Racial Attitudes, Racial Preferences, and Social Interactions of African American Students as Reflected by Self-Image and Race as a Construct

Kirah A. Jackson, Sabrina A. Brinson
Missouri State University, United States

Abstract

This study explored self-image and race as a construct among African American children, in relationship to their racial attitudes and their racial preferences of peers for social interactions. This study hypothesized that older participants (7 to 9) would select the image depicting the African American child in association with positive racial attitudes. It also hypothesized that older participants (7 to 9) would select the image depicting the European American child in association with racial preferences.

Keywords: African American Children, Race as a Construct, Racial Attitudes, Racial Preferences, Self-image, and Social Interactions

1. Introduction

Identity is a vital part of child development, and both self-awareness and social awareness evolve between the ages of 6 and 14, Eccles [8]. In a world where associations are made based upon similarities, it is natural for individuals with common characteristics to gravitate towards one another. Tharps [19] noted that as these groups form, group identities begin to develop, and a value based upon societal norms, expectations, and opinions is assigned to said groups. Once these groups are assigned a value, they begin to be treated in accordance with said value; and unfortunately, assigned values are not equitable. Differential treatment based on race or skin tone is a centuries old paradigm that contributes to the intricate system of social status, job opportunities, educational standings, and overall self-perception demonstrated in the world today.

While race is deemed a social construct, it is a notable part of identity, and a key tool utilized to establish social status, Smedley [18]. Subsequently, it is imperative for the research conducted on how children perceived racial disparities to continue to evolve for greater understanding of children in today's contemporary society. In spite of the similarities between the racial struggles of earlier decades, and the racial struggles in today's society, quite a few transformations have occurred throughout the years. For instance, race was previously typically perceived as a "black and white" dichotomy. However, race has become known as a construct because it is increasingly complex and now exists along a spectrum. Hence, the purpose of this investigation was to explore race and self-image among African American children in relationship to their racial attitudes and their racial preferences of peers for social interactions. The participants in this study were 60 African American children ranging in ages from 5 to 9 years-old. Participation was voluntary and included children who are typically developing from general classrooms in first to third grade. Participants were recruited from three elementary schools in New Orleans, Louisiana.

2. Lexicon of Terms

In reference to terms related to the topic of race, there are many definitions in use. Note that for the purposes of this investigation, the following definitions were used. Race is described as any one of the groups that humans are often divided into based on physical traits regarded as common among people of shared ancestry. Racial attitudes are beliefs or opinions that indicate favor or criticism towards someone, for the purposes of this investigation. Racial preferences are indications of desire for social interactions with someone, for the purposes of this investigation, Brinson [3]. Racism is a belief that race is a fundamental determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race. Colorism is prejudice or discrimination, especially within a racial or ethnic group favoring people with lighter skin over those with darker skin. Prejudice is an unfair feeling of dislike for a person or group (e.g., dislike based on race, gender, or religion); a feeling of like or dislike for someone or something especially when it is not reasonable or logical. Self-concept is the mental image one has of oneself.

3. Literature Review

Clark and Clark's Original Doll Studies: Clark and Clark [6] investigated self-esteem, racial identity, and racial preferences in young children. To accomplish this goal, Kenneth and Mamie Clark used dolls to assess the

development of self-awareness and self-consciousness in preschool aged children between three and four years old. Consciousness was defined as belonging to a particular group which is differentiated from other groups by observable physical characteristics, Clark and Clark [6]. In the study, participants were shown drawings of a white boy (European American), a colored boy (African American), a lion, a dog, a clown, and were asked to select the image that most resembled themselves. The results provided some evidence of self-awareness in all participants. As participants aged from three to four, they increasingly selected the "colored boy" as resembling themselves. This may indicate a development of self-awareness during these years. Clark and Clark [5] conducted another round of studies to directly address racial identity as well as "ego development" in children ages three through seven. Namely, to further expand on the results of their previous stud, Clark and Clark investigated how children recognize race and at what specific age this skill and other self-awareness skills develop [5]. Participants were presented with four dolls in a variety of orders and asked a series of questions to address racial identity and preference in skin tones. The dolls used during the investigation were identical in every way apart from their skin tone. For example, researchers asked the children to hand them: the doll that looks nice, the doll that looks like a negro child, and the doll that looks most like them Preference questions (e.g., which doll looks nice) were consistently asked first, and identity items second (e.g., find the doll that looks most like you) in order to prevent identity from influencing positive responses to the preference questions. Additionally, Clark and Clark [4] conducted another investigation with children (5 to 9 years-old) with "light, medium, and dark" complexions. It was completed using a coloring test accompanied by a set of questions Each participant was asked to draw images of themselves and provided with crayons to represent a variety of skin tones. The results indicated that 52% of 160 participants rejected brown in their depictions. The results of the experiment revealed that children with light shades of skin tone often selected a shade of crayon lighter than themselves to represent their skin tone. Also, more than half of the participants refused to use brown in their coloring pages; and the rejection of brown remained consistent in both medium and light skinned participants. Questions were posed to establish the reasoning behind both avoiding brown and making the selections they did to represent their skin tone. The responses from the participants were consistent with much of the information revealed in the previous doll studies. For example, several participants stated a dislike for brown as the reason they chose to exclude the color from their drawings. Also, "escapist" answers were believed to indicate emotional conflict relating to skin

tone or skin tone preference. Overall, the work of Kenneth and Mamie Clark played a pivotal role in providing evidence about the negative impact segregation had on children. Their research also produced results that allowed others to notice trends in a child's ability to recognize racial differences, Jepkemboi, Mohan, and Christensen [11].

Hraba and Grant [10] published their work entitled "*Black is Beautiful: A Reexamination of Racial Preference and Identification.*" Their study addressed the racial preference and self-identification goals of the Clark studies, but the setting was adapted to an interracial area. The results indicated that the African American children in the interracial area consistently showed preference toward white skin, similar to the results of the original doll studies, which also yielded preferences for white dolls by African American children in segregated areas. These results showed consistency in the development of self-awareness in children across three decades. Brinson [3] adapted the Clark and Clark studies to conduct the first study of its kind, which was to examine the relationship between preschool children's racial attitudes and racial preferences and their primary caregivers' ethnic identity and ethnic identity behaviors. Ethnic identity was measured with the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure designed by Phinney [17]. Ethnic identity behaviors were measured with the Brinson and Lee African American Behavior Scale, a scale designed for the study to specifically assess African American behaviors (e.g., African American books / journals / newspapers / magazines, African American attire, and African American artwork in homes). African American children who participated in the study were recruited from four African American preschools in Tampa, Florida. In lieu of dolls, optics of African- and European American children were used. Children in the optics were of similar ages, weights, and heights; they all wore the same clothing cover aprons; and they all were in front of the same backdrop. A multi-choice format was utilized, and four optics were displayed in a variety of orders. For example, to address racial attitudes, participants were asked to point to the child who looks nice. Likewise, for example, to address racial preferences for social interactions, participants were asked to point the child whose house you want to visit. Results indicated a small positive correlation between primary caregivers' ethnic identity behaviors and their preschoolers' racial attitudes. Yet, results indicated racial preferences for European American children.

Clark and Clark's Original Doll Studies were repeated and reported in a documentary titled, "*A Girl Like Me.*" Even though more than six decades had passed, the same results were obtained as those of the original studies, Davis [7]. In addition to skin color,

factors such as facial features and hair texture were addressed, and participants showed preference to "white" features over that of their own. ABC's *Good Morning America* (2009) replicated the original Clark studies, and noted that the first African American president and the the first African American family was living in the White House. Still, participants indicated favor towards "white" features, and over half of the participants in the study chose the lighter doll as the more appealing choice.

Race as a Construct

Race has been a topic of discussion for centuries. In that time, the definition of race has adapted to fit its location in time. Throughout history, many have debated the foundation of race. While some argue that race is a "subspecies of human," others have come to find race as a central part of social identity. During the 19th and 20th centuries, historians believed that all humans could be separated into three or more races based on shared physical characteristics. A major issue with this form of classification and race are not synonymous. Likewise, members of the same race may not appear to have similar ancestry based on looks, Andreasen [1]. In today's society, race is classified as a social construct; social learning couples each race with set assumptions; and cultural characteristics outside of racial expectations are often disregarded. Machery [13] posited that racial expectations are essential in association with skin tones; and children develop both racial and social awareness at an early age. Historically, race has a defining role in society (e.g., attempts to force a lower status upon black and brown individuals). There were also many negative ideas connected with skin color (e.g., associating black people with barbaric/animalistic behaviors, Smedley [18]. In spite of being over two decades into the twenty first century, skin tone is still one of the primary characteristics used to classify an individual, Tharps [19].

Colorism

Colorism is another aspect of race that continues to affect today's society. Issues with different shades of skin tone were personified with the slave trade. Enslaved people were often treated based on the shade of their skin, Menjivar [15]. Labor driven work was assigned to individuals with darker complexions, and individuals with lighter complexions were assigned more of the inside jobs. These practices directly placed value on having lighter skin. Said values were furthered as time progressed with a higher quality of life available to individuals with lighter skin through education levels and job opportunities, Menjivar [15]. Unfortunately, the

differential treatment did not stop there. During the 1900s, the infamous "brown paper bag test" was used to discriminate against individuals who were browner than a paper bag. While this method was prevalent in various settings, it is also believed to have been used by African Americans with lighter skin to maintain exclusivity in higher places, Menjivar [15].

Comprehensively, the original doll studies, along with replications and adaptations across time, have revealed on-going issues with self-esteem, racial attitudes, and racial preferences among African American children. Results served as the basis for the purpose of this study, which sought to extend explorations of racial identity and self-images of African American children in relationship to their racial attitudes and preferences of peers for social interactions.

4. Methodology

The purpose of this study was to explore race and self-image among African American children in relationship to their racial attitudes and their racial preferences of peers for social interactions. There were two hypotheses:

H1: The older participants (7 to 9 year-olds) will select the image depicting the African American child in association with positive racial attitudes.

$1H_0$: There will be no relationship between the age of the participant and selecting the image depicting the African American child in association with positive racial attitudes.

H2: The older participants (7 to 9 year-olds) will select the image depicting the European American child in association with racial preferences.

$2H_0$: There will be no relationship between the age of the participant and selecting the image depicting the European American child in association with positive racial preferences.

4.1. Participants

The participants in this study were 60 African American children ranging in ages from 5 to 9 year-olds. Participation was voluntary and included children who are typically developing from general classrooms in first to third grade, whose parents/primary caregivers provided consent. Participants were recruited from three elementary schools in New Orleans, Louisiana; there were two public elementary schools, and one private elementary school. Parents/primary caregivers were assured that there would be no consequences if they

decided not to consent for their children to participate. Participants were also free to withdraw at any time during the interview process for any reason, without any consequences.

4.2. Procedure

The researcher interviewed participants individually in study rooms in school libraries while a school staff member was present. To break the ice and make participants feel at ease the following three questions were posed at the beginning of the respective sessions: What is your favorite color? What is your favorite food? What is your favorite thing to do? Note that if a child did not respond to a question, the researcher discussed her favorite color, favorite food, and favorite thing to do. After the icebreaker, the researcher conducted the Doll Studies Revisited: Racial Attitudes and Preferences Child Interview with each participant to assess racial attitudes and racial preferences. The interview took 10-15 minutes. At the end of the interview, the researcher thanked the participant for doing an excellent job and he or she returned to school activities.

4.3. The Doll Studies Revisited: Racial Attitudes and Preferences Child Interview

It was administered to gain insight into participants' racial attitudes and racial preferences. Interview items were adapted from the original doll studies' interview, Clark and Clark [6]. However, in lieu of physical dolls, utilized were images of Bitty Baby dolls representing African-, Native-, Hispanic -, and European Americans. Participants were asked to respond to items related to racial attitudes and racial preferences by pointing to their choices in a multi-choice display of four images of Bitty Baby dolls. The images were displayed in a varied order across the interview items. Participants addressed one item at a time and said item was the only one visible to them.

To assess racial attitudes, the following items were directed:

i. Point to the nice doll.

ii. Point to the mean doll.

iii. Point to the pretty doll.

iv. Point to the dolly that is not pretty.

v. Point to the good doll.

vi. Point to the doll that gets into trouble.

vii. Point to the smart doll.

viii. Point to the doll that is not smart.

To assess racial preferences, the following items were directed:

ix. Point to the doll you want to play with.

x. Point to the doll you want to be your friend.

xi. Point to the doll whose house you want to visit.

Participants also had the opportunity to make additional comments when the following item was asked:

xii. Is there anything else you want to tell me about the dolls?

4.4. The Doll Studies Revisited: Racial Attitudes and Preferences Child Interview Recorder Code Sheet

It was utilized by the researcher to record the following demographic data: The participant's research code, skin tone shade, gender, and age. In reference to skin tone shades, the research is African American, and thereby had authentic experiences assessing African Americans' true variations of skin tone shades (e.g., marshmallow shade, amber brown shade, caramel brown shade, milk chocolate brown shade, espresso brown shade, and cacao black shade). Also, the researcher recorded the participant's answers to each item during the interview. Additionally, the researcher recorded any spontaneous comments that a participant happened to make.

5. Analyses

Two types of analyses were conducted for this study. Descriptive analyses were conducted using means with standard deviation and frequency for demographic characteristics, racial attitudes, and racial preferences. Statistical analyses were conducted using Excel, SPSS, and a T-value table to establish a p value for each set of data collected. Statistical significance ($P < 0.05$) allowed the researcher to reject the null hypothesis, Nolan and Heinzen [16].

The Pearson Product Moment Correlation (Pearson R Correlation) was used to assess the relationship between racial attitudes and racial preferences. Pearson R was also used to assess Hypothesis One and Hypothesis Two. Pearson R Correlations are used to quantify linear regression between two variables, Nolan and Heinzen [16]. The correlation coefficient is the number used to represent the strength of the relationship between the variables and is symbolized by (r). Once calculated for each hypothesis, the correlation coefficient was analyzed in relationship to one, negative one, or zero. For Hypothesis One, the value indicated the

relationship between older participants (7 to 9 year-olds) and the selection of images depicting the African American child in association with positive racial attitudes. For Hypothesis Two, the value indicated the relationship between older participants (7 to 9 year-olds) and the selection of images depicting the European American child in association with racial preferences.

6. Results

Qualitative Results - A total of 60 African American children between the ages of 5 and 9 participated in this research study. The participant's research code was utilized to collect data on age, gender, and skin tone. Table 1, compiled demographic information that included the number of participants, gender, age, and skin tone shade.

Table 1. Participant Demographic Information

Skin Tone and Gender			Age Participants				
			5	6	7	8	9
Marshmallow	Sex	Male				2	1
		Female	1	1	1	1	
Total			7				
Amber Brown	Sex	Male	1		2	1	2
		Female		2			1
Total			9				
Caramel Brown	Sex	Male	1	2	2	1	2
		Female	2	1	2		1
Total			14				
Milk Chocolate	Sex	Male	2	2	1	1	
		Female	1	3			
Total			10				
Espresso Brown	Sex	Male	1	1	1	1	2
		Female	1	1		1	2
Total			11				
Cacao	Sex	Male		1	2	2	
		Female		2	1		1
Total			9				

The study analyzed the relationship between age and positive racial attitudes, as well as the relationship between age and racial preferences. The interview questions were presented in a multiple-choice format, and each participant had opportunities to provide additional information about the doll images through an open-ended format. While some participants did not share any further information, other participants did share statements about their selections. The open-ended responses were recorded for additional insight into participants' perspectives.

Quantitative Results

The primary methods of analyses for the current research study included T-tests and Pearson R correlations. The following hypotheses were analyzed using Excel, SPSS, and a T-value table to establish a p value for each set of data collected:

H1: The older participants (7 to 9) will select the image depicting the African American child in association with positive racial attitudes.

$1H_0$: There will be no relationship between the age of the participant and selecting the image depicting the African American child in association with positive racial attitudes.

H2: The older participants (7 to 9) will select the image depicting the European American child in association with racial preferences.

$2H_0$: There will be no relationship between the age of the participant and selecting the image depicting the European American child in association with positive racial preferences.

Pearson R Correlations were used to quantify linear regression between two variables, Nolan and Heinzen [16]. The correlation coefficient is the number used to represent the strength of the relationship between the variables and is symbolized by (r). Once calculated for each hypothesis, the correlation coefficient was analyzed in relationship to one, negative one, or zero. For Hypothesis One, the value indicated the relationship between older participants (7 to 9) and the selection of images depicting the African American child in association with positive racial attitudes. For Hypothesis Two, the value indicated the relationship between older participants (7 to 9) and the selection of images depicting the European American child in association with racial preferences.

To analyze Hypothesis One, the following items were utilized in The Doll Studies Revisited: Racial Attitudes and Preferences Child Interview to assess racial attitudes: 1. Point to the nice doll. 2. Point to the mean doll. 3. Point to the pretty doll. 4. Point to the doll that is not pretty. 5. Point to the good doll. 6. Point to the doll that gets into trouble. 7. Point to the smart doll. 8. H1 Pearson R Coefficient.

The r value for Hypothesis One was used to establish statistical significance. The researcher used the number of participants (n) and correlation coefficient (r) in the following equation: $t = r \cdot \sqrt{n-2} / \sqrt{1-r^2}$. Once a t value was established, a T- table was utilized to establish a P value. Values of $P < 0.05$ are considered statistically significant. A P-Value of .499046 was calculated. The result is not significant at $p < .05$. There was no significant correlation found between older participants (7 to 9) and the selection of the image depicting the African American child.

X Values
Y Values

$\sum = 272$	$\sum = 33$
Mean = 8	Mean = 0.971
$\sum (X - M_x)^2 = SS_x = 24$	$\sum (Y - M_y)^2 = SS_y = 24.971$

X and Y Combined

N   =   34
$\sum (X - M_x)(Y - M_y) = -3$

R Calculation

$r = \sum ((X - M_y)(Y - M_x)) / \sqrt{((SS_x)(SS_y))}$
$r = -3 / \sqrt{((24)(24.971))} = -0.1225$
$r^2 = 0.015$

As a result, H1: The older participants (7 to 9) will select the image depicting the African American child in association with positive racial attitudes, was rejected. Additionally, the researcher failed to reject $1H_0$: There will be no relationship between the age of the participant and selecting the image depicting the African American child in association with positive racial attitudes.

To analyze Hypothesis Two, the following items were utilized in The Doll Studies Revisited: Racial Attitudes and Preferences Child Interview to assess racial preferences: 9. Point to the doll you want to play with. 10. Point to the doll you want to be your friend. 11. Point to the doll whose house you want to visit. Point to the doll that is not smart. Responses to items 1,3,5 and 7 indicated positive racial attitudes.

H2 Pearson R Coefficient:

X Values
Y Values

$\sum$ = 280	$\sum$ = 18
Mean = *8*	Mean = 0.514
$\sum (X - M_x)^2 = SS_x = 24$	$\sum (Y - M_y)^2 = SS_y = 8.743$

X and Y Combined

N   =   35
$\sum (X - M_x)(Y - M_y) = 3$

R Calculation

$r = \sum ((X - M_y)(Y - M_x)) / \sqrt{((SS_x)(SS_y))}$
$r = 3 / \sqrt{((24)(8.743))} = 0.2071$

A P-Value of .232588 was calculated. The result is not significant at $p < .05$. There was no significant correlation found between older participants (7 to 9) and the selection of the image depicting the European American child in association with positive racial preferences. As a result, H2: The older participants (7 to 9) will select the image depicting the European American child in association with racial preferences, was rejected. Additionally, the researcher failed to reject $2H_0$: There will be no relationship between the age of the participant and selecting the image depicting the European American child in association with positive racial preferences.

7. Discussion

Limitations - This research study was conducted during the Coronavirus Pandemic. Therefore, stringent related protocols were followed throughout the study in each school to ensure the health and safety of every participant and the researcher. Also, there may have been unknown stress factors participants were experiencing at the time. Despite the inability to collect data on stressors, factors like the Coronavirus Pandemic may have impacted the results of the interview. Additionally, the sample size utilized was limited to 60 African American children (ages 5 to 9 years old).

Future Directions - The purpose of this research study was to explore race and self-image among African American children (ages 5 to 9 years old) in relationship to their racial attitudes and their racial preferences of peers for social interactions. To gain further insight into the population sampled, this research study should be replicated with more samples of African American children (5 to 9 years old). Also, to gain insight into additional populations of color, this research study

should be conducted intra-culturally with Asian-, Bi-racial-, Latino-, Multiracial-, and Native American children (5 to 9 years old). Likewise, to gain insight into child populations overall (5 to 9 years old), this research study should be conducted interculturally with African-, Asian-, Bi-racial-, European-, Latino-, Multiracial-, and Native American participants.

Ultimately, the goal is for African American children to experience positive perspectives about themselves and others. However, isms like colorism are still prevalent in society, and might impact racial attitudes, racial preferences, and self-images. Subsequently, insight into the issue of colorism as a damaging factor, as well as viable solutions to counter it may be gained from future research studies designed around colorism. For example, this study can be adapted to examine the relationship of the respective shades of skin tones of African American children, as related to their racial attitudes and their racial preferences for social interactions with other children.

8. Conclusion

Clark and Clark's Original Doll Studies (30s to 50s) were groundbreaking in uprooting the damaging impact of segregation, which was never equal, but was successful in entwining children in on-going biases that arrested their holistic development (e.g., cognitive, social, emotional, moral, and physical). Resulting information in the knowledge base served as the basis for the purpose of this study, which sought to extend explorations of racial identity and self-images of African American children, in relationship to their racial attitudes and their racial preferences of peers for social interactions. Hypothesis One was rejected: The older participants (7 to 9 years old) will select the image depicting the African American child in association with positive racial attitudes. The results indicated that overall the older African American children (7 to 9 years old) in the study do not have a positive attitude about themselves. Hypothesis Two was also rejected: The older participants (7 to 9 years old) will select the image depicting the European American child in association with racial preferences. The results indicated that overall the older African American children (7 to 9 years old) in the study do not prefer European American children in reference to social interactions. Said outcome is hopeful if it is indicative of the eradication of biased preferences for European American images based on their associated power and privileges. Still, as previously noted, further research is required to gain more insight about the population sampled (African American children, 5 to 9 years old).

Conversely, comments shared by the participants who chose to do so were enlightening and provided insight into participants' perspectives and related choices. Said insight has sound educational implications, and should be considered in educational arenas like early- and elementary schools, in reference to facilitating the healthy, holistic development (e.g., cognitive, social, emotional, moral, and physical) of African American children in the twenty first century. For example, "I picked the one that looked like me a lot." Although the type of identity was not stated (e.g., positive- or negative identity), said response showed the participant was able to identify with the African American image. Moreover, the following grim response showed a different participant had a negative self-image that was simultaneously connected to negatively identifying with the African American image (e.g., "The dark one looks like me and my friends, so he has to be the bad one."). As a result, due to the cognitive ability to understand identity, there should be concentrated efforts to nurture positive self-images (e.g., self-love, self-worth, and self-confidence) for African American students in early- and elementary school settings. Furthermore, responses like the following one reflect race as a construct with the attached associations of good versus bad, based on physical images of European Americans and African Americans. Said response is also evidence of the institutional bigotry and oppression that results from the unfair power and privileges that continue to plague our contemporary society. "This one is good because he has blue eyes and blonde hair. This one is bad because he has dark skin and nappy hair." Johnson [12] noted that the trouble surrounding privilege affects not only individuals, but organizations, communities, and society as a whole. From community-based schools to businesses, the prevalence of privilege and oppression is among our worse kept secrets. The Annie E. Casey Foundation [20] reported that children of color were the majority in Puerto Rico/DC/14 states in 2019, and noted that there are deep systemic, national inequities (e.g., states failed to eliminate barriers encountered by African-, Latino-, and Native American children). Brinson [2] posited that hypervisibility (e.g., singled out for 'problem behaviors.') and implicit invisibility (e.g., expressly ignored) is a two-headed, marginalization practice in education that severely confines African American students. "Now I see you, now I don't." Far too many students know exactly how it feels to quickly become the usual suspects in reference to issues (hypervisibility); and they know exactly how it feels to be reluctantly included, if at all, in reference to achievements (implicit invisibility).

Twenty first century mottos tout the importance of the school fitting the child, so where are the genuine anti-bias practices in early- and elementary school settings? Annie E. Casey [20] noted that the future success of America depends on our ability to provide all children opportunities for success. As such, dismantling

educational barriers, and creating genuine safe spaces of support can be effective gateways for African American students to experience positive self-images; healthy racial attitudes about themselves and others; and anti-bias preferences for social interactions with peers.

9. References

[1] Andreasen, R. O. (2000). Race: Biological reality or social construct? Philosophy of Science, 67, S653–S666. http://www.jstor.org/stable/188702 (Access Date: 13 May 2023).

[2] Brinson, S. A. (2023). Now I See You, Now I Don't: Slaying Hypervisibility and Implicit Invisibility, the Two-Headed Marginalization Practice in Education. Bright Start International Conference, Athens, Greece.

[3] Brinson, S. A. (2002). Racial attitudes and racial preferences of African American preschoolers as related to the ethnic identity of primary caregivers. Contemporary Education, 72(2), 15-20.

[4] Clark, K. B., Clark, M. P. (1950). Emotional factors in racial identification and preference in Negro children. Journal of Negro Education, 19, 341-350.

[5] Clark, K.B., and M.P. Clark. (1947). Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children. In Readings in Social Psychology, 3rd ed.169–78.

[6] Clark, K.B., and M.P. Clark. (1939a). The development of consciousness of self and the emergence of racial identification in Negro Preschool children. Journal of Social Psychology, 10: 591–99.

[7] Davis, K. (2005). Film School NYFA - A Girl Like Me [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v =Wk_x 7s3QiYk (Access Date: 5 July 2023).

[8] Eccles, J. S. (1999). The development of children: Ages 6 to 14. The Future of Children, 9(2), 30–44. DOI: 10.2307/160 2703.

[9] Gitika, A. ABC News. (2009). What a Doll Tells Us About Race? ABC News. https://abcnews.go.com/GMA/story?id=72 13714andpage=1 (Access Date: 3 September 2023).

[10] Hraba, J., and Grant, G. (1970). Black is beautiful: A reexamination of racial preference and identification. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 16(3), 398–402. DOI: 10.1037/h0030043

[11] Jepkemboi, G, Mohan, A., and Christensen, L. M. (2020, July). NAEYC. https://www.naeyc.org/resources/pubs/yc/jul2 020/our-proud-heritage (Access Date: 17 September 2023).

[12] Johnson, A. G. (2018). Privilege, Power, and Difference. Third Edition. New York, McGraw Hill Education

[13] Lareau, A. (2002). Invisible inequality: Social class and childrearing in black families and white families. American Sociological Review, 67(5), DOI: 10.2307/3088916

[13] Machery, E., and Faucher, L. (2005). Social construction and the concept of race. Philosophy of Science, 72(5), 1208–1219. DOI: 10.1086/508966

[14] McDonald, E., Manessis, R., and Blanksby, T. (2019, July 7-10). Peer mentoring in nursing - improving retention, enhancing education [Poster presentation]. STARS 2019 Conference, Melbourne, Australia. https://unistars.org/papers/STARS2019/P30-POSTER.pdf (Access Date: 3 September 2023).

[15] Menjivar, J. (2021, April 1). Guide: How to Confront Colorism. https://www.dosomething.org/us/articles/confront-colorism-guide (Access Date: 21 September 2023).

[16] Nolan, S. A., and Heinzen, T. (2016). Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (3rd ed.). New York, Worth Publishers.

[17] Phinney, J. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for use with adolescents and young adults from diverse groups. Journal of Adolescent Research, 7, 156-176.

[18] Smedley, A. (1998). "Race" and the Construction of Human Identity. American Anthropologist, 100(3), 690–702 http://www.jstor.org/stable/682047 (Access Date: 26 September 2023).

[19] Tharps, L. L. (2016). The Difference Between Racism and Colorism Time. https://time.com/4512430/colorism-in-americ a/ (Access Date: 19 November 2023).

[20] The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2021). Reengaging Students and Closing the School-to-Prison Pipeline. Baltimore, MD: The Sentencing Project. www.aecf.org (Access Date: 7 December 2023).