

THE INFLUENCE OF SKIN COLOR ON THE LIKELIHOOD OF EXPERIENCING ARREST IN
ADULTHOOD

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ABSTRACT

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Research has long documented that darker skinned people generally experience more social and economic disadvantage than those with lighter skin, but little research has examined the effect of skin tone on criminal justice system outcomes. The few studies that have been conducted tend to find darker black and Latino individuals are treated harsher than their lighter counterparts, but most of these studies focus on disparities in sentencing. Only two studies have examined the effect of skin color on police contact. In addition, researchers have yet to examine how skin color affects CJS outcomes for other minority groups. Furthermore, most studies rely on official institutional data. Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, the current research examined the influence skin color has on adult arrests for black, Latino, Asian, and white respondents. The current study is important because it goes beyond studies on racial disparities in arrest by examining skin color as a characteristic associated with race and ethnicity. Analyses revealed that darker skinned individuals were more likely to experience an arrest than those with lighter skin, although the relationship between skin tone and arrest was moderated by gender within some racial/ethnic subgroups. Specifically, darker skin tones were associated with adult arrests for black men, Latino men and women, Asian women, and white men and women. In addition, age and irritability magnified the relationship between skin color and arrest for Latinos. Notably, the relationship between skin tone and arrest for these subgroups persisted even after controlling for deviant behavior; thus, darker skinned individuals were not more likely to be arrested because they were more deviant. Furthermore, this study

found some evidence that other life outcomes, especially education, act as pathways that explain why darker skin might lead to adult arrests. Overall, the current research indicates skin tone is an important characteristic that affects the likelihood of experiencing an arrest in adulthood.

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INTRODUCTION

Empirical evidence shows black and Latino men have higher arrest rates than white men (Brownfield, Sorenson, and Thompson 2001; Kirk 2008; Kochel, Wilson, and Mastrofski 2011; Lundman and Kaufman 2003; Mitchell and Caudy 2013; Mosher, Miethe, Hart 2011; Tapia 2010; Tonry 2011). Although it is possible that some of the racial disparities in the criminal justice system result from higher levels of offending by black and Latino men for some serious forms of crime, particularly violent crimes (Morenoff 2005; Mosher et al. 2011; Tonry 2011), a meta-analysis conducted by Kochel and colleagues (2011) revealed minorities experience higher probabilities of getting arrested than whites, and importantly, the effect of race persisted even after controlling for various legal and extralegal factors. The authors note that although the results strongly support race has an effect on the probability of experiencing arrest, their findings do not provide details into the causes of the disparities.

Tonry (2011) examined racial differences in arrests and concluded that for drug-related crimes, black men are much more likely to be arrested than white men, even though they are not more likely to use or sell drugs. Mitchell and Caudy's (2013) research also supports the conclusion that racial disparities in drug-related arrests are based, in part, on racial biases. They found differences in arrest rates were not explained by drug or non-drug offending, or by living in a neighborhood with strong police enforcement of drug laws. The documented disproportionate numbers of blacks and Latinos experiencing arrests has thus sparked a good deal of research on the topic of racial discrimination or "profiling" by police officers, primarily for less serious offending where discretion is greatest (e.g., Antonovics and Knight 2009; Lundman and Kaufman 2003; Rojek, Rosenfeld, and Decker 2004; Schafer et al. 2006).

Despite evidence of unwarranted racial disparities, little research has been able to explain why arrest disparities exist. Beyond largely theoretical arguments about the existence of racism among police officers and in society in general, few studies have been able to isolate why black and Latino men are at greater risk of experiencing arrest than white men. In the present study, I examine skin color as a characteristic that is plausibly related to the higher likelihood of experiencing arrest among black and Latino individuals. Few studies have examined the impact of skin color on criminal justice decision making and to my knowledge, only two have looked at color in the context of arrest decisions (Barlow and Barlow 2002; White 2009).

While the term “racism” is used to explain the overall privileges that whites have over other racial groups through a general system of prejudice and discrimination (Hunter 2002), “colorism” refers to discrimination based solely on the color of one’s skin (Hunter 2007). Although racism is an important topic of interest, the exploration of the effect of skin color on criminal arrests is especially important because the effect of skin color is present across racial and ethnic groups. Furthermore, by isolating the impact of color as one characteristic associated with race/ethnicity, we will better understand the cause of racial and ethnic disparities in the criminal justice system.

Although the topic of colorism in the criminal justice system is an emerging one, there is ample evidence that for people of color, lighter skinned individuals have better outcomes than darker skinned individuals in areas including employment/income, education, housing, and marriage (Hochschild and Weaver 2007; Hunter 2002, 2007, 2013). In spite of documented racial disparities in the criminal justice system, and colorism research that documents disparities in other areas of life, colorism research that examines disparities in the context of the criminal justice system has only recently been explored. Currently, only two studies examine the effect of

skin tone on police contact (Barlow and Barlow 2002; White 2009), and only a few examine skin tone disparities at sentencing (Gyimah-Brempon and Price 2006; Hochschild and Weaver 2007; Viglione, Hannon, and DeFina 2011). Although these studies enhance our understanding of colorism in the CJS, the majority of the research relies on official institutional data. Furthermore, most of the research examines the effect of skin color only for black individuals (Barlow and Barlow 2002; Gyimah-Brempon and Price 2006; Viglione et al. 2011). Less research has examined differences in the effects of skin color for blacks and whites (Hochschild and Weaver 2007) and for blacks and Latinos (White 2009). I am unaware of any studies that have examined the effect of skin color on criminal justice system outcomes for Asians.

The present study adds to the existing literature by examining the impact skin color has on the likelihood of experiencing arrest in adulthood using the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health). In addition, although colorism research traditionally focuses on blacks, there is evidence that skin color matters for other minority groups, such as Latinos and Asians. The present study therefore explores the impact of color across multiple groups (blacks, Latinos, Asians, and whites) at an early stage of the criminal justice system using self-report data from a non-institutionalized sample. The current research assists in determining if skin color matters within each of these racial/ethnic groups, and if skin color has the same influence across groups.

LITERATURE REVIEW

History and General Empirical Research on Colorism

The United States' history of slavery provides a plausible explanation for the origins of colorism. White slave owners traditionally used skin color as a determinant of assigning tasks to enslaved blacks (Harrison 2010; Hunter 2007, 2013; Maddox and Gray 2002). Slaves with light skin were more likely to hold assignments of higher esteem that were often coveted among slaves, such as household based positions as opposed to field work, which tended to be more physically demanding (Harrison 2010; Hunter 2007; Maddox and Gray 2002). Additionally, lighter skinned slaves were more likely to have special privileges, such as having opportunities to read (Hunter 2013; Rondilla and Spickard 2007). Although rare, lighter skinned slaves were also more likely to have the opportunity to be freed from slavery (Hunter 2007; Rondilla and Spickard 2007). Furthermore, those with lighter skin were often thought to be more intelligent and skilled compared to those with darker skin, and thus, in the slave market, lighter skinned black slaves sold at higher prices than their darker counterparts (Maddox and Gray 2002). This brief historical examination of some of the aspects of slavery illustrates how it is possible that colorism originated in the racial divide between blacks and whites when blackness was defined as uncivilized and ugly and whiteness was defined as virtuous and beautiful (Ryabov 2013).

Even after emancipation, black individuals continued to divide themselves based on skin color. Harrison (2010) explains there were societies that excluded darker blacks based on a "blue vein" test, which did not grant admission to any blacks with dark skin tones whose veins were not visible. Additionally, there were "paper bag" tests in schools and fraternities/sororities that only accepted blacks whose skin color was the same shade or lighter than brown paper bags (Harrison 2010; Hunter 2008). Harrison (2010) contends that as blacks widely accepted these

methods to divide themselves into subgroups based on skin color, it further validated the process of colorism for everyone else.

Similar to blacks' experiences in the U.S., Latinos were subjected to a color caste system that the Spaniards created, as a way to secure their racial power in colonial Mexico (Hunter 2002, 2007). Their system held lighter skin in higher regard and lighter skinned individuals were often more privileged than their darker counterparts. Additionally, colorism among Asians is also based on the tendency to hold lighter skin in higher esteem. Hunter (2007) explains that Asians with a European colonial history have preferences for light skin tones because the colonial regimes enforced European values. For other Asians, darker skin was associated with poverty because much of the lower class worked outside (Hunter 2007; Rondilla and Spickard 2007).

There is evidence that skin tone stratification still exists today in many facets of life. Hughes and Hertel (1990) used the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA) and found disparities in education, employment, and socioeconomic status, such that lighter blacks had more education, higher salaries, and held more important jobs than darker blacks. They concluded that life chances for darker blacks were significantly less than those of lighter blacks. Hunter (1998) also used the NSBA to examine disparities based on skin tone, and found that lighter skinned black women had more advantages in the marriage market. Lighter black women were more likely to marry higher status spouses than darker skinned black women, and were more likely to have higher education and income themselves. Furthermore, Thompson and Keith (2001) examined NSBA data and found black women hold lower social and economic positions compared to men of color and to the white population in general, and suggest this is because sexism, racism, and colorism simultaneously affect darker black women in the labor market.

Additionally, Ryabov (2013) examined how skin tone affected school-to-work and school-to-college transitions using Add Health data and found blacks with the lightest skin tone (identified as light brown, as perceived and recorded by interviewers) were more likely to be employed or in college than those with darker skin (medium brown, dark brown, black). Also using Add Health, Hannon, DeFina, and Bruch (2013) found darker blacks, especially females, had higher odds of suspension from school than lighter blacks. Thus, research consistently finds darker skinned blacks are more disadvantaged than lighter skinned blacks.

Evidence of skin stratification for Latinos is also documented. Latinos with lighter skin often have higher education, income (Murguia and Telles 1996), and better employment prospects (Hughes and Hertel 1990). Scholarship on skin color discrimination that has looked at employment outcomes has generally found lighter skinned blacks and Latinos earn more than darker skinned individuals even when controlling for factors that are likely to affect income, such as family characteristics, occupation, and education (Allen, Telles, and Hunter 2000; Mason 2004). Telles and Murguia (1988) note there are income disparities for lighter and darker skinned Latinos, just as there are for lighter and darker skinned blacks, which mimic the overall income disparities between whites and blacks. Like blacks, colorism also negatively affects darker Latinos.

Scholarship on colorism for Asians is limited (Rondilla and Spickard 2007). Sahay and Piran (1997), however, did examine skin color preferences and body satisfaction among South-Asian Canadians and European-Canadian females. They found females with Asian backgrounds desired lighter skin (although not necessarily white skin) and had lower body satisfaction than females with European backgrounds. Bhagwat (2012) examined physical and mental health among South Asians and found darker skin tones were negatively related to self esteem and self-

rated health, but dark skin tones were positively correlated with mental health. Furthermore, Wagatsuma (1967) outlines how Japanese often classify white skin as beautiful and dark skin as ugly and evil, and thus darker skinned Asians have fewer prospects for romantic relationships and marriage. Rondilla and Spickard (2007) recounted the experiences of Asian women where their relationships were affected because of their darker skin. Although there are only a handful of studies that explore the topic of colorism with Asian samples, there is some support that those with lighter skin are more advantaged than those with darker skin. Taken as a whole, the colorism research on blacks, Latinos, and Asians exemplifies that skin tone stratification is still prevalent today.

Racial Disparities in Arrest

Empirical research has confirmed racial disparities in the probability of experiencing arrest (Brownfield et al. 2001; Kirk 2008; Tapia 2010; Kochel et al. 2011; Lundman and Kaufman 2003; Mitchell and Caudy 2013; Mosher et al. 2011; Tonry 2011). Knowing disparities in arrest exist, the primary question of interest is thus whether or not police have valid reasons for stopping and arresting minorities more (Tonry 2011). Literature on “driving while black” focuses on whether or not race and ethnicity influence an officers’ decision to stop drivers (Harris 2002). Walker (2000) notes that compared to population baselines, blacks are stopped more than anticipated. Using self report data on police traffic stops, Lundman and Kaufman (2003) found that minorities report being stopped more frequently than whites, and that blacks and Latinos are more likely to report that police did not have a legitimate reason for stopping them.

Moreover, data on New York police stop-and-frisk practices from 2005-2008 reveals that even though whites made up 44 percent of the population, they only accounted for 10 percent of

police stops (Center for Constitutional Rights 2009). Additionally, blacks comprised about 25 percent of the population, but accounted for approximately half of the police stops, and Latinos accounted for 30 percent of police stops even though they only comprised 28 percent of the population (Center for Constitutional Rights 2009). Furthermore, when stopped, blacks were more likely to be frisked even though they were less likely to have contraband and drugs (Center for Constitutional Rights 2009). Gelman, Fagan, and Kiss (2007) also analyzed data on pedestrian stops from the NYPD and found blacks and Latinos were more likely to be stopped than whites even after controlling for precinct variability and estimates of the rate of crimes committed for each sub-group. Moreover, their research revealed stops of black and Latino individuals were less efficient than those of whites because stops of whites are more likely to end in arrest. Gelman et al. (2007) conclude that police were more willing to stop minorities with less rigorous standards. Thus, some literature suggests police are not always justified in stopping minorities more than whites.

However, some research suggests minorities are more likely to be noncompliant with traffic laws and thus warrant more stops (Braver 2003; Tillyer and Engel 2012; Voas, Tippetts, and Fisher 2000; Wells, Williams, and Farmer 2002). Furthermore, Lovrich et al. (2007) found minorities are more likely to have more violations when stopped by the police. Research on police searches find that when differentiating between mandatory searches and discretionary searches, minority drivers are more likely to be searched than non-minority drivers, but it is not due to deliberate discrimination or profiling by the police (Pickerill, Mosher, and Pratt 2009). Pickerill et al. (2009) reason that if discrimination were present police officers would search minority drivers at higher rates for discretionary searches than mandatory searches, however, their results reveal comparable search rates for the two types of searches. The authors conclude

this suggests racial disparities in searches are likely not due to intentional discrimination by the police.

Research on arrests often finds that even when controlling for delinquency and crime, minorities are more likely to be arrested. Kochel and colleagues (2011) conducted a meta-analysis of 40 research reports that revealed minorities had higher probabilities of experiencing arrests than whites even after controlling for various legal and extralegal factors, including offense severity, the amount of evidence at the scene, the suspect having a prior record, the suspect being under the influence of drugs or alcohol at the scene, the suspect's demeanor, the discovery of additional criminal acts committed by the person of interest at the scene, having a witness at the scene, and having victims requesting an arrest. Kochel et al.'s (2011) analysis found that on average, the likelihood of a minority suspect being arrested was 30% greater than a white suspect. Brownfield et al. (2001) analyzed Seattle Youth Study data and found independent of delinquency, gang membership among youth was not associated with a higher likelihood of experiencing arrest, but race and social class were. Additionally, using the National Longitudinal Study of Youth (NLSY), Tapia (2010) found race had a significant main effect on arrest even after controlling for demographic and legal variables, including minor and serious delinquency, arrest history, and social class. Both Tonry (2011) and Mitchell and Caudy's (2013) research found minorities were more likely to experience a drug related arrest than whites, but that drug related offending did not explain this relationship.

However, even though disparities are reported in the majority of the literature, the cause of the observed disparities is unclear since isolating a particular factor as the cause of arrest is complex (White 2009). This is further complicated because not all research finds racial disparities in arrests. Skogan and Grydl (2004) note there are mixed conclusions regarding the

racial disparities in arrest, and the results are contingent on other factors, including the context of the research and other influences taken into account. D'Alessio and Stolzenberg (2003) examined National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) data for 17 states from 1999 and found race did not have an effect on the probability of arrest for forcible rape. Furthermore, their analyses revealed that for robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault, white offenders had higher odds of being arrested than black offenders. They conclude their results do not support the argument that racial bias in policing exists. However, it is notable that the crimes D'Alessio and Stolzenberg (2003) examined are of the most serious variety, which are the kinds of offenses where racial disparities due to biases are likely to be the smallest, based on past research (Blumstein 1982).

Nevertheless, in regards to research that do find disparities, some researchers suggest police are justified in arresting minorities more because they are thought to commit more crimes (Weitzer 2000). It is possible that some of the racial disparities in the criminal justice system result from higher levels of offending by black and Latino men for some serious forms of crime, particularly violent crimes (Morenoff 2005; Mosher et al. 2011; Tonry 2011). McNulty and Bellair (2003), for example, examined Add Health data to determine racial and ethnic differences in serious violence and found blacks and Latinos reported significantly higher involvement than whites, and that Asians reported significantly lower involvement than whites. Beaver and colleagues (2013) also analyzed Add Health data and found racial disparities in arrest and incarceration were accounted for after lifetime violence and verbal IQ were included, which suggests disparities are, in part, due to more serious offending by minorities. However, self-report data often reveal more similarities than differences across race when measuring less serious offending. In many self-report studies white respondents report offending levels similar

to black respondents (Mosher et al. 2011). Thus, the primary concern is to determine whether the racial disparities in arrest can be attributed to minorities committing more crime or to biases held by police (Piquero and Brame 2008).

Due to the discretion that police officers have in their decision to arrest, however, some researchers contend blacks and Latinos are arrested more due to racial profiling and discrimination by police (Meehand and Ponder 2002, Mosher 2001). Greenleaf, Skogan, and Lurigio (2008) suggest the discrepancies are due to police officers' desire to maintain the current social structure. Others allude to the fact that minorities are arrested more than whites because police focus their attention on minorities as a result of higher associations of threat and criminality with minority groups (Tonry 2011; Holmes et al. 2008; Eberhardt et al. 2004). Piquero (2009) argues that no conclusions can be made regarding the existence of racial profiling practices by police officers because the currently available results from racial profiling research are ambiguous and difficult to interpret. This largely stems from the variability in data and analyses being utilized. Since there is little consensus on how to define and operationalize racial profiling, methodologies used to determine its existence are inconsistent. Although Piquero (2009) suggests that it is premature to make definitive conclusions about whether profiling exists, it is notable that much of the research on racial disparities in arrest has found minorities are more likely to be arrested than whites even after controlling for a host of legal and extralegal factors. Furthermore, I contend that since studies find racial disparities in arrest despite variability in data and analyses, this provides even stronger support for the existence of racial profiling. Overall then, the prior research on racial disparities in arrest does provide some support that racial biases do exist in the criminal justice system.

Skin Tone, Police Contact, and Arrest

Research that investigates the influence of skin tone on police contact and arrest is limited, as I am only aware of two studies that have examined this topic. Barlow and Barlow (2002) surveyed 167 black Milwaukee, Wisconsin police officers about their own experiences being racially profiled by the police. Their results indicated black male respondents experienced racial profiling by police more than the black female respondents. Furthermore, their results indicated that respondents who identified as having dark skin reported experiencing the highest percentages of racial profiling compared to those who identified as having light skin or other skin tones (most respondents who chose the “other” category indicated that their skin tone was medium, brown, or tan). Their results are consistent with those of colorism research outside of criminology that suggest darker skinned individuals are more disadvantaged than lighter skinned individuals. However, the authors note that the survey response rate was only 40%, which may be introducing nonresponse bias. Furthermore, it is impossible to be sure that the racial profiling the respondents experienced were the police officers’ real motivations for stopping, questioning, or ticketing the respondents, as the study is based on the respondents’ perception of the reason for the police contact. Although their research provides us with a greater understanding of the effects of colorism for black individuals, it would be beneficial for future research to examine other minority groups and to include a larger spectrum of skin tones without collapsing different categories of skin color together.

White (2012) studied the relationship between blacks’ and Latinos’ skin tone and police contact and arrest using data from Add Health. Surprisingly, the results reveal that skin tone is not a significant predictor of the frequency of police stops for blacks or Latinos. Furthermore, the results reveal that skin tone is not a significant predictor of the likelihood of experiencing an arrest for blacks, but it is a significant predictor of arrests for Latinas. White’s results revealed a

significant interaction between gender and skin tone that indicated the likelihood of being arrested significantly decreased for Latino men and significantly increased for Latino women as skin color darkens. Although White's research is important because so few studies have examined the effect of skin tone on the likelihood of experiencing an arrest, our understanding of colorism in the CJS could be enhanced by investigating the effect of skin color for not only blacks and Latinos, but other minority groups and whites as well. Additionally, while White measured skin tone as a continuous, monotonic variable, it is possible that skin tone has non-linear effects on outcomes in the CJS (Hochschild and Weaver 2007); future research should examine this possibility. Furthermore, despite evidence in past research that documents its important influence on the likelihood of experiencing arrest (Engel, Sobol, and Worden 2000; Garner, Maxwell, and Herau 2002; Novak et al. 2002; Schafer and Mastrofski 2005; Worden, and Shepard 1996), White (2012) did not control for any variables that touch on the concept of demeanor. Thus, while White's results suggest it is possible that skin tone has some effect on the likelihood of experiencing arrest for Latino women, many unanswered questions remain. Specifically, the effect of skin tone on other minority groups' likelihood of experiencing arrest needs to be further investigated. Since there is little research on colorism specifically looking at the effect of skin tone on police behavior, the current research draws on colorism research from later stages in the criminal justice system.

Skin Tone and Sentencing

The majority of research on colorism in the criminal justice system has focused on sentencing outcomes. Among other topics, Hochschild and Weaver (2007) discuss the implications colorism has for blacks in the criminal justice system. After examining almost 67,000 male felons who were incarcerated for their first offense in Georgia (from 1995 to 2002),

they identified racial differences in sentences between blacks and whites, being that blacks had an average sentence length of about a year longer than whites' average sentence lengths. They then addressed sentence disparities within blacks and found darker blacks received longer prison sentences than lighter blacks. When controlling for various factors, they found lighter blacks actually receive sentences that are comparable to whites, whereas medium skinned and darker skinned blacks received longer sentences. This indicates it is possible that skin color has a non-linear effect on CJS outcomes.

Viglione and colleagues (2011) studied the impact of skin color on prison sentence lengths for black female offenders using North Carolina Department of Corrections data for the years 1995 to mid-2009. Correctional officers assessed skin color during intake procedures, and differentiated between light and non light skin tones. Their dependent variable, prison sentence length, had two measures: maximum consecutive sentence length and actual time served. For maximum sentence length, they found women identified as having light skin had sentence lengths about 12% shorter than women with non-light skin. Additionally, women with light skin served sentences approximately 11% shorter than the women with non-light skin. The authors acknowledge the high variability in the data (due to no systematic training in identifying skin tones, as well as the diversity of all the correctional officers' perceptions and biases), but note that these significant relationships in the data are especially interesting given this variability.

Similar to Viglione et al. (2011), Gyimah-Brempong and Price (2006) also documented the effect of skin tone on sentence lengths. They theorized that darker blacks have more criminal opportunities because legitimate opportunities decrease as darkness of skin increases, and they tested this with a proportional hazards framework. Data on black offenders in Mississippi who were incarcerated as of August 20th, 2005 with the last name starting with the letter "A" were

used to investigate the effect of skin color on crime hazard and prison sentence lengths. Their results suggest that having a darker skin tone has positive effects on crime hazard; in other words, darker skin tones were associated with disadvantages that encouraged transitions from legitimate to criminal activities. Additionally, having darker skin had a significant positive effect on sentence length, meaning sentence lengths increased as the darkness of one's skin increased. Again, this study provides further support that colorism exists in sentencing outcomes in the criminal justice system.

Although each of the existing studies on colorism in the criminal justice system contributes to our comprehension of this phenomenon, this area of research needs to be further explored. Most studies only examine data from one state as opposed to examining nationally representative data. Additionally, although the outlined research provides strong support for the existence of colorism in the criminal justice system, it is important to note that most of the research only examines sentencing outcomes; there are only two studies that examine police contact or arrest. Since the few studies that examine skin color disparities in police contact suggest darker individuals are stopped and arrested more than lighter individuals, and criminology research on race confirms disparities prior to the sentencing stage (Demuth 2003; Engen and Steen 2000), it is thus highly likely that colorism is affecting outcomes earlier in the system, such as at arrest, pre-trial detention, and conviction. Research that examines the effects of colorism at earlier stages in the system is thus called for. Finally, most of the research outlined in this section has only investigated the effect of colorism for blacks. It is important that other minority groups, such as Latinos and Asians, also be included in colorism research. Thus, additional research on the topic of colorism in the criminal justice system is warranted.

Afrocentric Feature Bias in the CJS

Since there are only a handful of studies that investigate the effects of colorism in the CJS, the current study also draws on a related line of research, Afrocentric feature bias. Researchers of Afrocentric feature bias theorize that those with stereotypical black features (darker skin, wider nose, fuller lips) will receive harsher treatment than those without such stereotypical features. Blair, Judd, and Chapleau (2004) studied the influence of Afrocentric features on sentencing, and found results that parallel the broader colorism research findings. They used Florida Department of Corrections data to randomly select a group of males aged 18-24 who were incarcerated. The sample consisted of 100 blacks and 116 whites. Undergraduate students rated photographs of the inmates on the degree to which they had typical Afrocentric features, 1 being they had none at all, and 9 being very much. The analyses found Afrocentric features to be a significant predictor of sentence length. Both blacks and whites that were perceived to have darker skin, wide noses, and full lips had longer sentences than those with less Afrocentric features.

Pizzi, Blair, and Judd (2005) also conducted similar research using Florida data. They found that race had no significant impact on sentence lengths after controlling for criminal record. When Afrocentric features were added to the model, they found it did predict sentence lengths, and that race surprisingly became significant in that whites had longer sentences than blacks. Therefore one can conclude that regardless of race, inmates with more Afrocentric features receive longer sentences than those with less Afrocentric features. Finally, Eberhardt et al. (2006) examined over 600 death-eligible cases in Pennsylvania between 1979 and 1999. They had undergraduate students rate photographs of the offenders (although the raters were unaware that the men in the photos were offenders) based on their lips, nose, hair texture, and skin tone. When examining black defendants who were convicted of murdering white victims, they found

that those whose photographs were rated as more stereotypically black were more likely to have a death sentence imposed. Interestingly however, when black defendants convicted of murdering a black victim were examined, Eberhardt and colleagues did not find stereotypical black features influence sentencing.

Even though Afrocentric feature bias research supports colorism research, there are limitations with the aforementioned studies (Blair et al. 2004; Eberhardt et al. 2006; Pizzi et al. 2005). As with colorism research, there are few studies that examine Afrocentric feature bias in the criminal justice system and many do not use nationally representative data. Additionally, the existing literature on Afrocentric feature bias in the CJS only examines one part of the system: sentencing. As previously mentioned, since research on racial biases in the criminal justice system has documented disparities at earlier stages in the system (Demuth 2003), it would also be beneficial for future research to examine other contexts, such as arrest, pre-trial detention, and conviction.

Although colorism and Afrocentric feature bias are not exactly the same, Afrocentric feature bias hypothesizes that darker skinned individuals will receive harsher treatment than those with lighter skin, which is why the current paper presented research in this area. The colorism and Afrocentric feature bias research in the context of the criminal justice system both support general colorism research that finds darker skinned individuals are more disadvantaged than lighter skinned individuals.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Categorization, an inevitable byproduct of thought, is the grouping of stimuli with the purpose of managing the load of incoming stimuli (Nelson 2006; Allport 1954). Prominent dimensions of categorization often include race, gender, age (Jones and Fazio 2010; Nelson 2006), and skin tone (Maddox and Gray 2002). The development of stereotypes comes from the application of categories because one generalizes characteristics of a stimulus to those of a group based solely on membership (Nelson 2006). It is thus important to examine the effects that categorization has on racial stereotyping and stereotyping based on skin tone, especially in situations where categorization influences a police officer's decision to arrest an individual.

Many Americans hold conscience stereotypes that categorize blacks (Tonry 2011), as well as Latinos (Holmes et al. 2008), as violent, dangerous, and criminal. Asians, on the other hand, are often thought of as the "model minority" because society often associates Asians with high academic achievement (Johnson and Betsinger 2009). Tonry (2011) explains when studies ask respondents to describe typical violent offenders, whites often describe black individuals, and many people have implicit biases that tend to link blacks with negative attributes, such as unpleasantness and dangerousness. Dixon and Linz (2000) found that blacks and Latinos are overrepresented in television broadcasted news as being lawbreakers compared to whites, and Harrison (2010) suggests that media plays a large role in influencing peoples' stereotypes. This common tendency of people to label blacks and Latinos negatively can surely affect a police officer's response to a situation. Furthermore, prior research has found demeanor to be an important factor that affects police officers' decisions to stop, arrest, and use force against citizens (Engel et al. 2000; Garner et al. 2002; Novak et al. 2002; Schafer and Mastrofski 2005; Worden, and Shepard 1996). Thus, it is plausible that police perceive minorities' demeanor as

more threatening and combative than whites. Police officers have to assess situations and individuals quickly and it is inevitable that stereotypes will be activated in an effort to be more efficient. Indeed, Demuth (2003) argues that disparities might be greatest at the earliest stages of the criminal justice system because of the discretion that officers have, it is likely that an officers' assessment affects their decision to arrest.

In addition to documented racial stereotypes, criminology research has provided evidence that darker skinned individuals, regardless of race/ethnicity, are often categorized to be more violent and dangerous than lighter skinned individuals. Harrison (2010) cites the infamous picture of OJ Simpson on the TIME magazine front page during his murder trial as an example of colorism. Simpson's skin was darkened in the publicized photo, which Harrison argues portrays darker skinned blacks as criminals even more so than lighter blacks. Maddox and Gray's (2002) study focused on how skin color influenced perceptions and representations of blacks, and found that more negative cultural stereotypes were associated with darker blacks, including descriptors such as being criminal and tough/aggressive, compared to their lighter counterparts. Thus, it is likely that police not only perceive minorities' demeanor as more threatening and combative than whites, but that they perceive darker skinned minorities' demeanor as more threatening and combative than their lighter skinned counterparts or whites.

Furthermore, Eberhardt et al. (2004) documented police officers were more likely to identify blacks with being criminal compared to whites, and that the more stereotypically black an individual was, the more likely the police officer was to judge the person as a criminal. They had 182 police officers participate in their study in which they were shown photographs of black and white male faces and the officers had to choose which face appeared more criminal. They found a significant main effect of race, being that blacks were more likely to look criminal to the

officers than whites. Also, stereotypical features had a significant effect for blacks; the more stereotypical a black face appeared, the more likely they were to be judged as criminal by the participating police officers. Eberhardt et al.'s research exemplifies that police officers do use racial and skin tone categorizations when on the job, and I argue this likely affects an officer's decision to arrest. Categorization is bound to play a significant role in influencing a police officer's behavioral response to a situation they are called to. The categorization literature outlined in this section provides sound theoretical framework for why darker skinned people are punished more than lighter skinned people.

PRESENT STUDY AND HYPOTHESES

The current research enhances the existing literature in an attempt to further what is known about colorism in the criminal justice system. This paper examines how skin color affects adult arrest for blacks, Latinos, Asians, and whites when controlling for demographic and social measures, including gender, age, SES, irritability, delinquency, and substance use.

The current paper theorizes darker skinned individuals are more likely to receive harsher treatments in the criminal justice system and thus, they will have a higher likelihood of experiencing an adult arrest. This hypothesis is, in part, due to the general tendency that darker skinned individuals are more disadvantaged than lighter skinned individuals (Hochschild and Weaver 2007; Hunter 2007, 2013). Furthermore, I hypothesize black and Latino individuals will have a higher likelihood of experiencing an adult arrest than whites and that Asian individuals will be less likely to experience an arrest than whites due to stereotypes that link blacks and Latinos with criminality (Duncan 1976; Holmes et al. 2008; Sagar and Schofield 1980; Tonry 2011) and stereotypes that characterize Asians as the model minority (Johnson and Betsinger 2009). Furthermore, I suspect that skin color will matter within racial groups, such that darker skinned blacks, Latinos, Asians, and whites will have a higher likelihood of experiencing an adult arrest than lighter skinned blacks, Latinos, Asians, and whites (respectively).

There is literature that suggests demeanor plays a role in a police officer's decision to stop, arrest, and even use force against citizens (Engel et al. 2000; Garner et al. 2002; Novak et al. 2002; Schafer and Mastrofski 2005; Worden, and Shepard 1996). Unfortunately, Add Health does not include measures on demeanor, but they do have questions that touch on combativeness/irritability. Thus, I test an interaction between irritability and skin color because I hypothesize that irritability will magnify the effect of skin color. Similarly, I explore an

interaction between skin tone and age because I expect that younger dark skinned respondents will be more likely to get arrested than older dark skinned respondents. Since prior research on the interaction of race and gender on CJS outcomes show that black and Latino men receive disproportionally harsher punishments (Demuth and Steffensmeier 2004), and some colorism research outside of the CJS suggest that the effects of skin tone are more detrimental among women (e.g., Keith and Herring 1991), I also predict that the effect of skin color will operate differently for men and women. Thus, I test an interaction between skin color and gender.

Finally, since research on colorism finds that those with darker skin are more disadvantaged in various facets of life (e.g., Hochschild and Weaver 2007; Hunter 2002, 2007, 2013), the current study also includes the following mediators to determine if they act as pathways by which darker skin leads to experiencing arrest in adulthood: education, employment, marriage, neighborhood disadvantage, and juvenile arrest. I hypothesize that these mediators will reduce the relationship between skin color and arrest to non-significance.

METHODS

Data

To examine this relationship, the current paper used data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health). Add Health sampled a nationally representative group of adolescents in the 7th- 12th grades in the 1994-95 school year for its first wave, and has conducted interviews with the participants four times since then. The first wave of the in home interviews had a core of 12,105 adolescent participants plus additional oversampled groups (including oversamples based on ethnicity, saturation, disability, and genetics) for a total of 20,745 participants. The initial follow up interview (Wave II), that included almost 15,000 participants who were interviewed at Wave I, was conducted in 1996. The third wave was conducted in 2001/2002 (when the sample was roughly between the ages of 18-26) and the in home interviews included over 15,000 respondents that participated in Wave I's in home interview. Its most recent interviews (Wave IV) were conducted in 2007/2008 (when the sample was mostly 24-32 years old) and included interviews for approximately 80% of the eligible cases.

Add Health includes a variety of topics in its research, touching on “respondents’ social, economic, psychological and physical well-being with contextual data on the family, neighborhood, community, school, friendships, peer groups, and romantic relationships” (Add Health website). It is a UNC Carolina Population Center project, and its data are available through the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). These data were chosen over other data sets because Add Health is a nationally representative, non-institutionalized sample. Additionally, Add Health data includes measures of involvement in the criminal justice system prior to sentencing: arrests. Finally, these data are also attractive because

Add Health has more than one wave, so respondents were interviewed when they were juveniles and adults, thus the current research can include controls from when the respondents were youth. The current analyses used in-home data from Waves I, III, and IV ($n = 13,034$). I excluded 117 non-Latino Native American respondents and 35 respondents whose race could not be determined. Furthermore, cases that were missing on the dependent or main independent variable were also excluded. The final analytical sample size for the current research is 12,763.

Measures

Dependent Variable: Adult Arrest

The in-home Wave IV interview asked respondents about their involvement in the criminal justice system (this section was answered using AUDIO-CASI). The main variable of interest for the current project asked the respondent how many times they had been arrested since their 18th birthday. The answers range between being arrested once to 59 times; however, the majority of the sample did not experience more than one arrest. Thus, this was coded into a binary variable that served as the measure for the dependent variable.

Independent Variable: Skin Color

Skin color, perceived and reported by the interviewer in Wave III, is the current study's independent variable. Specifically, the interviewer answered "What is the respondent's skin color?" The answer choices included five skin tone categories: black = 1, dark brown = 2, medium brown = 3, light brown = 4, and white = 5. These responses were reverse coded for the analyses so higher values indicate darker skin tones. Since Hochschild and Weaver's (2007) research indicates skin color might have nonlinear effects, the current study tested for nonlinearity. The result was not significant and the analyses therefore do not include a quadratic skin color measure.

Control Variables

For the demographic variables, the current paper controls for race and ethnicity, age, and gender. The respondents' race/ethnicity is based on responses to various questions in Wave III. To identify the Latino subsample, the question "Are you of Hispanic or Latino origin?" was used. To identify the respondents' race, the question "What is your race?" was used. This question allows the respondent to give more than one answer but, in instances where a respondent chose more than one category, the current research used a subsequent question, "Which one category best describes your racial background?," to construct the categories so that all samples were mutually exclusive.

To clarify, blacks, whites, and Asians included in the analyses for the current research only include respondents who indicated that they were not of Hispanic or Latino origin and who only identified racially as black, white, or Asian (respectively) or if they indicated they were mixed-race, they chose black, white, or Asian (respectively) to be the category that best described their racial background. White respondents are included in the current study because prior research has found whites with darker skin and other Afrocentric features receive harsher punishment in the CJS than those with white skin (Blair et al. 2004; Pizzi et al. 2005). The Latino sample will include any respondents who indicated they were of Hispanic or Latino origin regardless of their racial background.

Age was controlled for using a measure in Wave III (this variable is centered because it is also being used as a moderator) and gender was controlled for using a variable in Wave I. To control for SES, the current paper used parent's education and occupation, measured at Wave I, as indicators. This was based on Bearman and Moody's (2004) constructed socioeconomic measure using Add Health data. The SES constructed variable ranges from 1 – 10 and higher

values indicate that the respondents' parents are more advantaged. Although prior colorism research has not controlled for SES (e.g., White 2009), the current research included it as a control because SES is confounded with color. Prior research finds darker skinned individuals are more economically disadvantaged than lighter skinned individuals (e.g., Allen et al. 2000; Hughes and Hertel 1990; Mason 2004; Murguia and Telles 1996; Telles and Murguia 1988).

To control for delinquent behavior, the current research used all 15 questions regarding delinquency from the Wave I in-home interview. For simplicity, all 15 variables were recoded into dichotomous variables that indicated involvement (one or times) or no involvement in the corresponding delinquent activity the respondent was being questioned on. A summed scale of delinquency (standardized $\alpha = .80$) was created with the dichotomous variables, ranging 0 – 15, with higher values indicating more involvement in delinquent behavior. These questions ask about vandalism (painting graffiti, damaging property), violence (involvement in serious physical fights), and weapons (use or threaten someone with a weapon), among other things (lying, stealing, running away from home, driving a car without permission, selling drugs, being unruly in public). Although there are Wave III measures of delinquency, Wave I was used for the current research for time ordering purposes. Delinquency was controlled for to rule out deviant behavior as a reason for why darker skinned individuals might be more likely to experience an arrest than lighter skinned individuals.

Additionally, some variables from Wave I that ask the respondents about alcohol and drug use were also included as controls for delinquent behavior. As the included variables measure illegal drug/substance use, they serve as a gauge to determine the respondents' engagement in delinquency. Thus, as with the delinquency control, alcohol and drug use were controlled for in the current study to rule out the explanation that deviant behavior explains why

darker skinned individuals might be more likely to be arrested in adulthood than lighter skinned individuals. Three questions that ask about respondents' alcohol use were combined to make an overall scale of alcohol use. The included questions ask in the year prior to the interview how many days the respondent drank alcohol, drank more than 5 drinks at once, and got drunk. The responses for each of these include never, 1 or 2 days in the past 12 months, once a month or less, 2 or 3 days a month, 1 or 2 days a week, 3 to 5 days a week, or everyday or almost every day (thus, it ranges from 0-6). The scale of alcohol use (standardized $\alpha = .91$) summed each of these measures and it ranges from 0 to 18, with higher values indicating more alcohol use.

The scale of drug use was constructed using questions that ask about the following drugs used in their lifetime: marijuana, cocaine use, inhalant use (such as glue or solvents), and other illegal drugs, including "any other type of illegal drug, such as LSD, PCP, ecstasy, mushrooms, speed, ice, heroin, or pills, without a doctor's prescription." Like the delinquency measure, the drug use measures are dummy variables that indicate usage (one or more times) or no usage and then they were summed to create a scale of drug use (standardized $\alpha = .64$). The scale ranges from 0 – 4, with higher values indicating more drug use.

Ideally, a measure that taps the respondents' demeanor would be included in the current study since it has consistently been found to affect police officers' decisions to stop, arrest, and even use force against citizens (Engel et al. 2000; Garner et al. 2002; Novak et al. 2002; Schafer and Mastrofski 2005; Worden, and Shepard 1996), but Add Health does not include questions about the demeanor of the respondents. Thus, a variable that taps irritability in general was constructed. This measure is comprised of two questions that ask the respondents to rate whether they strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements: "You never argue with anyone" and "You never criticize other people." These two

variables were summed and then centered (because it is also being used as a moderator) to create the irritability measure (standardized $\alpha = .55$). Higher values indicate higher levels of irritability. Irritability was included as a control because it is plausibly an extraneous variable that could be confounding the relationship between skin color and arrest.

Mediators

Since research on colorism finds that those with darker skin are more disadvantaged in various facets of life (e.g., Hochschild and Weaver 2007; Hunter 2002, 2007, 2013), the current study also includes five mediators that are likely related to skin color and experiencing an arrest in adulthood. These mediators include education, employment, relationship status, neighborhood disadvantage, and juvenile arrest history. Education, measured at Wave III, is a binary variable that indicates whether the respondent earned a high school diploma (or equivalent). Employment status is a binary variable that indicates whether the respondent was employed, working for pay for at least 10 hours a week, at Wave III. The relationship status variable, measured at Wave IV, is also a binary variable and it indicates whether the respondent had ever been married.

The neighborhood disadvantage variable was constructed from two measures from Wave III. The two measures that comprise neighborhood disadvantage include indicators for the proportion of families who are female headed households and the proportion of the population below the poverty level in 1999. Both of these indicators were standardized so that the mean was 0 and the standard deviation was 1, and then the standardized indicators were summed to create the neighborhood disadvantage variable. Higher values indicate higher disadvantage. Finally, the mediator for juvenile arrest was measured at Wave IV and it indicates whether the respondent experienced an arrest prior to turning 18. Again, the current research included these mediators because it is likely that these factors are all related to skin color and the likelihood of

experiencing an adult arrest. Since it is plausible that darker skin leads to worse outcomes in general, and such disadvantaged outcomes increase the risk of arrest, I included these mediators to determine if these are pathways by which darker skin might lead to an arrest in adulthood.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

To analyze the effect of skin tone on adult criminal arrests, unweighted logistic regressions were run in SAS. Winship and Radbill (1994) contend unweighted regressions are preferred when included independent variables are similar to the factors used in constructing the weights. Since Add Health oversampled based on race and ethnicity and the current research includes race and ethnicity as key independent variables, I did not weight the analyses. Using the entire sample, I first examine the zero-order relationship between skin color and adult arrest. The second and third models add demographic/compositional controls. Specifically, model 2 adds controls for race and ethnicity, and the third model adds gender (male), age, and SES. Irritability, delinquency, drug use, and alcohol use are added to the fourth model as extraneous variables that could be confounding the relationship between skin color and arrest. Models 5-7 include interactions between skin color and irritability, age, and gender. Finally, the last model adds in the proposed mediators, including education, employment, relationship status, neighborhood disadvantage, and juvenile arrest history to determine if these are pathways by which darker skin might lead to experiencing an adult arrest. Next, I partition the models by race and ethnicity. Separating the models by race and ethnicity was justified because a Chow test analog indicated the regression effects differed for the racial/ethnic subsamples. These models are the same as the models used for the entire sample except that they have one less model because they do not control for race.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

The analytical sample for the current research ($n = 12,763$) includes 2,757 black respondents, 2,030 Latino respondents, 821 Asian respondents, and 7,155 white respondents. Table 1 displays the percentage of respondents who were identified by the interviewer as having white, light brown, medium brown, dark brown, and black skin tones. Of all respondents, the majority are identified as having white skin tone (63.49%). Regarding black respondents only, the majority are identified as having medium brown (31.48%), dark brown (27.97%), or black (27.31%) skin tones. For the Latino subsample, the majority are identified as having white or light brown skin tones (46.9% and 37.54% respectively). Similarly, the Asian sample was also primarily identified as having white (30.57%) or light brown (50.55%) skin tones. Finally, the vast majority of white respondents were identified as having white skin tone (96.25%). Since the distribution of skin color for white respondents is highly skewed, subsequent analyses will not use the entire distribution of color for white respondents. Instead, the skin color categories light brown, medium brown, dark brown, and black will be collapsed. Thus, for white respondents the current research will be comparing those identified as having white skin to those with any non-white skin tone. The full distribution of color will still be used for the black, Latino, and Asian subsamples.

Table 2 provides descriptive statistics for all of the included independent variables and the dependent variable, separated by the different levels of skin tone. The table illustrates that overall there are 3,184 respondents (25%) who indicated they had been arrested at least once since their 18th birthday. As expected, the percentage of those who experience an adult arrest steadily increases as skin tone darkens because of those who have white skin only 23%

experienced an adult arrest, of those who have light brown skin 25% experienced an adult arrest, of those who have medium brown skin 28% experienced arrest, of those who have dark brown skin 30% experienced an adult arrest, and of those who have black skin 32% experienced an arrest. Of course, this is to be expected considering those who have lighter skin tones are more likely to be white and they have, on average, higher SES. However, this is interesting because the descriptive statistics also show that delinquency does not have a clear relationship with skin tone. In other words, as skin tone darkens, involvement in delinquency does not increase steadily. Furthermore, as skin tone darkens, alcohol and drug use decrease in an almost linear fashion. Thus, even though delinquent behavior does not increase as skin tone darkens, the percent of respondents who were arrested as an adult does increase in a linear fashion; this suggests there is a positive relationship between skin color and the likelihood of experiencing an adult arrest despite there not being a positive relationship between skin color and delinquency, substance use, or alcohol use.

Bivariate Results

In fact, the correlation between skin color and arrest for the entire sample is .06 ($p < .001$). Taken as a whole, this suggests skin tone has a significant positive relationship with adult arrest. Examining the correlations within racial/ethnic subgroups reveals the correlation between skin color and arrest for black respondents is .03 ($p < .10$), while for Latino respondents it is .08 ($p < .001$), for Asian respondents it is .04 ($p > .10$), and for white respondents it is .03 ($p < .05$). This reveals that for each race and ethnicity subgroup there is a positive relationship between skin color and arrest, but, surprisingly, it is only significant ($p < .05$) for Latino and white individuals at the bivariate level. However, the relationship between skin color and adult arrest for black respondents is marginally significant ($p < .10$). These relationships need to be further

examined in multivariate regression models to determine if skin color has independent effects net of race and ethnicity.

Multivariate Results

To examine the relationship between skin color and adult arrest, five sets of logistic regressions were run. The first set of regressions (in Table 3) examined this relationship for the entire sample of respondents. Model 1 illustrates the zero-order relationship between skin color and arrest is significant ($p < .001$). Thus, a one-unit increase in skin tone is associated with a $[e^{(.1131)} = 1.120]$ 12% increase in the odds of arrest at the zero-order level. As expected, the zero-order relationship between race/ethnicity and arrest (analyses not shown) reveals that blacks are significantly more likely and Asians are significantly less likely to experience arrests than whites. Contrary to what I hypothesized, Latinos are not significantly more likely to experience an adult arrest than whites. Model 2 added racial/ethnic categories as controls, and skin color still has a significant relationship with arrest ($p < .001$). Since both race and skin tone were included in this model, I ran multicollinearity diagnostics, and the results indicated that multicollinearity was not an issue. Regardless, the third model added controls for gender (male), age, and SES, and the effect of skin color is still significant. Additional analyses (results not shown) revealed that gender, as opposed to SES, explained the large portion of the skin color effect. This is most likely because men are more likely to have darker skin tones and are more likely to be arrested than women.

Model 4 added controls for irritability, delinquency, and substance and alcohol use; each of these added controls, except irritability, have a significant positive association with adult arrest. Even with these behavioral controls, the effect of skin color is marginally significant ($p < .10$). A unit increase in skin tone is associated with a $[e^{(.0597)} = 1.061]$ 6% increase in the odds of

arrest. Thus, although the controls for race/ethnicity, gender, age, SES, irritability, and problem behaviors reduce the effect of skin color on the likelihood of experiencing an adult arrest, skin color is still marginally related to experiencing an arrest. Therefore, this supports my hypothesis that darker skinned individuals are more likely to experience an adult arrest than lighter skinned individuals.

Models 5-7 tested interactions between skin color and irritability, age, and gender (male), although none were significant at the $p < .05$ level. The interaction between skin color and age was marginally significant ($p < .10$) though (model 6). A one unit increase in skin tone is associated with a $[e^{(.0602)} = 1.062]$ 6% increase in the odds of arrest for those with average age, and each unit increase in age magnifies the effect of skin color by a factor of $e^{(.0182)} = 1.018$. In other words, for those one unit higher in age, a unit increase in skin tone is associated with a $[e^{(.0602 + .0182)}]$ 8% increase in the odds of experiencing an adult arrest. This was opposite to what I expected, because I predicted that younger dark skinned respondents would be more likely to experience an arrest than older dark skinned respondents. My hypotheses that irritability and gender would moderate the relationship between skin color and arrest were not supported.

The final model for the entire sample added various mediators, including education, employment, relationship status, neighborhood disadvantage, and juvenile arrest history. As expected, these mediators account for the relationship between skin color and adult arrest, because skin color is no longer a significant predictor of arrest. Education (having earned a high school degree or equivalent) had the largest mediating effect on adult arrest for the entire sample (analyses not shown). This implies that these factors, especially educational attainment, are pathways by which dark skin lead to experiencing an arrest in adulthood. Regardless, it is notable that in model 4 even after irritability, delinquency, substance use, and alcohol use are

added skin color is marginally significant ($p < .10$). Thus, my primary hypothesis that darker skinned individuals are more likely to experience an arrest than lighter skinned individuals was supported.

The remaining regressions are partitioned by racial/ethnic categories; this enabled me to determine if skin color matters within these subgroups. Starting with the subsample of black respondents, model 1 in Table 4 reveals that at the zero-order level, skin color is only marginally ($p < .10$) predictive of adult arrest. A one unit increase in skin color is associated with a $[e^{(.0681)} = 1.071]$ 7% increase in the odds of arrest. However, skin color is no longer significant once gender, age, and SES are added (model 2). Furthermore, model 3 added irritability, delinquency, substance and alcohol use, and skin color is still not significantly related to the odds of experiencing an adult arrest. This does not lend support to my hypothesis that darker skinned blacks would have higher odds of experiencing an adult arrest than lighter skinned blacks.

Model 4 and 5 reveals that interactions between skin color and irritability as well as skin color and age are not significant, which do not support my hypothesis that irritability and age would moderate the relationship between skin tone and arrest. Model 6 introduced an interaction between skin color and gender (male), and this interaction is significant ($p < .01$). For females, a unit increase in skin tone is associated with a $[e^{(-.1234)} = .88]$ 12% decrease in the odds of arrest, which is marginally significant ($p < .10$). For males, a unit increase in skin color is associated with a $[e^{(-.1234 + .2426)} = 1.13]$ 13% increase in the odds of experiencing an adult arrest, which is also marginally significant ($p < .10$). Thus, darker black women have a lower risk of experiencing an arrest in adulthood, but darker black men have a higher risk of experiencing arrest compared to their lighter counterparts. This supports my hypothesis that the effect of skin color would operate differently for men and women.

The final model tested mediation through education, employment, marriage, neighborhood condition, and juvenile arrest, and skin tone is still not significantly related to experiencing an adult arrest. Since there was a significant interaction between skin color and gender, however, I also ran a model that included the interaction term with the mediators (analyses not shown). Results revealed that the mediators accounted for the relationship between skin color and arrest for males, but not females. Thus, these mediators are pathways that lead darker black men to experience arrest in adulthood. Thus, while I hypothesized that darker skinned blacks would be more likely to experience an arrest than lighter skinned blacks, this was only supported for men. Model 4 reveals that darker skinned black men have higher odds of experiencing an adult arrest than lighter skinned black men. In contrast, the results suggest that darker skinned black women have lower odds of experiencing an adult arrest than lighter skinned black women.

For Latino respondents, model 1 in Table 5 reveals the zero-order relationship between skin color and adult arrest is highly significant. A one unit increase in skin color is associated with a $[e^{(.2205)} = 1.247]$ 25% increase in the odds of arrest. Model 2 adds gender (male), age, and SES. In this model, skin color continues to have a significant relationship with adult arrests for Latinos. Analyses were also run with controls for race (results not shown), but the results were not substantially different when they were included, so, to be parsimonious, the racial controls were left out of the presented analyses. Moreover, as predicted, the third model reveals that even when irritability, delinquency, substance use, and alcohol use are included, darker skin is still associated with a higher likelihood of experiencing an adult arrest. A one unit increase in skin color is associated with a $[e^{(.1693)} = 1.184]$ 18% increase in the odds of arrest for Latinos ($p <$

.05). This confirms my hypothesis that darker skinned Latinos are more likely to experience an adult arrest than their lighter skinned counterparts.

Models 4-6 tested interactions between skin tone and irritability, age, and gender (male). The interaction between skin color and irritability (model 4) is marginally significant ($p < .10$). This model reveals that for those with average irritability, a unit increase in skin color is associated with a $[e^{(.1651)} = 1.180]$ 18% increase in the odds of experiencing an adult arrest ($p < .05$), and that for each one unit increase in irritability, the effect of skin color is magnified by a factor of $e^{(.0693)} = 1.072$. Put another way, for those one unit higher in irritability, a unit increase in skin tone is associated with a $[e^{(.1651 + .0693)} = 1.264]$ 26% increase in the odds of experiencing an adult arrest. This supports my hypothesis that irritability would magnify the relationship between skin color and adult arrest. The 5th model illustrates that there is a significant interaction between skin color and age, and the effect of skin color is still significant. For respondents with average age, a unit increase in skin color is associated with a $[e^{(.1738)} = 1.190]$ 19% increase in the odds of experiencing an adult arrest ($p < .05$), but for respondents who are a unit higher in age, a unit increase in skin tone is associated with a $[e^{(.1738 + .0797)} = 1.289]$ 29% increase in the odds of experiencing an adult arrest. In this instance, the effect of skin color is magnified by a factor of $e^{(.0797)} = 1.083$ for a unit increase in age. This is opposite to what I predicted, because I thought age would diminish the relationship between skin color and arrest. Also contrary to my hypothesis, the effect of skin color did not vary by gender (model 6).

Finally, the 7th model for Latino respondents added in the mediators, but skin color is still significantly related to experiencing an adult arrest. Although these mediators did not fully account for the relationship between skin color and arrest, they did diminish the relationship. Educational attainment had the largest mediating effect on adult arrest for the entire sample

(analyses not shown). This suggests that these mediators, especially education, might be pathways by which dark skin lead to experiencing an arrest in adulthood. Overall, these models support my hypothesis that darker skinned Latinos are more likely to experience an adult arrest than lighter Latinos.

For Asian respondents (Table 6), skin color does not have a significant relationship with adult arrest even at the zero-order level. Skin color is still not significant after gender (male), age, SES (model 2) are added or when irritability, delinquency, substance use, or alcohol use (model 3) are added. Model 4 added an interaction between skin color and irritability, and model 5 added an interaction between skin color and age, but, contrary to what I expected, neither was significant. However, the sixth model does reveal a significant interaction between skin color and gender (male). For females, a unit increase in skin tone is associated with a $[e^{(.5694)} = 1.767]$ 77% increase in the odds of arrest ($p < .05$). This lends some support to my hypothesis that darker skinned Asians would have a higher likelihood of experiencing arrest than lighter skinned Asians. On the other hand, a unit increase in skin color for males is associated with a $[e^{(.5694 + -.7593)} = .827]$ 17% decrease in the odds of experiencing an adult arrest, although this is non-significant. This supports my hypothesis that the effect of skin color would differ for men and women. The final model (model 7) added in mediators, and the effect of skin color remained non-significant. Since the interaction between skin color and gender was significant, I also ran a model with the interaction and mediators together (analyses not shown). Contrary to my expectation, the mediators did not account for the significant relationship between skin color and arrest for females. Thus, for Asian respondents, skin color only appears to matter for females. In other words, there is evidence that among Asians, darker skinned females have higher odds of experiencing an adult arrest than lighter skinned females.

Turning to the models with the white respondent subsample, model 1 in Table 7 indicates that skin color does have a significant relationship with adult arrest at the zero-order level. The odds of experiencing an adult arrest for white respondents with non-white skin are [$e^{(.2895)} = 1.336$] 34% greater than white respondents with white skin (recall that the limited distribution of skin tone for whites explains why the skin color indicator is dichotomized for the white respondents). This effect remains significant even when gender (male), age, and SES are added to the regression. Moreover, even after irritability, delinquency, substance use, and alcohol use are included, skin tone is significantly related to experiencing an adult arrest for white respondents. Model 3 reveals that the odds of experiencing an adult arrest for white respondents with non-white skin are [$e^{(.2982)} = 1.347$] 35% greater than white respondents with white skin ($p < .05$). This supports my hypothesis that darker skinned whites (those who are identified as having any non-white skin tone) are more likely to experience an arrest than white skinned whites. Models 4-6 tested interactions between skin color, gender (male), irritability, and age, however, contrary to what I expected, none were significant. The final model (model 7) added the various mediators. Although I hypothesized that the mediators would account for the relationship between skin color and arrest, this model illustrates that skin color still has a marginally significant relationship with arrest. In this model, the odds of experiencing an adult arrest for white respondents with non-white skin are still [$e^{(.2743)} = 1.316$] 32% greater than white respondents with white skin ($p < .10$) even when accounting for pathways by which darker skin tones might lead to arrest. Thus, I did find support for my hypothesis that darker skinned whites (those with non-white skin tones) are more likely to experience an adult arrest than their lighter skinned (white skin) counterparts.

DISCUSSION

Overall, the current research suggests skin tone is an important characteristic that does affect the likelihood of experiencing an arrest in adulthood, as predicted. Figure 1 displays the predicted probabilities of arrest for whites, blacks, Latinos, and Asians based on the full model for each subsample (model 3 in Tables 4, 5, 6, and 7). This illustrates that blacks have a higher probability of experiencing an arrest in adulthood than whites, and that Latinos (except those with black skin) and Asians have a lower probability of experiencing an arrest in adulthood than whites. Therefore, my hypotheses that blacks and Asians would have a higher and lower likelihood of experiencing an arrest than whites, respectively, were supported. My hypothesis that Latinos would be more likely to experience an arrest than whites was not supported.

Additionally, this figure leads one to believe that skin color only increases the probability of arrest for whites and Latinos. When the interactions between skin color and gender is taken into account for blacks and Asians though, as Figure 2 displays, skin color does increase the probability of arrest for black men and Asian women as well. Thus, while I hypothesized darker skinned blacks, Latinos, Asians, and whites would be more likely to experience an arrest than their lighter skinned counterparts, I found that darker skin tones are associated with experiencing an adult arrest for black men, Latino men and women, Asian women, and white men and women. Therefore, as expected, the relationship between skin color and arrest did vary by gender. Moreover, the relationship between skin tone and arrest for these subgroups was not explained by differences in deviant behavior. This ruled out the possibility that darker skinned individuals are more likely to be arrested because they are more likely to be deviant.

Furthermore, I hypothesized that irritability would magnify the relationship between skin color and adult arrest, but this was only found for Latino respondents. I also hypothesized that

age would diminish the relationship between skin color and arrest, but instead found age magnified the relationship between skin color and arrest, and only for Latinos. Seeing as these interactions were not significant for the other racial subgroups, this suggests that police take more extralegal factors into consideration when deciding to arrest Latinos. The current research therefore provides support that police differentiate between Latinos more than they differentiate between whites, blacks, or Asians. When a police officer decides to arrest an individual, the current study suggests their decision is influenced by more factors when interacting with Latinos than other racial subgroups. In other words, the likelihood of experiencing an arrest seems to vary by more factors for Latinos than for other racial subgroups. It is possible that nativity and language are also factors that officers take into account when deciding to arrest Latinos.

Finally, I predicted that the included mediators would fully account for the relationship between skin color and arrest for all subgroups, but only found this to be true for black men. Thus, for black men, I found that education, employment, relationship status, neighborhood disadvantage, and juvenile arrest history are pathways by which darker skin can lead to experiencing an arrest in adulthood. On the other hand, the included mediators did not fully account for the relationship between skin color and arrest for Latino men or women, Asian women, or white men or women, but they did diminish the relationship. Thus, I found some evidence that these other life outcomes are pathways that explain why darker skin might lead to adult arrests.

The current results therefore coincide with prior research outside of the criminal justice system that suggests darker skinned individuals are more disadvantaged than lighter skinned individuals. In particular, darker blacks tend to have reduced life chances than lighter blacks in the areas of employment/income, education, housing, and the marriage market (Hochschild and

Weaver 2007; Hunter 2007, 2013). While studies that specifically examine the effect of skin tone on police contact for blacks is mixed (e.g., Barlow and Barlow 2002; White 2009), the current research lends support that darker blacks are more likely to be arrested as an adult than lighter skinned blacks. Thus, the current analyses also parallels prior research (e.g., Gyimah-Brempon and Price 2006; Hochschild and Weaver 2007; Viglione, Hannon, and DeFina 2011) that finds darker skinned blacks receive harsher treatment in the CJS than lighter skinned blacks.

Furthermore, prior research finds darker skinned Latinos also tend to be more disadvantaged than their lighter counterparts. Studies suggest lighter skinned Latinos have higher education and income (Murguia and Telles 1996; Telles and Murguia 1988), and better employment prospects (Hughes and Hurtel 1990) than darker skinned Latinos. While only one prior study (White 2009) has examined the effect of skin color on arrest for Latinos, their research indicated that darker skin tones significantly increase the likelihood of arrest for Latino women. The current research suggests darker skin tones are associated with experiencing adult arrest for both Latino men and women. Moreover, the current study found some support that the likelihood of experiencing an arrest varies by more factors, including irritability and age, for Latinos than for other subgroups.

There are few studies that examine the effect of skin color for Asians, but there is some support that those with lighter skin are more advantaged than those with darker skin in levels of body satisfaction, self-esteem, self-rated health, and the marriage market (Bhagwat 2012; Rondilla and Spickard 2007; Sahay and Piran 1997; Wagatsuma 1967). No prior research has examined the relationship between skin color and arrest for Asians, but the current research indicates darker skin tones only increase the likelihood of adult arrest for Asian women. Finally, the current research supports prior research that finds whites with darker skin are treated more

harshly in the CJS than whites with white skin tone (Blair et al. 2004). Consistent with much of the literature on the effects of skin color, the current study therefore indicates darker skin is associated with worse outcomes.

As with all studies, this study has both strengths and limitations. One of the limitations of the current research is how skin tone is measured. Since the interviewers indicate what skin tone the respondent has, they are liable to introduce variation into the data. Each interviewer may have different backgrounds, perceptions, or biases that make them perceive skin color differently. In an ideal situation, pictures of all the respondents would be used so that skin tone could be systematically coded to reduce variability in responses. However, this paper is not the only research on colorism that uses someone else's untrained assessment of skin tone; Viglione et al. (2011) used data with correctional officers' judgments, and Hannon et al. (2013), Ryabov (2013), and White (2012) used the same data that the current paper is using. Regardless, future research should be conducted with photographs of the subjects, or interviewers should be given training to more reliably code skin color. Another limitation of the current research is that involvement in delinquency and the criminal justice system is based on the subjects' responses. This could introduce error in the data because, for example, respondents could forget situations that they engaged in delinquent behavior, or recall incorrect dates that they had encounters with the CJS. Future research should aim to compare respondents' answers with official data, or data should be taken directly from an official source.

This research is also limited because skin color was measured at Wave III, yet it presumably affects all of the included controls that were measured at Wave I in addition to the dependent variable. Unfortunately, this is not something that can be avoided in research on the effects of skin tone, but it is something to be aware of when interpreting results. It is possible that

the effect of skin color on the likelihood of arrest is underestimated because of this. Additionally, information related to the context of arrest was not available in these data, so it would be beneficial for future research to include measures such as the respondents' irritability/demeanor, substance use, and location during the encounter of the arrest.

Aside from addressing the limitations of the current research, there are other related topics that future research should address. Since prior research suggests that individuals with darker skin are more disadvantaged than those with lighter skin, it would be worthwhile for future research to examine the connection between color and class because it is possible that discrimination by skin tone operates from class based biases. Furthermore, since the current research found some support that other life outcomes, including education, employment, relationship status, neighborhood disadvantage, and juvenile arrest history, are pathways that explain why darker skin might lead to adult arrests, future research could explore the relationship between CJS involvement and other life course events in more detail. Additionally, since the current study found that more extralegal factors, including irritability and age, affect the likelihood of experiencing an adult arrest for Latino respondents than for other racial subgroups, future studies could explore other factors that may influence an officer's decision to arrest a Latino individual, such as language and immigrant status.

Even though there are limitations of the current research, this piece is an important addition to criminological research on colorism. As previously mentioned, the current research on this topic in the context of the criminal justice system is very limited. There are only a handful of articles directly related to colorism in the CJS (Barlow and Barlow 2002; Gyimah-Brempon and Price 2006; Hochschild and Weaver 2007; Viglione et al. 2011; White 2009). The current research adds to the existing literature because it measures the impact of skin color on

arrest, whereas most other studies only focus on sentencing. Just as it is imperative to look at the impact of racism at earlier stages in the criminal justice system, colorism should also be examined at different points as well. Additionally, the current research used a non-institutionalized sample, while most studies primarily only use data from one state's correctional department. Using data from a national source allows the impact of colorism to be seen in a boarder context. Furthermore, the current research is also the first to examine the effect of skin color on arrests for Asians and whites.

In conclusion, this research parallels prior work that indicates stratification based on skin tone is still ever-present. Specifically, analyses revealed that darker skin tones are associated with experiencing an adult arrest for black men, Latino men and women, Asian women, and white men and women. This study helps to inform the mechanisms for why darker skinned individuals are more likely to be arrested in adulthood because it indicates that deviant behavior does not account for the relationship between skin color and adult arrest. This suggests that individuals with darker skin tones are more likely to be arrested due to other factors. The current research found some support that other adult outcomes, including education, employment, relationship status, neighborhood disadvantage, and juvenile arrest history, are pathways that explain why darker skin might lead to adult arrests. Notably, these mediators did not fully account for the positive relationship between skin color and adult arrest for Latino men and women, Asian women, or white men and women, which I contend suggests darker skin colors are associated with arrest, in part, due to colorism. The current research has therefore made an important contribution to the existing literature by expanding what is known about the impact of skin color on the likelihood of experiencing arrest in adulthood for blacks, Latinos, Asians, and whites, but future research should continue to investigate this phenomenon so that it can be better

understood. Advancing our comprehension of colorism can lead to a better understanding of its impact on the lives of those with darker skin and can contribute to efforts to reduce disparities.

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Table 1. Percentage of Respondents Identified as Having Certain Skin Tones by Race

Skin Color	Race				Entire Sample
	Black	Latino	Asian	White	
White	0.47	46.9	30.57	96.25	63.49
Light Brown	12.77	37.54	50.55	3.06	13.7
Medium Brown	31.48	11.97	15.96	0.42	9.97
Dark Brown	27.97	2.51	2.68	0.13	6.68
Black	27.31	1.08	0.24	0.14	6.17
n	2,757	2,030	821	7,155	12,763

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics by Skin Color

	Skin Color				
	White	Light Brown	Medium Brown	Dark Brown	Black
Adult Arrest	23.29%	24.77%	28.07%	29.78%	32.15%
Juvenile Arrest	6.17%	6.35%	6.45%	6.10%	9.53%
Black	0.16%	20.14%	68.24%	90.39%	95.68%
Latino	11.75%	43.59%	19.10%	5.98%	2.80%
Asian	3.10%	23.74%	10.30%	2.58%	0.25%
White	84.99%	12.53%	2.36%	1.06%	1.27%
Male	46.22%	43.48%	41.75%	44.90%	48.41%
Age	21.90	22.10	22.02	21.79	21.77
SES	5.82	5.17	5.42	5.34	5.11
Delinquency	2.73	3.03	3.04	2.68	2.84
Alcohol Use	2.50	2.15	1.89	1.49	1.56
Drug Use	0.45	0.39	0.36	0.29	0.30
Irritability	7.10	6.90	6.97	7.05	6.87
High School	91.55%	88.56%	87.81%	87.69%	84.75%
Job	73.49%	69.62%	61.48%	62.95%	57.05%
Married	49.20%	40.22%	35.06%	28.49%	23.63%
Neighborhood	-0.32	-0.18	0.41	1.90	0.93
n	8103	1748	1272	853	787

Table 3. Logistic Regression Estimates of Adult Arrest for Entire Sample

Predictor	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Intercept	-1.308 ***	-1.261 ***	-1.526 ***	-2.177 ***	-2.178 ***	-2.180 ***	-2.146 ***	-1.274 ***
Skin Color	0.113 ***	0.123 ***	0.064 *	0.060 †	0.061 †	0.060 †	0.044	0.033
Black		-0.031	0.191 †	0.343 **	0.339 **	0.348 ***	0.347 ***	0.249 *
Latino		-0.129 *	-0.231 ***	-0.252 ***	-0.256 ***	-0.250 ***	-0.253 ***	-0.293 ***
Asian		-0.666 ***	-0.685 ***	-0.597 ***	-0.599 ***	-0.596 ***	-0.597 ***	-0.674 ***
Male			1.325 ***	1.282 ***	1.283 ***	1.283 ***	1.234 ***	1.181 ***
Age			0.003	-0.052 ***	-0.052 ***	-0.087 ***	-0.052 ***	0.002
SES			-0.067 ***	-0.065 ***	-0.065	-0.065	0.015	0.015
Irritability				0.014	-0.009 ***	0.014 ***	-0.065 ***	-0.050 ***
Delinquency				0.117 ***	0.117 ***	0.116 ***	0.117 ***	0.096 ***
Drug Use				0.232 ***	0.232 ***	0.234 ***	0.230 ***	0.183 ***
Alcohol Use				0.063 ***	0.063 ***	0.064 ***	0.063 ***	0.058 ***
Color*Irritab					0.012			
Color*Age						0.018 †		
Color*Male							0.025	
Education								-0.591 ***
Employment								-0.139 **
Ever Married								-0.598 ***
Neighborhood								-0.016
Juv. Arrest								1.420 ***

† p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

n = 12,763

Table 4. Logistic Regression Estimates of Adult Arrest for Black Subsample

Predictor	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Intercept	-1.090 ***	-1.025 ***	-1.653 ***	-1.672 ***	-1.658 ***	-1.207 ***	-0.996 ***
Skin Color	0.068 †	-0.013	0.002	0.004	0.002	-0.123 †	-0.030
Male		1.313 ***	1.277 ***	1.283 ***	1.278 ***	0.382	1.187 ***
Age		0.029	0.003	0.003	0.100	0.003	0.034
SES		-0.070 ***	-0.067 ***	-0.066 ***	-0.066 ***	-0.067 ***	-0.044 *
Irritability			0.038	0.191 †	0.038	0.036	0.048 †
Delinquency			0.149 ***	0.149 ***	0.149 ***	0.151 ***	0.132 ***
Drug Use			0.111	0.111	0.111	0.110	0.031
Alcohol Use			0.056 ***	0.057 ***	0.056 ***	0.056 ***	0.048 **
Color*Irritab				-0.041			
Color*Age					-0.026		
Color*Male						0.243 **	
Education							-0.462 ***
Employment							-0.226 *
Ever Married							-0.368 ***
Neighborhood							-0.041 *
Juv. Arrest							1.704 ***

† p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

n = 2,757

Table 5. Logistic Regression Estimates of Adult Arrest for Latino Subsample

Predictor	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Intercept	-1.566 ***	-2.238 ***	-2.794 ***	-2.796 ***	-2.808 ***	-2.891 ***	-1.998 ***
Skin Color	0.221 ***	0.192 **	0.169 **	0.165 *	0.174 **	0.224 *	0.142 *
Male		1.427 ***	1.429 ***	1.435 ***	1.441 ***	1.572 ***	1.303 ***
Age		-0.053 †	-0.087 **	-0.089 **	-0.239 **	-0.087 **	-0.035
SES		-0.022	-0.036	-0.036	-0.037	-0.036	-0.025
Irritability			0.019	-0.108	0.018	0.018	0.008
Delinquency			0.104 ***	0.104 ***	0.101 ***	0.104 ***	0.083 ***
Drug Use			0.310 ***	0.308 ***	0.314 ***	0.310 ***	0.255 **
Alcohol Use			0.041 *	0.043 *	0.044 *	0.041 *	0.034 †
Color*Irritab				0.069 †			
Color*Age					0.080 *		
Color*Male						-0.080	
Education							-0.656 ***
Employment							0.010
Ever Married							-0.406 ***
Neighborhood							0.052
Juv. Arrest							1.547 ***

† p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

n = 2,030

Table 6. Logistic Regression Estimates of Adult Arrest for Asian Subsample

Predictor	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Intercept	-1.956 ***	-1.804 ***	-2.198 ***	-2.188 ***	-2.221 ***	-3.336 ***	-1.569 **
Skin Color	0.138	0.094	0.004	-0.005	0.014	0.569 *	0.054
Male		1.213 ***	1.275 ***	1.290 ***	1.273 ***	2.768 ***	1.262 ***
Age		-0.111 †	-0.160 *	-0.165 *	-0.277	-0.159 *	-0.105
SES		-0.134 ***	-0.164 ***	-0.165 ***	-0.163 ***	-0.162 ***	-0.147 ***
Irritability			-0.010	-0.194	-0.014	-0.019	0.002
Delinquency			0.088 *	0.091 *	0.090 *	0.094 *	0.062
Drug Use			0.473 **	0.459 **	0.464 **	0.449 **	0.413 *
Alcohol Use			0.097 **	0.099 **	0.097 **	0.099 **	0.094 **
Color*Irritab				0.093			
Color*Age					0.061		
Color*Male						-0.759 *	
Education							-0.921 *
Employment							0.400
Ever Married							-0.641 **
Neighborhood							0.143 *
Juv. Arrest							1.438 ***

† p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

n = 821

Table 7. Logistic Regression Estimates of Adult Arrest for White Subsample

Predictor	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Intercept	-1.144 ***	-1.447 ***	-2.115 ***	-2.116 ***	-2.114 ***	-2.119 ***	-1.101 ***
Non-White Skin	0.290 *	0.289 *	0.298 *	0.294 *	0.299 *	0.390 †	0.274 †
Male		1.320 ***	1.270 ***	1.270 ***	1.269 ***	1.276 ***	1.161 ***
Age		0.016	-0.059 **	-0.059 **	-0.061 **	-0.059 **	0.007
SES		-0.071 ***	-0.064 ***	-0.063 ***	-0.064 ***	-0.064 ***	-0.053 ***
Irritability			0.005	0.002	0.004	0.005	0.004
Delinquency			0.110 ***	0.110 ***	0.110 ***	0.110 ***	0.091 ***
Drug Use			0.230 ***	0.230 ***	0.230 ***	0.230 ***	0.187 ***
Alcohol Use			0.069 ***	0.069 ***	0.069 ***	0.069 ***	0.065 ***
Color*Irritab				0.069			
Color*Age					0.061		
Color*Male						-0.155	
Education							-0.606 ***
Employment							-0.208 **
Ever Married							-0.724 ***
Neighborhood							-0.015
Juv. Arrest							1.291 ***

† p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

n = 7,155

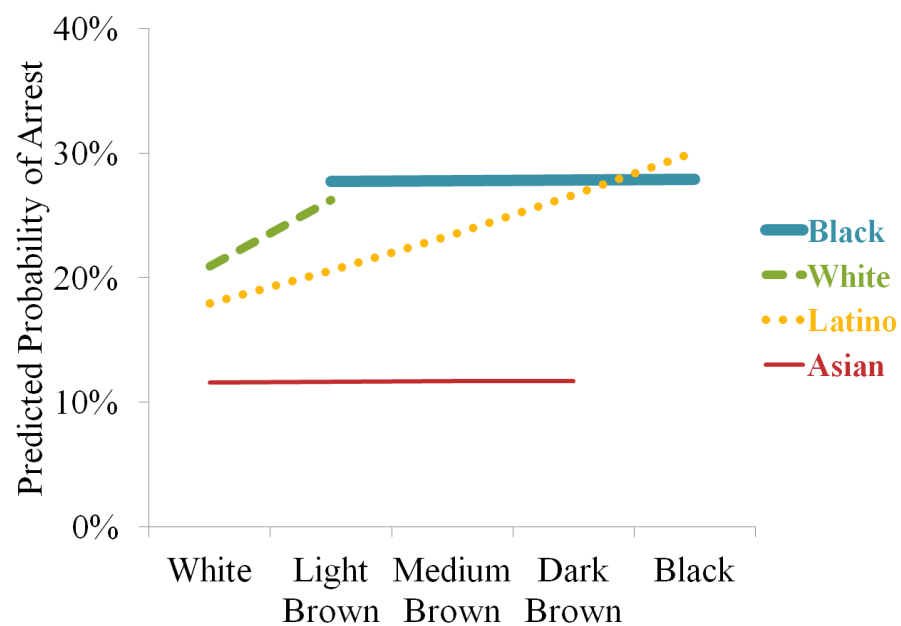


Figure 1. Predicted Probability of Experiencing Arrest in Adulthood.

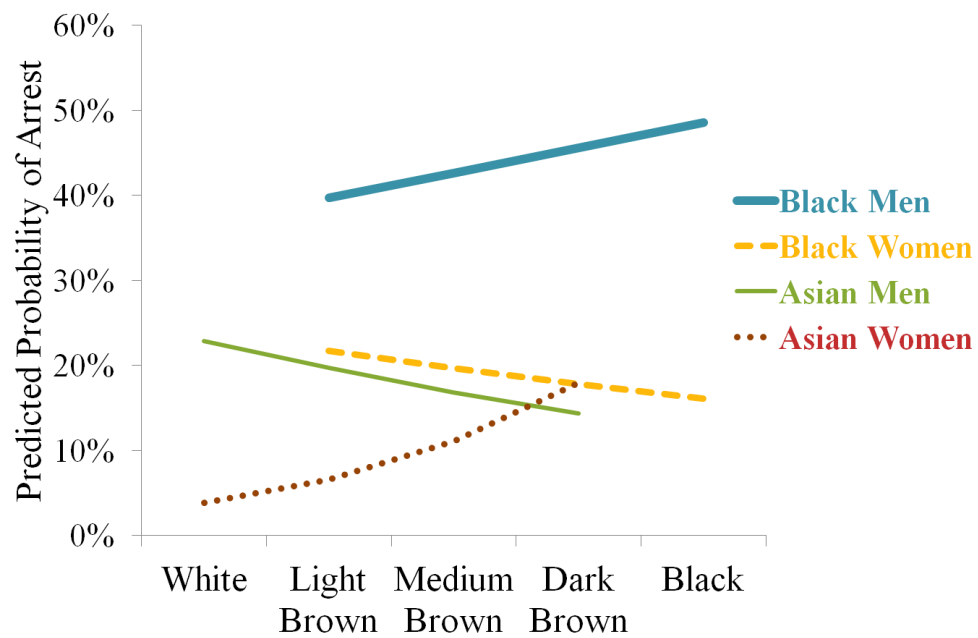


Figure 2. Predicted Probability of Experiencing Arrest in Adulthood by Gender.