.

The social psychology literature documents the stereotypes that exist in the minds of the American people, which is an enormous strength of this body of work. However, it difficult to connect the results from these lab experiences to on the ground behavior. Additionally, many studies on skin color inequality do not have direct measures of discrimination. By its nature, discrimination is difficult to measure directly. Thus, researchers must come up with ways to indirectly evaluate it. By far, the most common strategy is to compare the outcome of interest across different racial groups, while accounting for as many observed human capital variables as possible and then attributing the remaining racial gap in the outcome to discrimination. Because of data availability, this is often the best way to examine discrimination. However, one of the limitations of this method is that there are many unobserved variables not captured in the model, such as social networks, family wealth, and other influences and thus suffers from omitted variable bias. Unequivocally, racial and skin color discrimination is significant and enduring in the United States. However, others argue that one simply cannot attribute all the residual to discrimination because there are unobserved variables that may also be contributing to these unequal outcomes.

#### Previous Research on Sibling Outcomes

Stratification scholars have long-standing interests in understanding the role of family background in intergenerational mobility. To do this, researchers employ sibling correlations or within-family analyses to calculate their shared background characteristics. While analyses of siblings are not perfect, as Conley and Glauber (2008:297) argue "they are one of the best

measures of the effect of family background on socioeconomic status attainment because they provide a summative measure of *all* aspects of family background, including measurable and unmeasurable neighborhood, genetic and parental characteristics that siblings share" (emphasis in the original). Others point out that analyzing siblings is a way to examine "the extent to which inequality in those outcomes are attributable to family and community origins." (Page and Solon 2003:832). Likewise, Jenks et al. (1979:10) are that siblings' correlations are caused by a "common environment".

In analyzing siblings, researchers find that almost half of the variance in siblings' educational outcomes can be associated with their shared family background (Hauser and Wong 1989; Kuo and Hauser 1995). Moreover, almost half of the variance in siblings' wages are also related to their family background (Levine and Mazumder 2007; Solon et al. 1991). Stratification scholars have long used analyses of siblings to account for family background. For example, social scientists have analyzed sibling differences regarding health, poverty, neighborhoods, birth order and weight (Aaronson 1998; Conley and Bennett 2000; Conley, Pfeiffer, and Velez 2007; Edmonds 2006; Fletcher 2009; Haas 2006; Hao and Matsueda 2006; Warren et al. 2012). Researchers have used this framework to examine education, income and other important markers of socioeconomic status. Although we know that siblings vary in many ways, they also differ in phenotype, and in particular, skin color. Very rarely do studies examine sibling differences in skin color.

#### Skin Color Differences within Families

Acknowledging the reality that siblings can vary in both phenotype and racial identification and categorization, Telles (2004)Telles briefly compares the educational outcomes

of siblings with different racial identities in his book *Race in Another America: The Significance* of *Skin Color in Brazil*. Here he introduces the idea of leveraging the shared family background of siblings to understand discrimination better. In fact, he argues that this strategy of comparing the outcomes of siblings "[is] a rigorous test of racial discrimination" (Telles 2006: 149). Very few studies to date have taken this approach. However, the limited research on this topic using this strategy reveals that skin color or phenotype is a significant predictor of sibling outcomes in both Brazil and the United States.

Recently, race scholars have turned to using Telles' proposed method to examine how differences in siblings' skin color and race correspond to differences in their socioeconomic outcomes (Francis-Tan 2016; Marteleto and Dondero 2016a; Rangel 2014; Ryabov 2016). Studies in Brazil typically use measures of racial categorization, which function as a proxy for skin color. In the book that first introduced this idea, Telles (2004) finds white siblings have better educational outcomes than their non-white siblings, that is they are more likely to be in the age-appropriate grade. Extending these results in their study of twins, Marteleto and Dondero (2016) find that similarly, nonwhite twins face significant educational disadvantages relative to their White twin. These differences persist into adulthood. Francis-Tan (2016) finds that darkerskinned siblings in Brazil are more disadvantaged than their lighter-skinned adult siblings in a variety of ways, with significantly lower educational attainment, employment, occupational status, and income. Likewise, Francis and Tannuri-Pianto (2012) found that white siblings have higher scores on college entrance exams than their non-white siblings. However, it is not just that white siblings have better socioeconomic outcomes. Rangel (2014) finds that lighter-skinned children are more like to attend private school, which suggests that parent's investment in their children's education varies by skin color.

Moreover, qualitative research provides additional evidence showing that skin color affects parent-child relationships. For example, ethnographic work on Afro-Brazilian families reveals that children with light skin and more European features received preferential treatment over those who were darker-skinned, which in turn compromised parent-child relationships (Hordge-Freeman 2013). Likewise, in the United States, Landor et al. (2013) found that black families exhibited preferential treatment toward offspring based on complexion depending on the gender of the child. Specifically, darker-skinned sons received higher quality parenting than lighter-skinned sons. On the other hand, daughters with lighter skin acquired higher quality parenting than girls with darker skin.

To the best of my knowledge, only one study has explicitly examined how skin color is associated with sibling outcomes in the United States. In studying Latinos and Asian/Pacific Islanders, Ryabov (2015) found that skin color was a significant predictor of educational attainment, especially for Filipinos and Puerto Ricans. However, the author excludes monozygotic or identical twins from his sample because "they are genetically identical and therefore, do not differ with respect to skin tone" (Ryabov 2015: 3). Nevertheless, other factors, besides genes, also effect the color of a person's skin. Furthermore, the identical twins subsample is a significant group in the Add Health siblings sample. By the author's logic, skin color is objective, and thus, if two people have the same genes, they should have the same skin color. However, as Villarreal (2012:501) explains "[1]ike perceptions of race, perceptions of individuals' skin color are necessarily subjective. The fact that they are subjective does not, of course, mean that they do not have social consequences. This perception may not correspond precisely with an exact measurement of their skin pigmentation...[Thus], a better measure of skin color to examine potential discrimination is how individuals are perceived rather than an "objective" measure of

their skin pigmentation." Consequently, even identical twins may be perceived as having different skin color by an interviewer, because it a subject assessment. Further research needs to be conducted to understand better how skin color is related to the outcomes of siblings in the United States.

U.S. representative data on skin color is scanty, and when measures of skin color are available, very few studies have a robust sample of siblings. As a result, researchers have had difficulty documenting if skin color is a source of inequality between siblings and if it influences the relationships between parents and children. This dissertation begins to answer questions about the role of skin color in the unequal outcomes in the criminal justice system, income, and educational attainment across the population and within a sample of siblings.

#### Gender and Skin Color as Capital

Research suggests that with darker-skinned women are more disadvantaged then men with darker skin. Hunter (2002) contends that light skin operates as social capital for women. Drawing on scholars' previous work (Bourdieu 1984; Holland and Eisenhart 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), Hunter defines social capital as "a form of prestige related to things such as social status, reputation, and social networks", which can turn into or exchanged for economic capital (2002: 177). In the United States and throughout the world, people consider having light skin to be more beautiful, which in turn is important for the socioeconomic status of women throughout the life course (Glenn 2008; Jæger 2011; Sala et al. 2013). Scholars theorize that the reason for this may be due to employers unconsciously attribute positive traits to physically attractive people, including general and labor market skills, which leads to success in the labor market (Eagly et al. 1991; Feingold and Alan 1992; Hosoda, Stone-Romero, and Coats 2003;

Langlois et al. 2000). Accordingly, Keith and Herring (1991) found that skin tone was significantly related with the education of Black women but not men. Thus, women who have this form of capital, who in other words have light skin, can accrue advantages in the form of employment and wages (Hunter 2005). This is also the case in the marriage market. Hunter (2002) documents lighter-skinned black women are more likely to marry men with more education than darker-skinned women, even after accounting for the women's educational attainment.

Using recent data from the 1994-2008 National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent and Adult Health (Add Health) sample, I examine if skin color influences the arrest outcomes, educational attainment, and household income of racial and ethnic minorities. If there is a relationship, I consider if it varies among Blacks, Latinos and Asian Americans. Given that previous research suggests that having lighter skin color may be more consequential for women (Hill 2002b; Hunter 2005; Thompson and Keith 2001), I examine if there is a differential skin tone "effect" between men and women. Additionally, I exploit the sibling sample of Add Health to account for differences in family background and examine if complexion is consequential for respondents *within the same family*. In doing so, I shed light on how racialized social systems of skin color continue to have consequences for inequality across several racial minorities in the United States and how skin color bias may be perpetuated within the family and affect the differential outcomes of siblings.

#### DISSERTATION OVERVIEW

The following chapters build upon previous research by examining how skin color influences the unequal outcomes of racial minorities in the United States in the criminal justice

system, educational attainment, and the labor market. Furthermore, I use a sample of siblings to elucidate the extent to which skin color currently plays a role in creating unequal outcomes and how much is due to the historical accumulation of privilege. Finally, this dissertation expansion the scope of previous research on skin color stratification by including Asian Americans into the analysis.

I have written the three substantive chapters to be somewhat self-contained. Thus, I repeat some of the descriptions of the data and methods in each chapter. In this dissertation, I use quantitative methods and data from a landmark study of youth in America—the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health.

Chapter Two, "Arrested by Skin Color: An Examination of Men and their Brothers" examines the relationship between skin color and the arrest in adulthood. Most of the research on criminal justice system neglects skin color presumably due to data constraints. However, even when it is included in analyses, it is primarily examined in the context of a courtroom or a prison, in looking at sentencing and prison stays. My study shows that skin color is consequential for a much earlier stage in the criminal justice process— an arrest. Not only do I show that skin color influenced the likelihood of being arrested in adulthood across a nationally representative sample of Black, Latino, and Asian American men, I also examine the same relationship in a sample of siblings. The sibling results reveal that the magnitude of the association significantly increases, even after account for prior offending behavior and accounting for unexplained family background characteristics. Considering that much of the men who are arrested in the United States are poor, uneducated, and primarily Black and Latino, these findings reveal that not only are the most disadvantaged men facing a greater proportion of arrests, those with darker skin face additional penalties.

Chapter Three, "College for Who?: The Relationship between Skin Color, Race, and Gender" examines how skin color impacts educational attainment. Prior research on Blacks and Latinos document the extent to which skin color affects educational attainment. Although more recent studies have been conducted on Blacks, the research on Latinos is much older. Further, there are very few studies that examine Asian Americans. My study reveals that in the larger population, complexion is a significant predictor of graduating from college. However, it is more consequential for men than for women. Additionally, I compare the relationships across racial groups. In comparing siblings, I find that skin color is only a significant predictor among Asian-American siblings.

Chapter Four, "Household Income Inequality: The Relative Importance of Skin Color and Family Background," explore how skin color impacts household income. The greatest predictor of income is education. As shown in the previous chapter, skin color has a direct relationship with educational attainment. I build on prior research and examine the extent to which skin color impacts household income. I find that skin color is significantly related with household income among both men and women in the nationally representative sample. That is, among Black, Latino, Asian and Native Americans, those with darker skin have a significantly lower household income than their lighter-skinned counterparts. Additionally, I find that the relationship varies across gender, with the associating being larger for men than for women. Among the sibling sample, I find that between families, skin color is a significant predictor of one's household income. However, after including family fixed-effects and considering family background, I find that the relationship between complexion and household income remains statistically significant and in fact, the magnitude of the relationship is larger. Unlike in the larger nationallyrepresentative sample, I do not find that there are gender differences.

Chapter Five concludes the dissertation with a summary of the main findings, implications, and directions for future research.

#### **Chapter 2** Arrested by Skin Color: An Examination of Men and their Brothers

#### **INTRODUCTION**

In the U.S. criminal justice system, police officers disproportionately detain and arrest Blacks and Latinos at higher rates than Whites (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2015). While researchers agree that race increases the likelihood of an arrest, even after accounting for a broad range of related factors such as offense severity and the presence of witnesses, the extant literature cannot directly demonstrate the causes of these disparities (Kochel, Wilson, and Mastrofski 2011). In addition to these well-documented racial disparities, scholars have also turned to examining how the experiences of Blacks and Latinos within criminal justice may vary by their skin color. This growing body of literature documents that individuals with darker skin have more frequent interactions with police (Barlow and Barlow 2002; White 2014), receiver harsher criminal sentencing(Burch 2015; Gyimah-Brempong and Price 2006; Viglione, Hannon, and DeFina 2011), and are perceived by observers as being more criminal perceptions (Dixon and Maddox 2005). Most of the research on skin color stratification focuses on the costs of having darker skin for educational attainment and in the labor market (Hunter 2005; Monk 2015.) In contrast to these previous studies focusing on socioeconomic outcomes, this chapter will contribute to the literature assessing the relationship between skin color and the criminal justice system.

While there are multiple explanations for racial disparities in the criminal justice system, scholars argue that discrimination from police officers, judges and other actors in the criminal justice is a major factor. However, while the social psychology literature provides supporting evidence, it is hard to capture this type of behavior is large-scale datasets. Because measuring racial bias is often unfeasible with nationally representative data, these constraints compel researchers to assess it obliquely. The dominant approach involves statistically analyzing

differences across racial groups, while accounting factors for related to the outcome of interest, and then attributing the residual difference to discrimination. However, one of the limitations of this approach is that it is complicated to disaggregate discrimination from unobserved family background characteristics. Thus, studies primarily examine racial and skin color disparities *between* families and it is not clear the extent to which these effects can be found *within* families. Examining this would provide a more nuanced picture of how skin color may impact contact with the criminal justice system.

Scholars have long used analyses of siblings to account for family background. For example, researchers have analyzed sibling differences in regards to health, poverty, neighborhoods, birth order and weight (Aaronson 1998; Conley and Bennett 2000; Edmonds 2006; Haas 2006; Hao and Matsueda 2006; Conley et a., 2007; Fletcher 2010; Warren et al. 2012). Siblings vary in many ways including in phenotype, and in particular skin color, yet studies examine sibling differences in skin color infrequently. Recently, social scientists have begun to study how skin color differences among siblings also impact their life chances (Francis-Tan 2016; Marteleto and Dondero 2016b; Ryabov 2016).

Using recent data from the 1994-2008 National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health) sample, I analyze both a nationally-representative sample of men and sibling sample of brothers to address two research objectives. My first aim is to investigate how skin color is related to an arrest, among Black, Latino, Asian American, and Native American men. My second objective is to examine whether sibling differences in arrest outcomes vary by their skin color.

This chapter makes several contributions. First, this paper contributes to the research on colorism by documenting the relationship between skin color and an arrest, in contrast to most of

the literature which solely focuses on socioeconomic outcomes. Second, I also add to the criminology literature. Unlike other studies which focus on how skin color is consequential for sentencing outcomes, I investigate an earlier point time in the criminal justice process. Individuals must have been arrested first before they even make to the sentencing hearing. Thus, it is important to understand how skin color matters through the entire process.

Additionally, while previous studies on skin color and the criminal justice system focus primarily on the experiences of African-Americans, and to a lesser extent, Latinos, in this chapter I include these two groups and Asian/Pacific Islanders in my analysis. Given that previous research shows that skin color affects the outcomes of both Latinos and Asian-Americans (Ryabov 2016), it is crucial to understand if and how skin color matters for multiple racial groups. Furthermore, in contrast to previous studies on skin color and the criminal justice system use data from a handful of states, I employ nationally-representative data to assess the relationship between complexion and arrest. Finally, I improve upon previous studies by better accounting for unobserved differences in family background. No study to date has considered whether sibling differences in skin color influence the likelihood of an arrest. I build on prior work and use both between-family estimates and a within family fixed effects approach to examine the relationship between skin tone and an adult arrest. In doing so, I provide new estimates that account for potential confounding factors that vary across families and compare these estimates to nationally representative estimates using both a nationally-representative sample of American males and a subsample of male siblings.

Racial Disparities in Criminal Justice Contact

American racial gaps in the criminal justice system are well-established. In 2014, Blacks accounted for 13 percent of the United States population, but 28 percent of all persons arrested and 35 percent of the total jail population in the same year (U.S. Census Bureau 2015; FBI 2015; Bureau of Justice Statistics 2015). Scholars argue that discriminatory practices in policing and sentencing and have perpetuated and substantially increased these racial disparities, which Alexander calls the "New Jim Crow" (2010). More specifically, the U.S. criminal justice system unfairly penalizes African-Americans and their families (Pager, Western, and Bonikowski 2009; Wacquant 2002). While researchers have widely examined racial bias, a relatively new body of work investigates how racial minorities experiences with the criminal justice system varies by skin color.

#### Skin Color and Contact with the Criminal Justice System

Due to data constraints, there is limited research on the relationship between skin color and contact with the criminal justice system. Existing work demonstrates that complexion significantly affects both police contact and sentencing outcomes. For instance, survey data from Black police in Milwaukee showed that officers who identified themselves as "dark skinned" reported being stopped, questioned and ticketed more than the officers who identified themselves as "light skinned" or "other" (Barlow and Barlow 2002). Likewise, Gyimah-Brempong and Price (2006) find that Black inmates who correctional officers assessed as having light skin received shorter prison sentences in Mississippi. In examining sentencing decisions for males in Florida, Pizzi, Blair and Judd (2005) that while race was not associated with sentencing outcomes, individuals with more stereotypically Afrocentric features received harsher criminal sentences than inmates who had committed similar crimes and had comparable criminal histories, but

looked less Afrocentric. Similar results were found in King and Johnson's (2016) study of booking photos in Minnesota. Likewise, using sentencing data from Georgia, Burch found that not only do darker skinned Blacks received longer sentences, but that lighter skinned Blacks received sentences that were not statistically different from Whites (2015). While much of this work focuses on men, this pattern holds when examining women, as well. In looking specifically at Black female inmates in North Carolina, Viglione, Hannon, and DeFina (2011) similarly find that lighter skinned women not only received more lenient sentences but also served less time in prison. Overall, these studies demonstrate that darker skinned Black male and female inmates pay penalties for the color of their skin in the form of harsher sentences.

Less research on the relationship between skin color and arrest exists. For example, White (2015) finds that among Latinos, women with darker skin tone are significantly more likely to experience an arrest, while males with darker skin are not. However, for Blacks, she finds that when controlling for just self-reported delinquency, Blacks experience a significant increase in their likelihood of experiencing an arrest as skin tone darkens, but that after controlling for age and gender, there are no statistically significant effects for skin tone (White 2014). Thus, more research needs to be conducted to understand this relationship better.

#### Racial Perceptions of Criminality

Extensive social psychology research illustrates the prevalence of U.S. stereotypes of Blacks as violent, criminal and subhuman (Allport and Postman 1947; Correll et al. 2002; Devine 1989; Duncan 1976; Goff et al. 2008; Greenwald, Oakes, and Hoffman 2003; Payne 2001; Sagar and Schofield 1980). Experimental work shows that African Americans are more likely to be shot in computer-based simulations of a police encounter Those with darker skin are seen are more
criminal still (Maddox and Gray 2001; Eberhardt et al. 2004). Eberhardt et al. (2004), for example, found that when police officers were significantly more likely to select pictures of Black people with darker skin and other more stereotypical features when asked to pick photos of individuals who they thought looked criminal. In their study, Maddox and Gray (2001) found that undergraduates described Blacks with dark skin as criminal, tough, and aggressive and used more negative characteristics.

#### DATA AND METHODS

I use restricted-use data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), a nationally representative sample of adolescents who were in grades 7-12 during the 1994-1995 school year (Wave 1). These are the only data available that can be used for these analyses because they come from a large national sample, a sibling sample, and comprehensive longitudinal data on respondents' delinquency and contact with the criminal justice system during adolescence and young adulthood, along with a measure of skin color. Add Health selected participants through a two-stage sampling design. A nationally, representative probability sample of almost 19,000 adolescents were selected for the longitudinal in-home component of the study. Following the original respondents from adolescence into adulthood, Add Health has completed four in-person survey interviews. Key measures from this study come from the Wave 4 adult interviews (2008). I also include measures of respondents' self-reported race and interviewer perceived skin color from the Wave 3 young adult interviews (2001-2002). Additionally, I control for information on their adolescent offending behavior from Wave 1, along with other measures of human capital

#### Sample

I draw on two subsamples to examine the relationship between skin tone and arrest outcomes. The first subsample includes male respondents who identified as Asian American/Pacific Islander, Black, Latino and Native American in wave 3 and for whom there is non-missing data for all variables in this analysis. Whereas this larger subsample is from the inhome sample of all male adolescents (N=1,897), the second subsample is from the Add Health sibling pair data. In wave 1, Add Health asked respondents if they lived with a sibling, and siblings were subsequently recruited into the sample. Unlike the nationally representative sample of Add Health, the sibling subsample is not a probability sample (Chantala 2001). I include twins, full siblings, and half-siblings who identified as male and who had non-missing information for all relevant study variables (N=610) in the sibling subsample. To address missing cases, I used listwise deletion.

#### Dependent Variables

To examine the relationship between skin color and arrest outcomes, I draw on men's response to the question "How many times have you been arrested since your 18<sup>th</sup> birthday?" as measured during the wave 4 in-home survey when respondents were between the ages of 24-32. I created a dichotomous variable from responses to this question (0=no, 1=yes), indicating whether a participant has ever been arrested in adulthood.

#### Independent Variables

*Interviewer-perceived skin color*. My primary independent variable is interviewer reported skin color, as recorded at the end of the wave 3 survey when respondents were between the ages of

18-26. The categories for skin color included "black," "dark brown," "medium brown," "light brown," and "white." I coded this continuous variable as a scale with a range from 1 (*white*) to 5 (*black*). Numerous scholars have used this Add Health measure to examine how skin color is related to differential experiences within racial groups (Ryabov 2016; Saperstein, Penner, and Kizer 2014; White 2014).

*Self-reported race*. To ensure that differences across race groups do not drive my skin color findings, I include self-reported race in wave 3 in my analyses. The categories for race included "black or African American," "American Indian or Native American," "White," and "Asian or Pacific Islander." If respondents gave more than one response to this question, I used the category that they indicated best described their racial background, which Add Health asked in a subsequent question. Also, the survey asked respondents a separate question about their Hispanic or Latino origin. I coded respondents as Latino if they responded with a "yes" to that question, regardless of the race they put down. I excluded respondents who identified White as their primary or "best race" from my analyses.

*Delinquency*. I used the 15-item delinquency scale from Wave 1 of Add Health.<sup>1</sup> Including this index as a control ensures that their prior offending behavior occurred before the adult arrest and establishes that the relationship between skin color and an adult arrest is not related to their previous offending. Scholars have used these items to measure adolescent delinquency in previous studies (Sieving et al. 2001; White 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Appendix Table 2.2 for the complete list of questions from the Wave 1 delinquency scale.

*Additional controls.* Wave 3 interviewer race is an important control because prior research shows that it may affect how interviewers perceive and code skin color (Hannon and DeFina 2014; Hill 2002a). Possible races included ("white," "African-American," "Asian/Pacific Islander," "American Indian/Alaska Native," or "other") and whether the interviewer identified as Hispanic. Finally, although marital and employment status, educational attainment and parental education are not visible to police officers when they are deciding to make an arrest, research suggests that these attributes influence offending behavior (Lochner 2004; Meghir, Palme, and Schnabel 2012; Skardhamar et al. 2015). Thus, I account for these demographic characteristics to establish that the observed relationship between skin color and an adult arrest does not result from other factors related to illegal behavior. Controls include: age, nativity, marital status, and employment status, all coded as indicator variables for (respondent's year of birth, being born in the United States, being married, and currently working for pay for at least ten hours per week). Respondents' educational attainment and the respondents' resident mother's educational, measured as years of schooling completed, were also included as controls.

#### Analytic Approach

To examine the relationship between skin tone on criminal justice outcomes, I first estimate the probability of an adult arrest for the nationally representative sample of Asian Americans, Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans males. Evaluating this relationship at the population level allows me to determine whether complexion is predictive for men's arrests in adulthood. To account for the complex design features of the Add Health sampling structure, I use the SVY command in Stata version 14. Second, I investigate whether brothers' skin color is related to their likelihood of being arrested in adulthood, using family fixed-effects, which allows me to compare siblings while holding family environment constant. In each of my models, I control for the race of the interviewer, prior illegal behavior, and age and other measures of human capital. Additionally, I employ a linear probability model (LPM) for ease of interpretation.<sup>2</sup> As Angrist (2001) notes, an LPM should produce similar estimates to a logit model. By predicting the likelihood of an adult arrest in wave 4, while controlling these variables, I ensure that the relationship between complexion and contact with the criminal justice system is not due to a possible relationship between skin tone and other possible characteristics.

#### RESULTS

Table 2.1 shows how much variation there is in skin color across racial groups. For instance, in the larger, national sample, there is quite a bit of variation within each racial group. As we can see, among Asian/Pacific Islanders almost half are coded as having light brown skin, nearly 30 percent coded as having white skin, approximately 20 percent has having medium brown skin, and only 4 percent as having dark brown skin. There is also substantial variation for African Americans and Latinos. For Blacks, many of the respondents are in three groups with almost 30 percent of respondents coded into medium brown, dark brown and black. Nearly 10 percent of Black Americans were coded as having light brown skin. For Latinos, almost half were coded as white, 35 percent as light brown, 12.2 percent as medium brown, and 2.49 as dark brown. Finally, among Native Americans, 39 percent were coded as white, 24.39 were coded as light brown and 24.39 coded as medium brown.

Among the sibling sample, there is also variation in skin color. Among Asian Pacific/Islanders, 30.34 percent are coded as white, 48.31 as light brown and 17.98 as medium

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Robustness checks confirm that the logistic model gives similar results as shown in Appendix Table 2.1.

brown. Among Blacks, 28.67 percent are coded as medium brown, 30.07 as dark brown, and 32.17 as black, and 8.74 ae light brown. Finally, for Latinos, 40 percent were coded as white, 40 percent as light brown, and 15 percent as medium brown.

In Table 2.2, I compare the national sample and the sibling sample and find that they are similar across all measures. For example, about 24 percent of men across the national sample and the sibling sample have been arrested in adulthood by Wave 4. Likewise, respondents in both samples have comparable levels of prior delinquent behavior, with an average of 5.03 and 5.07 in the national and sibling sample, respectively.

Table 2.3 presents ordinary least squares regression models investigating experiencing an adult arrest. I find that men with darker skin are more likely to be arrested in adulthood, even after controlling for the individuals' age, self-identified race, race of the interviewer, and prior offending behavior. These results are consistent with and expand previous findings (White 2014). Unsurprisingly, prior offending behavior is a significant predictor of being arrested in adulthood; however, it does not entirely account for skin color differences in arrest rates. Overall, I find that a one-unit increase in skin tone (on the 5-point scale) increases the probability of an arrest by .038. Interestingly, the magnitude of the relationship increases from model 1 to model 5, indicating that once prior delinquency, age, and race of both the respondent and the interviewer are accounted for the association between skin tone and an adult arrest is larger and more statistically significant.

In Table 2.4, I turn to examining the sibling sample and I contrast it with the results from the national sample. Like the estimates from Table 2.3, models from the sibling sample include controls for interviewer race, prior delinquency, respondent race, and age. In model 2, estimates of the relationship between skin color and adult arrest between families shows that the

coefficient for skin color remains positive and significant, although it is smaller than the nationally representative sample. Like the findings from the national sample, the between family estimates show that a one-unit increase in skin tone increases the probability of an arrest by .043. After including family fixed effects, which accounts for unobserved family characteristics, the association between skin color and arrest is substantially stronger. The coefficient indicates that a one-unit increase in skin tone increases the likelihood of an adult arrest by .115. This indicates that darker skinned brothers are more likely to be arrested in adulthood than their lighter-skinned brothers and that interestingly, after including the family fixed effects, juvenile delinquency is no longer a statistically significant predictor of experiencing an adult arrest. This suggests that levels of prior offending behavior are similar among brothers and that differences in the arrest rates are driven more by discrimination than their actual behavior.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Being arrested is an increasingly common event in the United States, with the prevalence of an arrest rising over the past 40 years (Brame et al. 2014). By some estimates, between 25-41% of youth report having been arrest or detained by age 23 (Brame et al. 2012). However, the risk of being arrested depends on the persons' race. By age 23, almost half of Black men and 44% of Hispanic men 38% have been arrested as compared to of White men (Brame et al. 2014). Although the prevalence of being arrested in increasingly high, *many arrests do not lead to a criminal conviction*. Despite this fact, having even one arrest, again without being convicted of a crime, is deleterious for one's job prospects. An experimental audit study shows that a misdemeanor arrest decreases employer callback rates by about 4%, which was significantly lower than those reporting no arrest (Uggen et al. 2014). Whites who reported an arrest had

significantly higher call back rates than Blacks who did report an arrest. Researchers argue that employers interpret an arrest as a negative signal of their employability. It is likely that multiple arrests may cement this perception. Thus, skin color discrimination and racial discrimination operate together creating multiple layers of discrimination.

The goal of this study is to consider the role that skin color plays in being arrested in the United States among male Black, Latino, and Asian /Pacific Islanders. Furthermore, I improve upon previous studies examining the relationship between arrest and skin color by leveraging a sample of siblings to capture family background better. In doing so, I provide stronger evidence of discriminatory practices by showing that there are large significant disparities by skin color in the likelihood of being arrested that are unexplained by both previous illegal behavior and observed human capital. Furthermore, I find that after comparing siblings and accounting for unobserved family background characteristics using family-fixed effects, the relationship between skin color and arrest not only remains but increases in magnitude. That is, I find that in the nationally-representative sample, men with darker skin are significantly more likely to have been arrested than their lighter skinned peers. Additionally, I find that when comparing within the family, men with darker skin a significantly increased likelihood of being arrested than their lighter skinned brothers. Furthermore, I find that the relationship between skin color and an arrested is greater in size when examining members of the same family than when comparing people across the population. To my knowledge, this is the only study that uses within family estimates to examine skin color stratification for contact with the criminal justice system.

Previous studies on skin color stratification and the criminal justice system have focused on how skin color is related to sentencing outcomes, with few studies focusing on police contact and arrest (Barlow and Barlow 2002; Pizzi, Blair and Judd 2005; Gyimah-Brempong and Price 2006;

Viglione, Hannon and DeFina 2011; Burch 2015; White 2014; King and Johnson 2016). However, the prior work on skin color and arrest were mixed with researchers using limited regional data or finding that demographic characteristics explained the effect of skin color. This chapter provides additional evidence for the relationship between skin color and arrest. In contrast to previous studies, I find that among a nationally-representative sample, net of observed human capital and illegal behavior, and among a sibling sample, net of unobserved family background characteristics, that having darker skin is significantly associated with being arrested.

While the research on skin color stratification and the criminal justice system have focused primarily on sentencing outcomes, this is a much later stage in the process. At the point of sentencing, an individual has already been arrested and convicted of a crime. Although the sentencing stage is important because judges have some discretion in the sentencing process, an arrest is a completely different context. At the point of sentencing, it has already been established, beyond a reasonable doubt, that the individual was involved in wrong doing. However, at the point of an arrest, law enforcement has just determined that there is a reasonable amount of suspicion, which is a much lower standard. My research provides additional evidence that skin color is consequential from the very beginning of the criminal justice process. As Kochel, Wilson, and Mastrofski astutely note, "Because of the interconnectedness of decisions made in the criminal justice system, even small racial differences that occur at many points in the criminal justice process will compound and produce profound effects further along in the system" (2011:498). Thus, my research suggests that the racial biases leading to skin color disparities in criminal sentencing did not begin there, but in fact started much earlier at the first

point of contact. Thus, it is important for future research to examine if and how complexion impacts criminal justice outcomes at multiple points in the process.

Furthermore, my findings also highlight the need to include measures of skin color, whenever possible, when conducting research on racial disparities in the criminal justice contact. While there is a large body of literature showing that there are significant racial inequalities, my study along with others, demonstrates that even within racial groups, the experiences of racial minorities vary. Although it is well-documented that minorities, in particular, African Americans, are disproportionately target and punished, however, my results together with previous work, show that those with darker skin face additional penalties. Thus, my findings suggest that both racial and skin color bias operate jointly in the criminal justice to disadvantage racial minorities and darker skinned minorities. Further research needs to be conducted on the multiple dimensions of discrimination work in the criminal justice process.

Additionally, in contrast to previous studies focusing on the experiences of Blacks and Latinos, my study extends these findings and shows that this relationship is consequential for Asian/Pacific Islanders, as well. This is an often-overlooked population in the literature and more work needs to be done to understand how skin color stratification operates in this population. Although the relationship between skin tone and adult arrest outcomes did not vary across race, due to the small sample sizes, it is likely that I did not have enough statistical power to uncover this relationship. Future research should consider how skin color stratification varies by race. Furthermore, previous work examining skin color bias and the criminal justice system primarily address the experiences of men. Although researchers have documented a gender gap with women being arrested and offending at lower rates than men, this gap has been closing (Kruttschnitt 2013). Furthermore, skin color bias may differ by gender and so we may see

different patterns by looking at the experiences of women in the criminal justice system. To do this, we need more and better data.

### Table 2.1. Skin Color by Race

National Sample	%				
	white	light brown	medium brown	dark brown	black
Asian/Pacific Islander	29.97	47.95	17.67	4.1	*
Black	*	9.58	28.19	30.07	31.28
Latino	49.08	35.17	12.2	2.49	*
Native American	39.02	24.39	24.39	*	*
Ν					1,897
Sibling Sample	%				
	white	light brown	medium brown	dark brown	black
Asian/Pacific Islander	30.34	48.31	17.98	*	*
Black	*	8.74	28.67	30.07	32.17
Latino	40.09	40.53	15.42	*	*
N					610

Source: Add Health

Note: Asterisks (\*) indicate cells containing fewer than ten cases.

Table 2.2. Descriptive Statistics	Panel A.	Panel B.
	National	Male
	Male	Sibling
	Sample	Sample
Contact with the criminal justice system (%)		
Has been arrested as an adult	23.04	24.92
Skin Tone Scale		
1 (white)-5 (black)	2.68	2.80
	1.37	1.35
Self-Identified Race (%)		
Asian/Pacific Islander	16.03	14.59
Black	43.86	46.89
Latino	38.17	37.21
American Indian	1.95	*
Interviewer race (%)		
White		68.52
Black/African American	29.99	29.34
Asian/Pacific Islander	*	*
American Indian/Alaskan Native	*	*
Other	2.53	*
Hispanic	8.54	6.89
Other controls		
Wave 1 Delinquency Scale	5.03	5.08
	5.96	6.53
Age	30.26	30.06
	1.711341	(1.81)
U.S. Born	82.92	86.77
Married	36.06	37.38
Employed	69.58	68.52
Years of Education	16.21	16.16
	3.03	3.27
Mother's Education	13.99	_
	2.71	_
Total N	1,897	610

#### Table 2.2. Descriptive Statistics

Source: Add Health

Note: Asterisks (\*) indicate cells containing fewer than ten cases.

		- N 110	N 112
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	(baseline)	(race and	(full
	,	delinquenc	model)
Skin Color	0.043*	0.046*	0.038*
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.014)
Wave 1 Delinquency		0.016***	0.015***
		(0.003)	(0.002)
Asian/Pacific Islander		-0.138***	-0.118**
		(0.037)	(0.044)
Latino		0.037	0.038
		(0.047)	(0.051)
Native American		0.285*	0.201*
		(0.111)	(0.082)
Age		. ,	× ,
e			
Nativity			0.050
			(0.045)
Marital Status			-0.055
			(0.029)
Educational Attainment			-0.018***
			(0.005)
Employment Status			-0.024
Employment Status			(0.027)
Mother's Education			0.027
Mouler's Education			-0.022
Interviewon Deep			(0.000)
Interviewer Kace			
Dlack			0.025
Black			-0.023
Asian			(0.041)
Asian			(0.048)
			(0.048)
Inative			0.003
0.1			(0.079)
Other			-0.056
			(0.039)
Hispanic			-0.076*
			(0.038)
2			
$\mathbf{R}^2$	0.018	0.085	0.137
N		1,897	

# Table 2.3. Results from OLS Regression, Adult Arrest Among the Male National Sample

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. Analyses are weighted to account for Add Health's complex design.

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01\*\*\*p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

	National Sample Sibling Sample		Sample
			(Family
			Fixed-
			Effects)
Skin Color	0.038*	0.043*	0.115*
	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.047)
Wave 1 Delinquency	0.015***	0.013***	0.006
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Asian/Pacific Islander	-0.118**	-0.12	0.479
	(0.044)	(0.065)	(0.714)
Latino	0.038	0.056	0.667
	(0.051)	(0.055)	(0.512)
Native American	0.201*	0.03	-0.449
	(0.082)	(0.166)	(0.847)
Nativity	0.050	0.040	-0.183
-	(0.045)	(0.054)	(0.246)
Age		0.002	-0.010
C		(0.010)	(0.022)
Marital Status	-0.055	-0.080*	-0.135*
	(0.029)	(0.037)	(0.064)
Educational Attainment	-0.018***	-0.004	0.009
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.009)
Employment Status	-0.024	-0.009	-0.001
1 5	(0.027)	(0.037)	(0.068)
Mother's Education	-0.022**		
	(0.006)		_
Interviewer Race			
Black	-0.025	-0.034	-0.004
	(0.041)	(0.039)	(0.099)
Asian	0.789***	-0.167	_
	(0.048)	(0.417)	_
Native	0.003	0.391	-1.059*
	(0.079)	(0.225)	(0.454)
Other	-0.056	-0.060	
	(0.039)	(0.150)	_
Hispanic	-0.076*	-0.160*	-0.026
	(0.038)	(0.069)	(0.211)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.137	0.112	0.163
N	1 897	6	10

## Table 2.4. Among the Male National and Sibling SamplePredicting an Adult Arrest using OLS Regression

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. Analyses are

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01\*\*\*p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

	Model 1 (baseline)	Model 2 (race and delinquency)	Model 3 (full model)
Skin Color	1.242*	1.279*	1.236**
	(0.114)	(0.121)	(0.099)
Wave 1 Delinquency		1.085***	1.085***
		(0.016)	(0.016)
Asian/Pacific Islander		0.319***	0.336***
		(0.088)	(0.104)
Latino		1.218	1.257
		(0.295)	(0.358)
Native American		3.726**	2.464*
		(1.793)	(0.990)
Nativity			1.547
			(0.598)
Marital Status			0.714
			(0.133)
Educational Attainment			0.908***
			(0.022)
Employment Status			0.890
			(0.138)
Mother's Education			0.882***
			(0.032)
Interviewer Race			
Black			0.891
			(0.210)
Asian			126.908***
			(40.755)
Native			0.928
			(0.504)
Other			0.642
			(0.260)
Hispanic			0.617
			(0.176)

## Appendix Table 2.1: Odd Ratios from Logistic Regression, Adu Arrest Among the Male National Sample

N 1,897 Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. Analyses are weighted to \*p<.05 \*\*p<.01\*\*\*p<.001 (two-tailed tests) Appendix Table 2.2: Complete List of Delinquency Scale Questions from In-Home Questionnaire Codebook Section 29

Possible responses for all questions:

- never 1 or 2 times 3 or 4 times 5 or more times
- 1. In the past 12 months, how often did you paint graffiti or signs on someone else's property or in a public place?
- 2. In the past 12 months, how often did you deliberately damage property that didn't belong to you?
- 3. In the past 12 months, how often did you lie to your parents or guardians about where you had been or whom you were with?
- 4. In the past 12 months, how often did you take something from a store without paying for it?
- 5. How often did you get into a serious physical fight?
- 6. How often did you hurt someone badly enough to need bandages or care from a doctor or nurse?
- 7. How often did you run away from home?
- 8. How often did you drive a car without its owner's permission?
- 9. In the past 12 months, how often did you steal something worth more than \$50?
- 10. How often did you go into a house or building to steal something?
- 11. How often did you use or threaten to use a weapon to get something from someone?
- 12. How often did you sell or marijuana or other drugs?
- 13. How often did you steal something worth less than \$50?
- 14. In the past 12 months, how often did you take part in a fight where a group of your friends was against another group?
- 15. How often were you loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place?

#### Chapter 3 College for Who? An Intersectional Analysis of Race, Gender, and Skin Color and Educational Attainment

#### **INTRODUCTION**

There is an extensive body of work on racial inequality in the United States. Scholars show that there are substantial disparities in education (Baker, Klasik, and Reardon 2016), wealth (Conley 2009; Oliver and Shapiro 2006), the labor market (Moss and Tilly 2003), and health(Wilson, Thorpe, and LaVeist 2017). In addition to examining disparities *between* racial groups, scholars have also analyzed the inequality that exists *within* racial groups. This research documents that there is sizable stratification by skin color across a variety of socioeconomic outcomes. For example, among black Americans, those with darker skin earn less, are more likely to be unemployed or in poverty, be segregated in low-prestige occupations, have less wealth, and poorer health (Bowman et al. 2004; Johnson et al. 1998; Krieger, Sidney, and Coakley 1998; Monk 2014, 2015; Seltzer and Smith 1991).

However, skin color is not only consequential for the lives of black Americans. Researchers also find that Latinos in the United States are similarly stratified by skin color too. For instance, Murguia and Telles (1996) found that lighter skinned Mexican Americans have higher educational attainment, net of family background. Furthermore, Arce et al. (1987) found that darker skinned Mexican Americans and those with a more indigenous appearance earned fewer years of education than those with Anglo features. Among Latinos, dark skin is also associated with earning less money income (Telles and Murguia 1990; Allen, Telles and Hunter 2000) and lower occupational prestige (Espino and Franz 2002). As these research findings note, the experiences of Blacks and Latinos vary by phenotype, information that would have been unseen if we only focused on inequality between racial groups.

The majority of research on skin color stratification focuses on the experiences of Blacks and to a lesser extent, Latinos. Although only a handful of studies have concentrated on the Asian Americans, the findings suggest that skin color may also be consequential for them. For example, darker-skinned East Asians and Filipinos have significantly lower educational attainment than their lighter skinned co-ethnics (Ryabov 2016). Qualitative research provides additional evidence that there is a preference for light skin in these communities (Jones 2013; Rondilla and Spickard 2007). While there are numerous studies on the socioeconomic outcomes of Asian Americans (Covarrubias and Liou 2014; Lee and Zhou 2015a), very little is known about how skin color may influence these outcomes.

Although research shows that complexion is consequential for Asian Americans, Latino and African Americans, skin color may matter differently for these groups both because of their relative status in society and because of the differential historical contexts under which colorism formed. Furthermore, scholars argue that skin color functions as kind of social capital, which may be more consequential for women because skin color is also linked to beauty standards (Hunter 2002). Few studies compare the significance of skin color across U.S. racial groups and by gender, and so it is unclear if and how skin inequality varies.

While the research on skin color stratification shows that there is substantial variation within groups, it is not clear to what extent previous research findings documenting the relationship between skin color and socioeconomic outcomes are due to class differences in family background that have accrued over time and how much skin tone currently shapes life chances independent of these accumulated disadvantages. As many note, discrimination is difficult to measure directly, and so researchers have to capture it indirectly. The most common approach is to analyze the association between skin color and the outcome of interest from

individuals in different families controlling for family background. To disaggregate family background, inequality researchers have long turned to comparing the outcomes of siblings (Conley and Glauber 2007; Conley et al. 2007). Recently, race scholars have turned to this method to examine how differences in siblings' skin color and race correspond to differences in their socioeconomic outcomes (Rangel 2014; Francis-Tan 2016; Marteleto and Dondero 2016; Ryabov 2016).

This study examines how the relationship between skin color and the educational attainment varies across racial groups and gender. Taking an intersectional approach will elucidate the extent to which complexion is consequential. Furthermore, this study leverages a subsample of siblings to separate out these two sources of skin color stratification, contemporary discrimination, and family background, to shed light on the pervasiveness of skin color stratification. Using recent data from the 1994-2008 National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent and Adult Health (Add Health) sample, I examine whether skin color is associated with the educational attainment of a nationally representative sample of racial and ethnic minorities. Further, I investigate if and how it varies among black, Latino and Asian Americans. Given that previous research suggests that having lighter skin color may be more consequential for women (Thompson and Keith 2001; Hill 2002; Hunter 2005), I will also examine if the association of skin color differs between men and women. Additionally, I exploit the sibling sample of Add Health to consider differences in family background and the extent to which complexion is consequential for respondents within the same family. Doing so will illuminate the prevalence of skin color stratification in the United States and the consequences for black, Latino and Asian Americans women and men.

#### Educational Attainment in the United States

In the United States, a college education bestows a variety of benefits with college graduates privileged on a variety of measures. They earn more money and are less likely to be unemployed (Hout 2011). Although college is not the "great equalizer," for disadvantaged populations, a bachelor's degree is a particularly important vehicle for social mobility (Venator and Reeves 2015). For example, researchers estimate that the earnings gap between college grads and those without a degree is higher than ever before (Rugabear 2017). By some estimates, two-thirds of all new jobs in the United States will require a college degree by 2020 (Zinshteyn 2016). Thus, a bachelor's degree will only continue to be a valuable credential to hold. However, there are substantial disparities in educational attainment in the United States.

There is an extensive body of work documenting the educational inequality that exists across racial groups. Recent data from the Current Population Survey reveals that Blacks and Latinos hold a disproportionately small number of college degrees in the United States (Ryan and Bauman 2016). For example, only 22.5 percent of Blacks and 15.5 percent of Latinos hold a bachelor's' degree of higher. In contrast, Asian Americans were more likely to hold a college degree than any other group, including whites, at 53.9 percent having at least a bachelor's. Because income is primarily tied to education, these disparities in education correspond to greater levels of economic inequality. In addition to the significant racial disparities in education, researchers note that there is also a growing gender divide in educational attainment. Historically, men have had higher educational attainment than women. However, since 2000 women in every single racial group have made significant gains over men, with the largest gap being between white men and white women (Ryan and Bauman 2016). Historically, men have had higher educational attainment than women in every single

racial group have made significant gains over men, with the largest gap being between white men and white women (Ryan and Bauman 2016).

#### Education and Skin Color Inequality

The explanations for these racial disparities are complex and well-studied, but previous research on education inequality has frequently examined differences *between* racial groups. However, research reveals that there is educational inequality *within* racial groups, as well. Skin color stratification is another source of educational disparities. Research on Blacks and Latinos shows that skin color is significantly associated with educational attainment, with individuals with darker skin having attained fewer years of education (Keith and Herring 1991; Hunter 2002; Monk 2014). In fact, scholars have found that between 1950 and 1980, there was as much educational inequality between blacks and whites as between darker-skinned and light-skinned blacks (Hughes and 1990). Research on Mexican American reveals similar patterns with scholars finding that net of family background, those with darker skin and a more indigenous appearance have lower educational attain than those with light skin and more Anglo features (Murguia and Telles 1996; Arce et al. 1987).

Considering the research on skin color stratification showing that lighter-skinned racial minorities complete more years of education, scholars have begun to theorize about the dynamics happening in schools which may be influencing this relationship. For instance, social psychology literature shows that people view lighter-skinned racial minorities as being more physically attractive and that people attribute more positive characteristics to individuals they consider beautiful (Hersch 2011; Wade 2005). Thus, Hunter conjectures that light-skinned students of color may benefit from a "halo" effect, that is teachers may attribute positive characteristics to

them and treat them more favorable than their darker-skinned counterparts (2016). Accordingly, if lighter-skinned students of color are seen as being smart, their academic performance may raise because of teacher expectations. In contrast, darker-skinned students off color may be seen more negatively and possibly as troublemakers. Quantitative research shows that darker-skinned Black youth experienced harsher discipline in school and that this experience was primarily was from girls (Hannon, DeFina and Bruch 2013).

Finally, Hunter contends that another way that skin color stratification operates is through parent-teacher interactions (2016). Lighter-skinned parents of color may also benefit from the "halo" effect where their advocacy on behalf of their children is received more positively than a darker-skinned parent of color (Hunter 2016). Qualitative research on parent-teacher interactions shows that both race and class play a role in how parental advocacy is received by teachers and administrators (Lareau and McNamara Horvat 1999). Lareau and McNamara Horvat argue that race is a type of cultural capital that parents draw on in these kinds cultural capital that white parents can rely on (1999). Similarly, it can be argued that skin color may also be a form of cultural capital that lighter-skinned parents of color may have, as well.

#### Skin Color as Capital

Although extensive research on both Blacks and Latinos show that having darker skin is associated with lower educational attainment, and one study showing a similar pattern for East Asians and Latinos, it is possible that skin color operates at varying levels of import across racial groups and by gender. Both Hunter (2005) and Monk (2016) conceptualize skin color as a form of capital, which has different values depending on the context. Hunter also maintains that skin color is more significant for women, then it is for men because skin color is firmly embedded in

Euro-centric beauty standards (2005). Just as it the case that skin color may be differently significant by gender, I build off this line of theorizing and argue that skin color may have a different weight depending on the racial identity of the individual. In the United States, Kim claims that Asian Americans have been positioned as being inferior to whites, but more foreign and superior to Blacks (1999). Thus, although skin color stratification may exist for Asian Americans, the consequences of this stratification may different than for Black Americans, especially considering the types of stereotypes that exists about their academic achievement.

#### Academic Stereotypes of Racial Groups

There are clear stereotypes about who are high academic achievers in schools in the general United States population, and among teachers, school administrators and students of different racial groups. Asian Americans are frequently seen as having superior math skills as compared to other groups (Shah 2012). Evidence suggests that this stereotype even boosts performance and advantages students when primed before a quantitative test (Shih, Pittinsky, and Ambady 1999). This stereotype is so pervasive that Asian Americans may experience "stereotype promise" and be placed into honors and Advanced Placement tracks by teachers and school administrators due to their perceived superior ability (Lee and Zhou 2015). On the other hand, there seem to be widespread ideas about which racial groups are low academic performers. African American students are stereotyped to have lower levels of intellectual abilities and competence and face the threat of confirming these negatives stereotypes when presented with a test that measures ability (Steele and Aronson 1995). It is not just students who are aware of and utilize these stereotypes but also teachers and administrators (Lee and Zhou 2015b; Lewis 2003; Shah 2012).

#### Analyzing Across Race, Gender and Skin Color

Very few studies have compared the relationship between skin color and educational attainment across race and gender (Ryabov 2015). Although researchers argue about the relative important of race and skin color regarding the future of the racial hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich 2009), skin color has always an important source of stratification in the United States, and it will likely continue to be in the future. Thus, as inequality researchers, it crucial to understand how other aspects of ones identify intersection with skin color to create unequal outcomes. This study fills this gap.

#### DATA AND METHODS

For this chapter, I draw upon restricted-use data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), a nationally representative sample of adolescents in grades 7-12 during the 1994-1995 school year (Wave 1). Add Health is the only data that can be used for these analyses because they comprise of a large national sample, a sibling sample, and a measure of skin color. Following the original respondents from adolescence into adulthood, Add Health has completed four in-person survey interviews. Add Health selected participants through a two-stage stratified sampling design of schools. Students in selected schools were stratified by grade and gender, and a nationally, representative probability sample of nearly 19,000 adolescents were selected for the longitudinal in-home component of the study. Following the original respondents from adolescence into adulthood, Add Health has completed four in-person survey interviews. The key measures from this study come from the Wave 4 adult interviews (2008). I also include measures of respondents' self-reported race and interviewer perceived skin

color from the Wave 3 young adult interviews (2001-2002). I draw on two subsamples to examine the relationship between skin color and educational attainment. The first subsample includes male and female respondents who identified as Asian American/Pacific Islander, Black, Latino and Native American in wave 3 and for whom there is non-missing data for all variables in this analysis. Whereas this larger subsample is from the in-home sample (N=4,310), the sibling subsample is from the Add Health sibling pair data. In wave 1, Add Health asked respondents if they lived with a sibling, and siblings were subsequently recruited into the sample. Unlike the larger sample of Add Health, the sibling subsample is not a probability sample (Chantala 2001). In this second subsample of siblings, I include twins, full siblings, and half-siblings who had non-missing information for all relevant study variables (N=1, 351). I used list wise deletion to deal with missing data and account for the complex design features of the Add Health sampling structure by using the SVY command in Stata version 14.

In this study, I compare the relationship between skin color and educational attainment both at the population-level and within-families. I conduct the population-level analyses using Add Health's nationally representative sample of Asian American, Black, Latino, and Native American men and women. Furthermore, I assess the relationship between education and skin color within families by analyzing Add Health's subsample of siblings with family fixed-effects. These within-family estimates allow me to compare siblings while holding family environment constant. In each of my models, I control for the race of the interviewer, mother's education, nativity, marital status, and age. Although the outcome of interest is a dichotomous variable for having earned a college a degree, I employ a linear probability model for ease of interpretation<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> As Angrist (2001) notes a linear probability model should produce similar estimates to a logit model and robustness checks confirm that the logistic model gives similar results.

#### Dependent and Independent Variables

Educational attainment is a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent has graduated from college (0=no, 1=yes), a measured during the wave 4 in-home survey when respondents were between the ages of 24-32. My primary independent variable is interviewerreported skin color, as recorded at the end of the wave 3 survey when respondents were between the ages of 18-26. The categories for skin color included "black," "dark brown," "medium brown," "light brown," and "white." I coded this continuous variable as a scale with a range from 1 (white) to 5 (black). To ensure that my skin color findings are not driven by differences across race groups, I include *self-reported race* in wave 3 in my analyses. The categories for race included "black or African American," "American Indian or Native American," "White," and "Asian or Pacific Islander." If respondents gave more than one response to this question, I used the category that they indicated best described their racial background, which Add Health asked in a subsequent question. Also, respondents were asked a separate question about their Hispanic or Latino origin. I coded respondents as Latino if they responded with a "yes" to that question, regardless of the race they put down. I excluded respondents who identified White as their primary or "best" from my analyses<sup>4</sup> Mother's educational attainment is a continuous variable capturing the number of years of completed education, as measured in wave 1. Marital status is a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent is married (0=no, 1=yes).

#### Control Variables

Wave 3 interviewer race is an important control because prior research shows that it may influence how interviewers perceive and code skin color (Hill 2002; Hannon and DeFina 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Among White men in the full sample, 96.29 % were coded as having white skin, 3.06% light brown skin, 0.42% as medium brown skin, 0.13% as dark brown, and 0.10% as black skin. There was not enough variation in skin tone for this group to conduct the analysis with Add Health.

Possible races included ("white," "African American," "Asian/Pacific Islander," "American Indian/Alaska Native," or "other") and whether the interviewer identified as Hispanic. I also account for the respondent's age at wave 4 and whether they were born in the United States (0=no, 1=yes).

#### RESULTS

Table 3.1 shows that the national sample and the sibling sample are comparable across most measures. The one exception is that the percentage of respondents with at least a college degree among the sibling sample is slightly lower. For example, about 27 percent of men across the national sample and almost 22 percent of brothers have earned at least a college degree. Among the national sample of women, about 35 percent have at least a bachelor's degree, while only 28 percent of sisters have earned the same.

Table 3.2 presents ordinary least squares regression models assessing the relationship between skin color and educational attainment. I find that among the Black, Latino, Asian Pacific Islander, and Native American respondents, men with darker skin were significantly less likely to have earned a college degree by the wave 4 interview. For men, this analysis shows that an increase in skin color is related to a decrease the likelihood of having attained a bachelor's degree. For women, although the coefficient is negative (and in the expected direction) it is not statistically significant. In both the male and female models, the likelihood of having a college degree varies across race. For men, Latinos and Native Americans are less likely to have a bachelor's degree by .103 and .183 percentage points, respectively. In contrast, Asian/Pacific Islander men are more likely than other racial groups to have earned a college degree, by .208 percentage points. Among women, the coefficients for Latinas and Native Americans is negative,

as they are for men, but they are not statistically significant. However, among Asia/Pacific Islander women, they are significantly more likely to have earned a college degree by .185 percentage points.

Table 3.3 builds on this by examining whether the association between skin color and educational attainment varies by race. Among men, there is not a significant difference across racial groups. The direction of the coefficients for the interaction effects for Asian/Pacific Islanders and Latinos are negative; however, it is positive for Native Americans. In contrast, among women, the relationships between skin color having a college degree does vary across race. In this model, the main effect for race shows that Asian/Pacific Islander women are more likely to have a bachelor's degree than any other racial group, indicating that Black women do not exhibit a skin color gradient. Although the main effect of skin color is not significant, the interaction between race and skin color show that darker-skinned Asian/Pacific Islander women are less likely to have earned a college degree by .144 percentage points for every increase in skin tone. The coefficients for the skin color interaction of Latinos and Native Americans are also negative, but they are not significant. Table 3.4 shows the results for men and brothers. Although in the nationally-representative sample the model reveals that men with darker skin are more likely to have earned a college degree, the within-family show that family background helps to explain the findings of the full sample. Table 3.5, I examine women and sister. The between family estimates for sisters is statistically significant, with darker-skinned sisters having a decreased probability of earning a college degree by .043 percentage points. However, the within-family estimate with family fixed effects shows that these family characteristics account for much of this relationship.

Table 3.6 shows how the association between skin color and educational attainment varies across racial groups for women and sisters. Like the national sample, the between family analysis shows that although Asian/Pacific Islander women have a significantly higher likelihood of having earned a bachelor's degree, darker-skinned women from the same racial group are also significantly less likely to have a college education by .183 percentage points. Even after including the family fixed effects, the relationship remains and increases in magnitude. The coefficient in the within-family model shows that among Asian/Pacific Islanders, dark-skinned sisters are significantly less likely have obtained a college degree by .220 percentage points. Although not shown here, the results for men were not statistically significant, meaning that there were no significant differences by race.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The goal of this study is to consider the role that skin color plays in educational attainment in the United States and how this may vary across men and women and Black, Latino, and Asian Americans. Furthermore, I attempt to disentangle two sources of skin color stratification: contemporary discrimination and family background. In doing so, I take an intersectional look at how the typically deleterious consequences of skin color may vary by race and gender and deepen our understanding of skin color inequality, using nationally representative sample and a subsample of siblings. I find that skin color is significantly associated with attaining a college degree among the nationally representative sample of men. That is among Black, Latino, Asian and Native American men, those with darker skin are significantly less likely to have earned a college degree. Among the sibling sample, I find that between families, skin is also a significant predictor of earning a bachelor's degree. However, after including

family fixed-effects and considering family background, we find that the relationship between complexion and educational attainment is no significant. However, among women, I find that skin color is only significantly associated with Asian American women. If we look only at the sibling sample, net of family-fixed effects and family background, we find the same relationship. That is among Asian American sisters, those with darker skin are significantly less likely to have earned a college degree.

These findings make numerous contributions to the literature on skin color stratification and educational inequality. Very few studies consider skin color in research on educational inequality, despite evidence showing the contrary. This paper shows that complexion is a significant predictor of attaining a college degree for men, but not for all women. These findings contrast with previous studies, which used older data. Because women have only started to outpace men in educational attainment in the last 15 years, it is possible that these larger forces have attenuated this relationship. Future studies should strive to understand why skin color may be more consequential for men, considering the advantages women have made over men regarding earning a college degree.

Furthermore, my study also takes an intersectional approach to examining the relationship between skin and earning a college degree and deepens our understanding of skin color stratification. Without this method, my finding that skin color is significant for Asian American women would have been hidden. Future research should spend more time comparing and contrasting the relationship between skin color and education and consider theorizing about why the relationship would vary by race and gender.

Table 3.1	Descriptive	Statistics
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	Panel A. National Male Sample	Panel B. Brothers Sample	Panel C. National Female Sample	Panel D. Sisters Sample
Educational Attainment (%)				
Earned at least a college degree	27.16	21.79	35.38	28.25
Skin Tone Scale				
1 (white)-5 (black)	2.69	2.86	2.70	2.77
	(1.37)	(1.34)	(1.30)	(1.33)
Self-Identified Race (%)				
Asian/Pacific Islander	15.69	14.1	13.06	13.16
Black	44.6	47.92	51.94	53.32
Latino	37.71	35.74	32.92	30.89
American Indian	2.01	2.24	2.07	2.63
Interviewer race (%)				
White	66.98	67.95	63.69	64.27
Black/African American	30.04	29.17	32.59	32.83
Asian/Pacific Islander	*	*	*	*
American Indian/Alaskan Native	*	*	1.35	*
Other	2.52	1.76	2.03	1.52
Hispanic	165	7.05	7.52	8.73
Other controls				
Age	30.27	30.08	30.10	30.05
	(1.71)	(1.77)	(1.67)	(1.69)
U.S. Born	83.33	86.38	86.22	85.87
Marital Status	35.91	37.66	37.62	39.75
Wave 1 Resident Mother's Education	13.97	13.67	13.79	13.59
	2.71	(2.64)	(2.77)	(2.77)
Total N	1,944	624	2,366	722

Source: Add Health

Note: Asterisks (\*) indicate cells containing fewer than ten cases.

Table 3.2: Results from OLS Regression, Educational
Attainment: Earned at Least a College Degree National
Sample

	Men	Women
Skin Color	-0.052***	-0.014
	(0.015)	(0.016)
Race		
Latino	-0.103*	-0.070
	(0.047)	(0.053)
Asian	0.208**	0.185**
	(0.075)	(0.069)
Native American	-0.183***	-0.109
	(0.046)	(0.103)
Other Controls		
Age	0.003	-0.007
	(0.008)	(0.010)
U.S. Born	-0.094	-0.009
	(0.052)	(0.043)
Marital Status	-0.006	-0.008
	(0.025)	(0.030)
Wave 1 Resident		
Mother's Education	0.026***	0.044***
	(0.006)	(0.005)
Interviewer Race		
Black	0.040	0.006
	(0.040)	(0.041)
Asian	-0.446***	-0.533***
	(0.065)	(0.075)
Native	-0.080	-0.091
	(0.119)	(0.118)
Other	-0.145	-0.092
	(0.101)	(0.132)
Hispanic	-0.056	-0.040
	(0.046)	(0.065)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.13	0.108
Ν	1,944	2,366
Note: Standard errors are in parenthes	es. Analyses are	

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. Analyses are weighted to account for Add Health's complex design. \*p<.05 \*\*p<.01\*\*\*p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

	Women
Skin Color	0.010
	(0.022)
Race	
Latino	0.058
	(0.105)
Asian	0.493**
	(0.154)
Native American	-0.024
	(0.183)
Race x Skin Color	
Latino	-0.049
	(0.033)
Asian	-0.144*
	(0.067)
Native American	-0.024
	(0.067)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.113
Ν	2,366
Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.	Analyses are

## Table 3.3: Results from OLS Regression, Educational Attainment: Earned at Least a College Degree National Sample, Women, Race and Skin Color Interactions

weighted to account for Add Health's complex design. \*p<.05 \*\*p<.01\*\*\*p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

## Table 3.4: Results from OLS Regression, Educational Attainment:Earned At Least a College Degree Men

	National Sample	Sibling Sample	
			Family Fixed-
			Effects
Skin Color	-0.052***	-0.062***	-0.009
	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.030)
Race			
Latino	-0.103*	-0.165**	0.355
	(0.047)	(0.053)	(0.350)
Asian	0.208**	0.079	0.642
	(0.075)	(0.063)	(0.483)
Native American	-0.183***	-0.178	0.625
	(0.046)	(0.120)	(0.578)
Other Controls			
Age	0.003	0.007	0.017
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.014)
Marital Status	-0.094	-0.002	0.138***
	(0.052)	(0.034)	(0.040)
Wave 1 Resident			
Mother's Education	-0.006	0.031***	_
	(0.025)	(0.006)	_
U.S. Born	0.026***	0.058	0.029
	(0.006)	(0.051)	(0.173)
Interviewer Race			
Black	0.040	-0.021	-0.116
	(0.040)	(0.037)	(0.067)
Asian	-0.446***	-0.445	—
	(0.065)	(0.396)	—
Native	-0.080	-0.110	0.009
	(0.119)	(0.174)	(0.318)
Other	-0.145	-0.204	—
	(0.101)	(0.122)	—
Hispanic	-0.056	0.065	0.208
	(0.046)	(0.065)	(0.131)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.13	0.115	0.91
N	1,944	624	708

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. Analyses are weighted to account for Add Health's complex design.

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01\*\*\*p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

	National	Sibling Sample	
	Sample		
			Family Fixed-
			Effects
Skin Color	-0.014	-0.043*	-0.012
	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.026)
Race			
Latino	-0.070	-0.156**	-0.067
	(0.053)	(0.054)	(0.274)
Asian	0.185**	0.030	0.000
	(0.069)	(0.069)	(.)
Native American	-0.109	-0.302**	-0.138
	(0.103)	(0.105)	(0.206)
Other Controls			
Age	-0.007	-0.003	-0.004
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.012)
Marital Status	-0.009	0.069	0.010
	(0.043)	(0.055)	(0.040)
Wave 1 Resident			
Mother's Education	-0.008	-0.011	
	(0.030)	(0.034)	
U.S. Born	0.044***	0.039***	-0.192
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.117)
Interviewer Race			
Black	0.006	0.007	0.185**
	(0.041)	(0.036)	(0.061)
Asian	-0.533***	-0.325	_
	(0.075)	(0.254)	
Native	-0.091	0.037	-0.058
	(0.118)	(0.166)	(0.286)
Other	-0.092	-0.203	-0.418
	(0.132)	(0.137)	(0.285)
Hispanic	-0.040	-0.052	-0.069
	(0.065)	(0.063)	(0.120)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.108	0.108	0.89
N	2,366	722	813

### Table 3.5: Results from OLS Regression, College Degree Women

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. Analyses are weighted to account for Add Health's complex design.

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01\*\*\*p<.001 (two-tailed tests)
	National	Sibling Sample	
	Sample		
			Family Fixed-
			Effects
Skin Color	0.010	-0.022	0.032
	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.034)
Race			
Latino	0.058	-0.105	0.175
	(0.105)	(0.107)	(0.380)
Asian	0.493**	0.395**	0.000
	(0.154)	(0.136)	(.)
Native American	-0.024	-0.126	0.450
	(0.183)	(0.253)	(0.671)
Race x Skin Color			
Latino	-0.049	-0.009	-0.027
	(0.033)	(0.044)	(0.062)
Asian	-0.144*	-0.183**	-0.220**
	(0.067)	(0.058)	(0.075)
Native American	-0.024	-0.065	-0.146
	(0.067)	(0.099)	(0.214)
$R^2$	0.113	0.108	0.890
N	2,366	722	813

# Table 3.6: Results from OLS Regression, Race and Skin Color InteractionsEffects for College Degree, Women

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. Analyses are weighted to account for Add Health's complex design.

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01\*\*\*p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

#### Chapter 4

Differences in Household Income by Skin Color Across the U.S. And Within the Family

#### INTRODUCTION

The United States is one of the most economically unequal countries in the developed world. Scholars agree that not only has income inequality increased since the 1970s, but that this country is the most economically unequal it has even been, for at least the past 40 years (Pew Research Center 2016; McCall and Percheski 2010). In addition, there continue to be large dispraise by race, as well. Recent research from reveals that the gap between White and Black Americans is greater now than in the past 40 years at 26.7%. This breaks down into an average wage difference of \$6.73 per hour (Pew Research Center 2016). Like these wage differentials, there also persists significant racial disparities in other labor market outcomes. For example, studies show that between Whites and Black American men with similar backgrounds, African-Americans spend more time looking for work, have less stable employment and gain less work experience (Tomaskovic-Devey, Thomas, and Johnson 2005).

In addition to racial disparities in labor market outcomes, research also finds that differences exist across skin color. This research documents that there is sizable stratification by skin color across a variety of socioeconomic outcomes. For example, among black Americans, those with darker skin earn less, are more likely to be unemployed or in poverty, be segregated in low-prestige occupations, and have less wealth (Johnson, Farrell, and Stoloff 1998; Harburg et al. 1978; Seltzer and Smith 1991; Krieger, Sidney, and Coakley 1998; Bowman, Muhammad, and Ifatunji 2004; Monk 2014).

Scholars agree that discrimination plays a significant role in perpetuating racial inequality in the labor market (Pager and Shepherd 2008). Because measuring discrimination is difficult,

researchers are left to capture it indirectly. Thus, this strategy involves examining differences across racial groups using statistical analyses, while controlling for contributing influences related to the outcome of interest, and then attributing the remaining racial gap in the outcome to discrimination. However, one of the limitations of this approach is that it it hard to disaggregate discrimination from unobserved family background characteristics. Although studies show that individuals from different racial groups that have similar observed human capital have significantly different employment outcomes and economic trajectories, it can be argued that there are unobserved characteristics that are not captured in these analyses, which may also be affecting these racial disparities.

Scholars have long used studies of siblings to better account for family background. For example, researchers have analyzed sibling differences in regards to health, poverty, neighborhoods, birth order and weight (Aaronson 1998; Conley and Bennett 2000; Edmonds 2006; Haas 2006; Hao and Matsueda 2006; Conley et al., 2007; Fletcher 2010; Warren et al. 2012). Although we know that siblings vary in many ways, they also differ in phenotype in particular skin color. Very rarely do studies examine sibling differences in skin color. There are a handful of studies, in recognition of that fact, studies have begun to look at how skin color differences among siblings also impact their socioeconomic outcomes (Francis-Tan2016; Ryaboy 2016; Marteleto and Dondero 2016).

Using recent data from the 1994-2008 National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent and Adult Health (Add Health) sample, I analyze both a nationally-representative sample and a sibling sample to examine three research objectives. My first objective is to investigate how skin color is associated with household income among racial minorities in the United States. My second objective is to examine whether within-family economic inequality is related to

differences in skin color. My third goal is to explore whether skin color disparities in household income vary by gender, given that previous research suggests that having lighter skin color may be more consequential for women (Thompson and Keith 2001; Hill 2002; Hunter 2005).

This study deepens our knowledge of stratification in the United States in several key ways. First, much of the research on skin color inequality emphasizes the experience of Black Americans, and to a smaller degree Latinos. This chapter contributes to the literature by examining the relationship between skin color, and household income across Black, Latino, and Asian Americans, and documents the extent to which complexion is consequential for these groups. Second, this chapter adds to the inequality literature. Previous research has focused on sibling differences in studying intergenerational inequities. However, this chapter considers the fact that siblings also vary in phenotype, specifically skin color and examines how this affects the economic outcomes of members of the same family. Very few studies from the skin color stratification literature use this sibling approach to quantitatively study skin color inequality. Finally, in this paper, I compare a nationally-representative sample with a sibling sample from the same dataset, which allows me to account for unobserved human capital differences between families and examine skin color differences for members of the same family of origin. In doing so, I will illuminate the prevalence of skin color stratification in the United States and the consequences for Black, Latino and Asian Americans women and men.

#### Race and Household Income

In addition to a strong and widening class divide in income, there are also persistent and considerable racial disparities in income. For example, in 2014, the median adjusted income for households for Whites was \$71,300, but for African Americans, it was only \$43,300 (Pew 2016).

Even if you compare across similar levels of education, for instance among those with a college education, Whites still outpace Blacks because there are also racial disparities in education attainment. Thus, in looking at households headed by a college-educated adult, Whites make \$106,600 compared to Blacks who only earn \$82,300.

#### Skin Color Inequality and Economic Outcomes

In addition to racial disparities in labor market outcomes, research also finds that differences exist across skin color. This research documents that there is sizable stratification by skin color across a variety of socioeconomic outcomes. For example, among black Americans, those with darker skin earn less, are more likely to be unemployed or in poverty, be segregated in low-prestige occupations, and have less wealth (Johnson, Farrell, and Stoloff 1998; Harburg et al. 1978; Seltzer and Smith 1991; Krieger, Sidney, and Coakley 1998; Bowman, Muhammad, and Ifatunji 2004; Monk 2014).

However, skin color is not only consequential for the lives of black Americans. Researchers also find that skin color stratifies Latinos, as well. For instance, among Latinos dark skin is also associated with earning less money income (Telles and Murguia 1990; Allen, Telles and Hunter 2000) and lower occupational prestige (Espino and Franz 2002). As these research findings note, the experiences of Blacks and Latinos vary by phenotype. Most of the research on skin color stratification focuses on the experiences of Blacks and to a lesser extent, Latinos. Although only a handful of studies have focused on Asian Americans, the findings suggest that skin color may also be consequential for them. For example, darker-skinned East Asians and Filipinos have significantly lower educational attainment than their lighter skinned co-ethnics (Ryabov 2016). However, a significant predictor of income is education. While there are

numerous studies on the socioeconomic outcomes of Asian Americans (Covarrubias and Liou 2014; Lee and Zhou 2015), scholars know very little about how skin color may influence these outcomes. However, because skin color affects education, as noted in my previous chapter and prior research, skin color may also operate indirectly through education. Thus, although no study has been conducted on this topic, I hypothesize that skin color matters for income for Asians too.

#### Skin Color as Capital

Although research on Blacks and to a lesser extent Latinos show that having darker skin is associated with lower earnings, it is unclear how or if this relationship varies across racial groups. It is likely that skin color has varying levels of import across racial groups and by gender. Scholars conceptualize skin color as a form of capital, which has different values depending on the context (Hunter 2005; Hordge-Freeman 2015; Monk 2016). Monk argues that skin color is a form of bodily capital that fluctuates in meaning and importance depending on the setting (2016). Hunter also maintains that skin color as capital is more important for women than for men because skin color is firmly embedded in Euro-centric beauty standards, with lighter-skinned women considered more attractive (2005). Further, she argues that there is a "beauty queue," which is a "rank ordering of women from lightest to darkest, where the lightest get the most perks and rewards...and the darkest women get the least" (Hunter 2005:69).

In the United States, Kim argues that Asian Americans are seen as being inferior to whites, but more foreign and superior to Blacks (1999). Thus, although skin color stratification is significant for Asian Americans, the consequences of this stratification may different than for Black Americans, especially because different stereotypes exist about these groups. Thus, I argue that skin color may have a different weight depending on the racial identity of the individual.

While the research on skin color stratification shows that there is substantial inequality within groups, it is not clear to what extent previous research findings documenting the relationship between skin color and socioeconomic outcomes are due to class differences in family background that have accrued over time and how much skin tone currently shapes life chances independent of these accumulated disadvantages. As many note, discrimination is difficult to measure directly, and so researchers must indirectly capture it. The most common approach is to analyze the association between skin color and the outcome of interest from individuals in different families controlling for family background. To disaggregate family background, inequality researchers have turned to comparing the outcomes of siblings (Conley and Glauber 2007; Conley, Pfeiffer, and Velez 2007). Recently, race scholars have turned to this method to examine how differences in siblings' skin color and race correspond to differences in their socioeconomic outcomes (Rangel 2014; Francis-Tan 2016; Marteleto and Dondero 2016; Ryabov 2016).

#### DATA AND METHODS

For this chapter, I draw upon restricted-use data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), a nationally representative sample of adolescents in grades 7-12 during the 1994-1995 school year (Wave 1). Add Health is the only data that can be used for these analyses because they comprise of a large national sample, a sibling sample, and a measure of skin color. Following the original respondents from adolescence into adulthood, Add Health has completed four in-person survey interviews. Add Health selected participants through schools. Then, students in each school were stratified by grade and gender, and a nationally, representative probability sample of almost 19,000 adolescents were selected for the longitudinal

in-home component of the study. Following the original respondents from adolescence into adulthood, Add Health has completed four in-person survey interviews. The key measures from this study come from the Wave 4 adult interviews (2008). I also include measures of respondents' self-reported race and interviewer perceived skin color from the Wave 3 young adult interviews (2001-2002). I draw on two subsamples to examine the relationship between skin color and per capita household income. The first subsample includes male and female respondents who identified as Asian American/Pacific Islander, Black, Latino and Native American in wave 3 and for whom there is non-missing data for all variables in this analysis. Whereas this larger subsample is from the in-home sample (N=3, 948), the sibling subsample is from the Add Health sibling pair data. In wave 1, Add Health asked respondents if they lived with a sibling, and siblings were subsequently recruited into the sample. Unlike the larger sample of Add Health, the sibling subsample is not a probability sample (Chantala 2001). In this second subsample of siblings, I include twins, full siblings, and half-siblings who had non-missing information for all relevant study variables (N=1, 095). I used list wise deletion to deal with missing data and account for the complex design features of the Add Health sampling structure by using the SVY command in Stata version 14.

In this study, I compare the relationship between skin color and household income (as measured in wave 4) at both the population-level and within-families using OLS. I conduct the population-level analyses using Add Health's nationally representative sample of Asian American, Black, Latino, and Native American men and women. Furthermore, I assess the relationship between household income and skin color within families by analyzing Add Health's subsample of siblings with family fixed-effects. These within-family estimates allow me to

compare siblings while holding family environment constant. In each of my models, I control for the race of the interviewer, mother's education, nativity, marital status, and age.

#### Dependent and Independent Variables

My dependent variable is *adjusted household income*, a continuous measure capturing all sources of income from the respondent and everyone in their household, which then divide by the square-root of the number of household member to account for household size. Like other stratification researchers, I then calculate the log household income. My primary independent variable is *interviewer-reported skin color*, as recorded at the end of the wave 3 survey when respondents were between the ages of 18-26. The categories for skin color included "black," "dark brown," "medium brown," "light brown," and "white". I coded this continuous variable from 1 (*white*) to 5 (*black*). To ensure that my skin color findings are not driven by differences across race groups, I include *self-reported race* in wave 3 in my analyses. The categories for race included "black or African American," "American Indian or Native American," "White," and "Asian or Pacific Islander." If respondents gave more than one response to this question, I used the category that they indicated best described their racial background, which Add Health asked in a subsequent question. Besides, respondents were asked a separate question about their Hispanic or Latino origin. I coded respondents as Latino if they responded with a "yes" to that question, regardless of the race they put down. I excluded respondents who identified White as their primary or "best" from my analyses. Mother's educational attainment is a continuous variable of the years of completed education, as measured in wave 1. Educational attainment is a continuous variable capturing the respondents completed years of education ranging from 8-26 years. I also included binary variables (0=no, 1=yes) for employment status, marital status, and

*nativity* indicating whether the respondent is currently working for pay at least 10 hours a week, is married, or was born in the United States.

#### Control Variables

Wave 3 interviewer race is an important control because prior research shows that it may influence how interviewers perceive and code skin color (Hill 2002; Hannon and DeFina 2014). Possible races included ("white," "African American," "Asian/Pacific Islander," "American Indian/Alaska Native," or "other") and whether the interviewer identified as Hispanic. I also account for the respondent's age at wave 4 and whether they were born in the United States (0=no, 1=yes).

#### RESULTS

Table 4.1 provides descriptive statistics for the full national sample and the sibling sample broken down by gender. It also shows descriptive statistics for the sibling sample. Both the full national sample and the sibling sample are comparable across most measures. For example, the dependent variable, household income is similar, as well as the average skin color and the racial composition of the respondents. Thus, analyses comparing the relationship between skin color and household income across these samples is warranted.

I present findings from OLS regression analyses and present models for the national sample and women and men separately, to examine the net effects of skin color on household income by gender. The results from table 4.2 show that skin color has significant effects on racial minorities' household incomes. In the model with the full national sample, I find that respondents with darker skin have lower household income, even after controlling for the individual's

educational attainment, marital status, employment status and mother's educational attainment. The models broken down by gender show that the association is strongest for men. In chapter 3, I show that, in line with previous research, skin color and educational attainment are significantly related. Thus, the fact that skin color and household income are significantly associated even after accounting for educational attainment shows that skin color has both a direct influence and an indirect influence through education, which is in line with previous research (Monk 2014). Additionally, the finding that the relationship between skin color and income persist after accounting for mother's educational attainment provides additional support that this relationship is not just relic of the past, but due to contemporary discrimination by skin color.

In table 4.3, I further disaggregate between the two processes contributing to skin color stratification by comparing the association between skin color and household income among the national sample and within a sibling sample. As shown in the previous table, darker skinned individuals have lower household incomes, and the same is true when looking at both between families and within families. In looking at the sibling models with fixed effects, it is clear that it is not just differences in family background which affect household income. Family background is unable to explain sibling differences in household income in adulthood fully.

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The goal of this study was to consider how skin color is related to in household income in the United States and how this may vary across men and women and black, Latino, and Asian Americans. Furthermore, I attempt to extricate between two sources of skin color stratification: contemporary discrimination and family background. In doing so, I shed light on the detrimental consequences of skin color, using nationally representative sample and a subsample of siblings. I find that skin color is significantly associated with household income among both men and women in the nationally representative sample. That is among Black, Latino, Asian and Native Americans, those with darker skin have a significantly lower household income than their lighter-skinned counterparts. Additionally, I find that the relationship varies across gender, with the association being larger for men than for women. Among the sibling sample, I find that between families, skin color is a significant predictor of one's household income. However, after including family fixed-effects and considering family background, I find that the relationship between complexion and household income remains statistically significant and in fact, the magnitude of the relationship is larger. Unlike in the larger nationally-representative sample, I do not find that there are gender differences.

These findings make numerous contributions to the literature on skin color stratification and educational inequality. Very few studies consider skin color in research on income inequality, despite evidence showing the contrary. This paper shows that complexion is a significant predictor of household income for both men and women, albeit the relationship is stronger among men. Future studies should strive to understand why skin color may be more consequential for men. Furthermore, my research also improves upon previous studies on wage differentials by leveraging the sibling sample. While previous studies attribute the racial gap in outcomes to discrimination, my study can examine discrimination more carefully by looking at siblings, who have a more similar family background than strangers. Future research should spend more time comparing the relationship between skin color and household income and consider theorizing about why the relationship would vary by race and gender.

	Panel A. Full National Sample	Panel B. National Male Sample	Panel C. National Female Sample	Panel D. Sibling Sample
Household Income (%)				
Adjusted Household income	10.40	10.52	10.30	10.24
	(0.90)	(0.83)	(0.94)	(0.95)
Skin Color Scale				
1 (white)-5 (black)	2.68	2.64	2.70	2.80
	(1.33)	(1.37)	(1.31)	(1.34)
Self-Identified Race (%)				
Asian/Pacific Islander	14.53	16.13	13.24	13.06
Black	48.07	43.4	51.84	51.87
Latino	35.34	38.5	32.79	33.79
American Indian	2.06	1.97	2.13	1.28
Interviewer race (%)				
White	65.49	67.06	64.22	66.3
Black/African American	31.25	30.24	32.06	31.51
Asian/Pacific Islander	*	*	*	*
American Indian/Alaskan Native	0.88	*	1.36	*
Other	2.18	2.42	2.00	1.28
Hispanic	8.06	8.6	7.62	7.31
Other controls				
Male	44.65		—	45.84
Age	30.2	30.29	30.11	30.03
	(1.69)	(1.71)	(1.67)	(1.76)
Marital Status	38.18	37.55	38.68	39.18
Years of Education	16.25	16.24	16.25	16.09
	(2.85)	(2.98)	(2.74)	(3.08)
Employment Status	66.19	70.38	62.81	64.26
U.S. Born	84.39	82.35	86.03	86.48
Wave 1 Resident Mother's Education	13.90	14.00	13.82	13.60
	(2.74)	(2.69)	(2.77)	(2.73)
Total N	3 984	1 779	2 205	1 095

Source: Add Health

Note: Asterisks (\*) indicate cells containing fewer than ten cases.

Table 4.2: Results from OLS Regression, Adjusted
Household Income in the National Sample

	All	Male	Female
Skin Color	-0.085**	-0.100**	-0.077**
	(0.026)	(0.036)	(0.027)
Race			
Latino	0.209***	0.038	0.354***
	(0.062)	(0.100)	(0.083)
Asian	0.525***	0.399***	0.622***
	(0.058)	(0.095)	(0.086)
Native American	-0.172	-0.415	0.017
	(0.135)	(0.253)	(0.157)
Other Controls			
Gender	0.183***		
	(0.044)		—
Age	-0.017	-0.012	-0.024
	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.019)
Marital Status	0.169***	0.171*	0.158**
	(0.043)	(0.066)	(0.052)
Years of Education	0.033***	0.017	0.049***
	(0.008)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Employment	0.319***	0.346***	0.058***
	(0.061)	(0.098)	(0.012)
U.S. Born	-0.021	0.015	0.299***
	(0.078)	(0.095)	(0.057)
Wave 1 Resident			
Mother's Education	0.053***	0.046***	-0.062
	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.094)
Interviewer Race			
Black	0.077	0.053	0.108
	(0.054)	(0.061)	(0.070)
Asian	-0.336**	0.000	-0.454***
	(0.109)	(.)	(0.115)
Native	0.008	0.329	-0.080
	(0.269)	(0.315)	(0.299)
Other	-0.066	0.034	-0.137
	(0.140)	(0.178)	(0.164)
Hispanic	0.080	0.088	0.086
	(0.066)	(0.082)	(0.116)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.176	0.148	0.186
Ν	3,984	1,842	2,205

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. Analyses are weighted to account for Add Health's complex design. \*p<.05 \*\*p<.01\*\*\*p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

	National	Sibling Sample	
	Sample		
			Family Fixed-
			Effects
Skin Color	-0.085**	-0.061*	-0.069*
	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.033)
Race			
Latino	0.209***	0.180*	-0.116
	(0.062)	(0.088)	(0.118)
Asian	0.525***	0.374***	0.205
	(0.058)	(0.109)	(0.138)
Native American	-0.172	-0.969***	-1.030***
	(0.135)	(0.245)	(0.311)
Other Controls			
Gender	0.183***	0.157**	0.242***
	(0.044)	(0.054)	(0.060)
Age	-0.017	0.016	0.008
	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.017)
Marital Status	0.169***	0.100	0.139*
	(0.043)	(0.057)	(0.060)
Years of Education	0.033***	0.027**	0.017
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Employment Status	0.319***	0.276***	0.160**
	(0.061)	(0.056)	(0.059)
U.S. Born	-0.021	0.046***	-0.171
	(0.078)	(0.010)	(0.102)
Wave 1 Resident		~ ,	
Mother's Education	0.053***	-0.154	
	(0.008)	(0.088)	
Interviewer Race	()		
Black	0.077	0.132*	0.070
	(0.054)	(0.061)	(0.076)
Asian	-0.336**	0.928	0.705
	(0.109)	(0.517)	(0.650)
Native	0.008	0.235	0.319
	(0.269)	(0.337)	(0.399)
Othe <del>r</del>	-0.066	-0.578*	-0.589
ould	(0.140)	(0.246)	(0.331)
Hispanic	0.080	0.146	0.090
Thispanie	(0.066)	(0.111)	(0.135)
	(0.000)	(0.111)	(0.133)
$\mathbf{p}^2$	0.174	0.172	0.41.4
К	0.176	0.162	0.416
NT	2.004	1.004	1.000
IN	3,984	1,094	1,230

## Table 4.3: Results from OLS Regression, Adjusted Householdacross the National and Sibling Sample, Male and Female

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. Analyses are weighted to account for Add Health's complex design.

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01\*\*\*p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

#### Chapter 5 Conclusion

Although much racial progress towards addressing racial inequality has been made, the election of Barak Obama and his two terms as the president did not signal an end to white supremacy, as so many had hoped (Bonilla-Silva 2010). The current president, Donald Trump, openly campaigned on a platform of explicit xenophobia, racism, and sexism and won in a victory very few thought was possible (Bialik and Enten 2016). Recently Jeff Sessions was confirmed as the Attorney General. The man whose 1980s nomination for a federal judgeship failed because the Senate Judiciary Committee heard testimony about Session's racially prejudiced remarks, is now the chief law enforcement officer of the United States government (Zamost, Devine, and Noel 2016). It is unclear to what extent Session will enforce the laws barring discrimination by race and color. While scholars have noted that overt racial discrimination seems to be no longer as prevalent as it was in the past (Bobo et al. 2012), thus may have been premature. In the weeks after Trump's election, many news organizations reported that there was a substantial increase in the number of race-related hate crimes (Southern Poverty Law Center 2016; Jenkins 2017). It was as if a broad section of the United States collectively let their hair down, free to finally publicly express in a welcoming political environment what they had long thought and felt (Bonilla-Silva 2010).

In Trump's America, it is even more important now than ever to point out that racial inequality continues to exist. What this ample body of work documents is that there are substantial and persistent disparities in education (Baker, Klasik, and Reardon 2016), wealth Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Conley 2010), the labor market (Moss and Tilly 2003), and health (Wilson, Thorpe, and LaVeist 2016). In addition to these disparities *between* racial groups,

scholars have also shown that considerable inequality that exists *within* racial groups (Arce et al. 1987; Espino and Franz 2002; Hill 2000; Hughes and Hertel 1990; Hunter 1998, 2005; Keith and Herring 1991; Monk 2014). This research documents that there is sizable stratification by skin color across a variety of socioeconomic outcomes. With the challenges of measuring discrimination, as well the difficulty in measuring unobserved human capital, the conventional approach to studying both racial and skin color inequality is to analyze individuals across families, and then attribute the residual difference in the outcome of interest to discrimination, after controlling for observed human capital characteristics.

While these previous studies make significant contributions to our understanding of racial disparities, I argue that an underused methodological strategy— a within-family analysis of siblings— also helps to explain the divergent outcomes by skin color among both the nationally representative sample and the sibling sample. While I agree that in the face of limited data, the conventional manner of studying racial and skin color inequality has its place, it is still unable to fully account for unobserved characteristics. By using sibling data, I can more completely account for differences in family background by comparing individuals, who by definition have the same family background. This dissertation examines the reach of skin color as a source of stratification among racial minorities in the United States. I analyze the relationship between skin color and three outcomes in both a nationally-representative sample and a sample of siblings in the same dataset. Thus, by leveraging the shared family background of siblings, I show how the pervasiveness of skin color inequality contributes to enduring inequality between and within families.

I make two main contributions to the study of racial and skin color inequality in this dissertation. First, I use an underutilized approach first proposed by Telles (2006: 149), for

analyzing the outcomes of siblings with different phenotypes, which he argued is a "[is] a rigorous test of racial discrimination." While only a handful of studies have used this strategy, the few that have focused on Brazil (Rangel 2014; Francis-Tan 2016; Marteleto and Dondero 2016). Only one study to my knowledge has used this strategy in the United States (Ryabov 2016). Thus, few studies to date have taken this approach. However, analyses of siblings have long been used in the stratification literature to examine intergenerational mobility and to better account for unobserved human capital characteristics. While these unobserved differences in human capital are often implicated when researchers continue to find a significant effect of skin color on socioeconomic outcomes, few studies explicitly conduct a parallel analysis with siblings.

Second, I examine the relationship between skin color and life chances across both racial groups and by gender. Much of the previous research on skin color stratification focuses solely on the experiences of African Americans, and with good reason. Complexion has long been a consequential factor for inequality for Black Americans (Hughes and Hertel 1990; Keith and Herring 1991). However, some literature finds that skin tone is also a significant predictor of the outcomes of Latinos (Arce et al. 1987; Murguia and Telles 1996; Hunter 2005). There is even less research on whether skin color is important for Asian/Pacific Islanders (Rondilla and Spickard 2007; Bailey, Saperstein, and Penner 2014; Ryabov 2016). In contrast to these studies, I include both Latinos and Asian/Pacific Islanders in my analyses to show that both at the national-level and within families, skin color contributes to explaining the criminal justice, educational, and labor market outcomes of racial and ethnic minorities and siblings in the United States.

#### SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

By taking seriously the fact that siblings vary in phenotype and skin color, and by showing that these differences in skin color have implications for the criminal justice, educational system, and labor market, this dissertation helps shed light on the extent to which skin color stratification persists in the United States. Furthermore, I contribute to this literature by comparing the relationship between skin color and life chances across racial groups and between gender. In this section, I summarize the main findings of each substantive chapter.

Chapter Two examines the relationship between skin color and self-reported arrest among a nationally-representative sample of men and a subsample of brothers. Previous studies using regional data find that skin color is consequential for sentencing outcomes (Pizzi, Blair, and Judd 2005; Gyimah-Brempong and Price 2006; King and Johnson 2016). Sentencing is one of the last stages in the criminal justice systems. In contrast, I examine the relationship between a self-reported arrest and skin color. An arrest involves interaction with a police officer, which is one of the first steps of the criminal justice process before incarceration, conviction, or sentence. Furthermore, because the barrier to an arrest is much lower than the barrier for a conviction or a criminal sentence, there is a greater opportunity for discretion and in turn discrimination. While many scholars theorize that discrimination helps to explain why these differences exist, it is difficult to directly show that. My findings provide support for the discrimination perspective by employing a within-family fixed effects approach, which is underused in the literature. My findings demonstrate that skin color has a substantial and statistically significant relationship with an adult arrest among both a nationally-representative sample men and a subsample of siblings. I find that net of prior delinquency, having darker skin increases a man's likelihood of being arrested in adulthood. To my knowledge, this is the only study that uses within family

estimates to examine skin color stratification for contact with the criminal justice system. Additionally, in contrast to previous studies that use state-level data from a few regions, my findings use nationally-representative data, which illuminates the extent to which skin color is consequential in the U.S. criminal justice system. Also, previous studies focus primarily on the experiences of Black Americans. In contrast, I show that skin color is significantly associated with men's arrest outcomes across racial minority groups, including Asian/Pacific Islanders, Black Americans, and Latinos.

Chapter Three uses the same underutilized approach from Chapter Two to examine whether skin color is associated with the educational attainment of a nationally-representative sample male and female Asian/Pacific Islanders, Blacks, and Latinos in the United States. Furthermore, I compare these nationally-representative results to my results from a sample of siblings. In doing so, I attempt to disentangle two sources of skin color stratification: contemporary discrimination and family background. I find that skin color is significantly associated with attaining a college degree among the nationally representative sample of men. That is among Black, Latino, Asian, men, those with darker skin are significantly less likely to have earned a college degree. However, I find after accounting for family background using the family fixed-effects, that these differences in human capital explain the relationship. However, among women, I find that skin color is only significantly associated with the college degree attainment of Asian American women, which runs contrary to the conventional wisdom on skin color stratification. If we look only at the sibling sample, net of family-fixed effects and family background, we find the same relationship. That is among Asian American sisters, those with darker skin are significantly less likely to have earned a college degree. These results suggest, that except for, Asian American women family background is a more significant predictor of

educational attainment than skin color. Because Asian Americans have the highest educational attainment in the United States, we may be able to differentiate between skin color discrimination and family background better than for other groups.

Chapter Four also uses the same analytic strategy as the previous chapters and builds upon the prior results by analyzing the association between skin color and household income. In this chapter, I examine whether skin color is independently associated with household income, net of educational attainment, which is one of the most important predictors for income. I find that skin color is both directly associated with household income and indirectly related to educational attainment. Furthermore, I find that differences in human capital are not enough to explain these disparities. In my examination of siblings, I find that skin color is a significant predictor of household income, as well. These findings support the literature that complexion is a source of stratification in the socioeconomic outcomes of Blacks and Latinos. Furthermore, my finding reveals that skin color is also consequential for the socioeconomic outcomes of Asian/Pacific Islanders. Additionally, these results contribute to the within-family literature and suggest that skin color needs to be considered when assessing intergenerational mobility.

#### IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

It is evident from these dissertation findings that many questions remain unanswered. Future research should continue to examine how skin color affects the life chances of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. While skin color is consequential for African-Americans (Keith and Herring 1991; Monk 2014), it also matters for Latinos, Asian/Pacific Islanders (Rondilla and Spickard 2007; Ryabov 2016), and for immigrants (Rosenblum et al. 2016). More work needs to be done to consider how the effect of skin color for life chances may vary across racial groups, national origins, and gender.

Chapter Three only examines whether skin color is related to college completion. At the time of Wave IV data collection, the respondents were between the ages of 24-32 years old, which means that it is possible that some of the younger respondents had not yet completed their education. In future research, I plan to rectify this by analyzing newly available data from the fifth wave of Add Health. These data will allow me to examine whether skin color is related to college degree attainment but also examine later degree completion and graduate school. Chapter Four only examines household income and does not account for occupational status, which is an important predictor of income.

Another limitation of this work is that I only examine one feature of phenotype interviewer-reported skin color. This is function of the limited phenotype data available through Add Health. While complexion is an important aspect of phenotype shaping the outcomes of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States, it is still only one component of phenotype. While in my study, I used interviewer-reported skin color as a proxy for discrimination from outsiders, other measures of phenotype may capture different experiences. For example, Keith et al. contend that one of the reasons why there are are some mixed findings in the colorism literature is due to "differences in sample composition as well as the measures of skin tone and discrimination employed" (2010: 3). In fact, Monk (2015) finds that both interviewer-perceived and self-perceived skin color are significantly related to different types of perceived discrimination. He conceptualizes self-rated skin color as a form of subjective social status and thus another dimension through to study skin color inequality (Monk 2015). Future research should also be directed towards understanding the different mechanisms through which skin

color stratification operates. However, to do this, multiple measures of phenotype need to be first collected in nationally-representative longitudinal datasets so that researchers can do this analysis. Other measures of skin color could help us better understand how skin color inequality operates.

In this dissertation, I am unable to address the complex reasons why skin color continues to be consequential for racial and ethnic minorities. Thus, the reasons why skin color discrimination continues remains to be answered. In my dissertation, I examined skin color inequality in three different domains of social life: the labor market, the criminal justice, and the educational system. While I have shown that skin color matters and that it matters differently depending on the context, I cannot address why with the available data. Future research should theorize about how the context of each domain facilitates colorism, that is when and how skin color plays a role in the distribution of resources and opportunities. For instance, in the literature on inequality in the workplace, Petersen and Saporta (2004:856) assert that "discrimination is widespread, and employers discriminate if they can get away with it." In line with the authors' argument and extending it to different realms outside of the workplace, researchers should examine the different domains for which skin color is significantly associated unequal outcomes and to study how the "opportunity structure for discrimination" varies to understand better how skin color stratification persists.

Furthermore, future research should seek to understand how complexion may matter throughout the life course. Research shows that *skin color matters even before birth* (Hunter 2005; Rondilla and Spickard 2007; Hordge-Freeman 2015). Expectant parents and excited relatives frequently discuss the baby's possible skin color, along with other aspects of phenotype, often yearning for lighter skin and eyes. Although the arrival of a baby is frequently a joyous

event, once they are born, and the guessing game is over, the baby's phenotype can either disappoint or meet the family's expectations. Hordge-Freeman conceptualizes skin color and phenotype as forms of bodily capital and that in the family, emotional resources of unequally distributed by the children's appearance (2015). Thus, as soon as the baby is born, they are already subject to the unequal social system of color, which affects the emotional resources they received from their family. It is important to understand how skin color is consequential from birth and can affect the distribution of resources and the accumulation of disadvantage throughout the life course.

These suggestions for future research merely allude to the countless possibilities for expanding on the topics of colorism and racial inequality. This dissertation contributes to the existing literature by providing a first step towards understanding the implications of skin color for enduring racial inequality. I improve upon existing studies of colorism by analyzing siblings who have a shared family background. In doing so, my study begins to illuminate how skin color continues to be a source of stratification in the United States both across and within families for racial and ethnic minorities. The importance of skin color and race as a means of stratification is a central part of the U.S. origin story, as discussed in Chapter One. Thus, as others have noted, "color has always been significant among [B]lack Americans in the United States" (Monk 2014:1330) from at least the 1700s (Bodenhorn and Ruebeck 2007). This dissertation, in conjunction with previous studies, demonstrates that complexion continues to be a crucial feature of inequality for African Americans, but also for Latinos and Asian/Pacific Islanders.

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