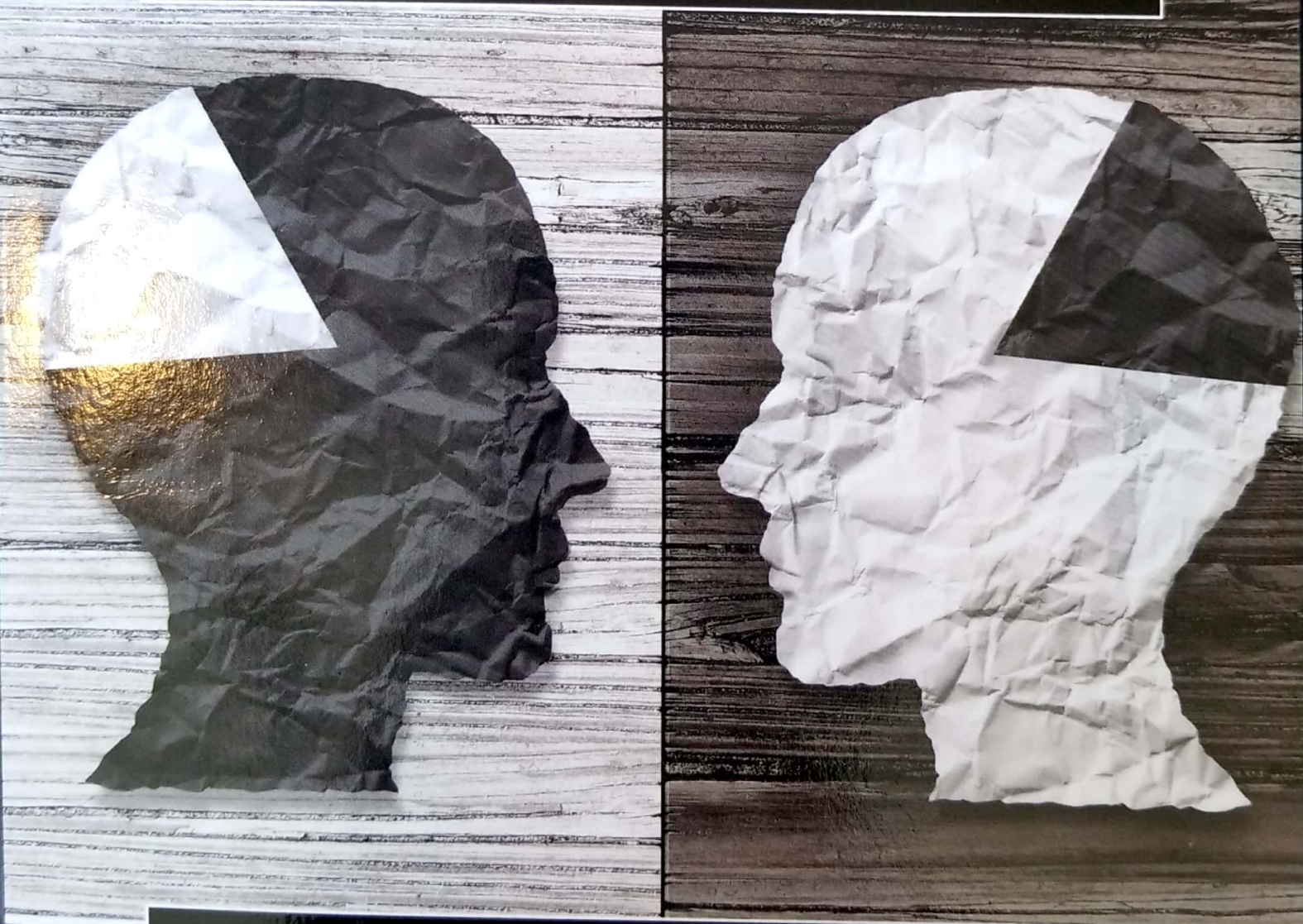


Color Struck

**How Race and Complexion Matter
in the "Color-Blind" Era**

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8. HOW SKIN TONE SHAPES CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AMONG BLACK AMERICANS

INTRODUCTION

“Color” describes the variations in skin tone and other phenotypic characteristics—such as hair texture, nose shape, and lip shape—among people of color. A wide variety of research demonstrates that color shapes the life experiences of people of color in almost every country in the world (Hunter, 2005). This discrimination based on color is generally called “colorism” and describes the process of privileging people with more “white-like” features—lighter skin, straighter hair, thinner noses and lips—at the expense of those with more “ethnic” features—darker skin, courser hair, thicker noses and lips. Particularly important to this study, in the United States among black Americans, color has been shown to be a powerful axis of stratification. The effects of color on the social outcomes of black Americans are almost ubiquitous. Lighter skinned black people enjoy higher wages (Goldsmith et al., 2006; Goldsmith et al., 2007), more education (Branigan et al., 2013; Monk, 2014), better mental and physical health (Diette et al., 2014; Monk, 2015), higher occupational status (Hill, 2000), lower conviction rates and shorter prison sentences (Blair et al., 2004; Viglione et al., 2011), are considered more attractive (Reece, 2016), and are disciplined less and less harshly in school (Hannon et al., 2013). Moreover, the differences in social outcomes between dark skinned and light skinned black people are so dramatic that sometimes the gap between light skinned black people and white people is *smaller* than the gap between light skinned black people and dark skinned black people (Goldsmith et al., 2007).

Surprisingly, these material differences do not seem to manifest in different racial and political attitudes. Light and dark skinned black people have comparable political attitudes and identify with their blackness at similar levels despite their vastly different life experiences. This phenomenon has been dubbed the “skin color paradox” (Hochschild & Weaver, 2007). The skin color paradox may speak to the strength of racial socialization in the United States. Unlike in a Latin American country, such as Brazil, with a

slippery scale of racial identification based on color, the United States has relatively sharply demarcated racial boundaries (Marx, 1998). These sharp boundaries are the result of the historical “one-drop rule” in the United States, which describes a broad series of state laws governing who was and who was not black in the early 20th century. Typically, these laws dictated that anyone with any miniscule—hence the “one-drop” colloquialism—amount of black racial ancestry was black and subject to racial segregation and other forms of discrimination. But the strong history of miscegenation in the United States meant that people with a wide variety of skin tones and other characteristics were forced to identify as black. These legal designations became codified into our current racial system resulting in some very light skinned people *and* some very dark skinned people all falling under the banner “black” and being socialized into blackness with a series of fairly consistent racial identities and attitudes.

However, we wonder if the focus on “attitudes” is limited. As a society, and as scholars, we care about people’s attitudes because we expect them to motivate their action in some way (Oskamp & Schultz, 2005). So, in focusing on how color shapes the attitudes of black people, we argue that it is also important to examine how those attitudes combine with color to shape behavior, particularly political behavior. This offers a more complete story of the intersection of color and non-material phenomena such as attitudes. With that in mind we seek to examine how color shapes volunteering among black people, both how much they volunteer and the factors that shape their volunteering.

Volunteering is an optimum way to examine how attitudes may motivate action among black people for two reasons. First, it is a broader, more readily available type of political action when compared to other types of action such as social movement participation and electoral politics (Hochschild [2006] examined political participation by color and found light skinned black people may be slightly more likely to engage in electoral politics). Indeed, choosing *not* to participate in a social movement or electoral politics may be its own political statement but volunteering still speaks to a desire to shape the public good while offering a diverse set of opportunities for participation. Second, volunteering seems robust to socio-economic factors for black people but has been linked to rates of discrimination and racial and political attitudes (Latting, 1990; Musick et al., 2000). Because volunteering has already been connected to attitudes, testing differences in volunteering will help us understand how attitudes may or may not become political actions.

We use the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health) and OLS regression to test the relationship between color and volunteering. Ultimately, we find that color does not affect the *rate* at which black people volunteer, but the motivations for their volunteering and the ways that they seek volunteering opportunities vary widely by color. We discuss what these findings reveal about race, racial socialization, color, and political and racial attitudes.

COLOR AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Despite robust differences in social outcomes between lighter skinned and darker skinned black people, studies have found little evidence that skin color correlates with racial and political attitudes (Hochschild & Weaver, 2007; Seltzer & Smith, 1991). That is, light skinned black people and dark skinned black people seem to have similar racial and political attitudes. This result is counterintuitive because we would expect darker skinned black people to perhaps be more liberal or more supportive of certain social programs because they experience more social disadvantage. This apparent contradiction of material outcomes and attitudes has been dubbed the “skin color paradox” (Hochschild & Weaver, 2007) and explained by the argument that black people in the United States have been socialized into a race-first type of identity politics that seems to flatten possible political differences between skin tones and depress social movement mobilization against skin tone discrimination. However, recent research has sought to complicate, or even outright disprove, the skin color paradox, contending that color *does* shape black people’s politics even if not in the ways researchers typically expect.

Lerman et al. (2015) argue that even if skin color does not shape differences in black people’s expression of their own politics, it shapes how they perceive the politics of other black people. Specifically, they contend that black people view darker skinned black people as more “authentically” black and more emblematic of uniquely black political leanings, such as being fiscally liberal but socially conservative. This idea manifests in black people expressing that they feel more warmly towards and are more likely to vote for darker skinned black politicians relative to white and light skinned politicians. Indeed, in these regards, they viewed light skinned politicians as almost identical to white politicians (an earlier study by Weaver [2012] bolsters this argument by showing that light skinned candidates are less susceptible to both the positive and negative electoral effects of being black). Moreover,

both lighter and darker skinned black people expressed these sentiments, both seeming to prefer darker skinned black political candidates. While this latter result may appear to actually support the skin color paradox, overall, it reinforces the idea that individuals' expression of their own politics is not the only way color manifests in black politics.

Two other studies seem to directly challenge the skin color paradox. First, Wilkinson and Earle (2012) find slight color differences in how black people perceive commonality with other racial groups, an idea that they examine in an attempt to understand the potential for social movement coalitions. Specifically, they find that light skinned black people perceive less commonality and more competition with Latinos than their darker skinned counterparts. While this is not the same type of political expression that Hochschild and Weaver (2007) examined, it still represents divergent political attitudes among lighter and darker skinned black people. Second, Hutchings et al. (2016) set out to offer a direct challenge to the skin color paradox. They argue that the data used to examine color and political attitudes among black people in the past was limited because many of the surveys were not designed to measure political attitudes. Moreover, they contend that the data is dated, from the 1980s and 1990s, and that shifts in the racial landscape, particularly the multiracial movement of the 1990s, may have caused political attitudes among black people to diverge along color lines. They use data from 2006 to reanalyze the skin color paradox, and their results support their arguments and challenge the skin color paradox. They find that darker skinned black people are more supportive of economic redistribution policies and workplace affirmative action policies. Conversely, light skinned black people are more likely to embrace stereotypes about black people, which may reflect their perception of relative distance from black communities.

The studies by Wilkinson et al. (2015) and Hutchings et al. (2016) show that the strength of the skin color paradox may be waning, if it has not deteriorated completely, and we plan to contribute to the ongoing interrogation of the long-standing idea. However, our research is more along the lines of a complication like Lerman et al. (2015) rather than a direct challenge. We argue that political attitudes do not tell the entire story of political mobilization or of racial socialization. Equally, if not more, important are how those attitudes lead to political actions, and it is unclear how the supposedly similar political and racial attitudes of black people of different skin tones shape their subsequent actions. Only one study that we know of has interrogated black people's political behaviors by color

(Hochschild, 2006). The results largely supported the skin color paradox with no difference in behavior except light skinned people being slightly more active in electoral politics. We seek to explore the idea that political behaviors and actions are a major missing component in the discussion of the skin color paradox by examining the interplay between color and volunteering among black people. Specifically, we examine two phenomena related to color and volunteering: first, whether rates of volunteering vary by color, and, second, whether motivations for volunteering vary by color.

We chose volunteering because it is a readily available type of political action, unlike voting, that offers a variety of participatory opportunities. Unlike social movement participation or voting, abstaining from volunteering is not its own political action. Rather than refusing to participate in a specific social movement or election to make a political statement, a person seeking to volunteer can simply seek an appropriate avenue that matches their political alignment. Additionally, volunteering has already been connected to the socio-economic outcomes and political and racial attitudes of black people (Latting, 1990; Musick et al., 2000).

VOLUNTEERING, RACE, AND COLOR

Volunteering is a form of civic engagement – an act that contributes to the collective good of society. According to Wilson (2000), “Volunteering is any activity in which time is given freely to benefit another person, group, or cause” (p. 215). Generally, studying volunteering gives us a better understanding of civic engagement and civil society. That is, it helps us to understand why and how this contribution to the collective good happens as well as who is doing the contributing. In this case, we are examining volunteering as a way to better understand the connection between attitudes, social outcomes, and action, particularly civic engagement, as they relate to black people of differing skin tones.

The typical volunteer occupies “dominant statuses” (Wilson & Musick, 1997; Smith, 1994). Many studies of volunteering have argued that people who volunteer are likely those with higher socioeconomic status and higher levels of education (Wilson & Musick, 1997; Cnaan & Amroffell, 1994; Smith, 1994). Along with education and socioeconomic status, the typical volunteer may likely be active in church, be a parent (Janoski et al., 1998), and be politically active (Wilson, 2000). Moreover, frequent volunteers generally have an abundance of both social capital and human capital. Social capital is made up of social ties and connections that benefit the community,

such as social networks, organizational memberships, and prior volunteer experience; all of which increase the chances of an individual volunteering (Putnam, 2000; Wilson, 2000). These networks and connections "supply information, foster trust, make contacts, provide support, set guidelines, and create obligations. They make volunteer work more likely by fostering norms of generalized reciprocity, encourage people to trust each other, and amplifying reputations" (Wilson & Musick, 1997, p. 695). Similarly, human capital is a set of individual resources, such as education, income, and occupation, that can also make volunteer work more likely. For example, educated people are more likely to volunteer and to be asked to volunteer; Children of parents who volunteer are more likely to volunteer, the children of affluent parents tend to volunteer more often; and people with higher prestige jobs are more likely to volunteer (Wilson, 2000).

In addition to human and social capital which seem to increase people's opportunities to volunteer, there are a myriad of personal reasons why people choose to leverage those opportunities to actually volunteer. Largely, volunteer work leads to greater well-being, health, and happiness (Borgonovi, 2008). Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991) compiled 28 reasons why people volunteer in human services. These 28 reasons included items such as "If I didn't volunteer there would be no one to carry out this volunteer work," "Volunteering for others makes me feel better about myself," and "Volunteering is an opportunity to change social injustices" (pp. 271-272). Latting (1990) discusses two differences in volunteering motives, egoistic volunteering and altruistic volunteering. Egoistic volunteering is volunteering in which the volunteer is "concerned with the return of benefits and with proportionate equality of costs and rewards for helping" whereas altruistic volunteering is "directed toward maximizing the satisfaction of another", and lacks "the expectation of external material or interpersonal rewards, such as prestige or fellowship" (p. 122).

Volunteering and Race

As with most phenomena in the United States, rates of and motivations for volunteering seem to differ by race. Studies on volunteering have found that black people volunteer less than whites (Wilson, 2000; Wilson & Musick, 1997, 1998; Musick et al., 2000). These studies attribute the difference between black and white volunteering to differential amounts of human and social capital, arguing that black people have "less human capital and lower rates of informal social interactions than do whites" (Musick & Wilson,

1997, p. 698) and less education and income (Musick et al., 2000). Musick et al. (2000) conclude that in combination less social capital, less education, and less income may lead to black people receiving fewer offers to volunteer than their white counterparts. *However*, notably there appear to be no socioeconomic differences in volunteering among black people. Poor and affluent black people volunteer at similar rates, and relatively uneducated and highly educated black people also volunteer at similar rates (Musick et al., 2000). Given other arguments about human and social capital, it seems likely that this parity is a result of the relative lack of social capital even among high SES black people. This would mean that they are presented with fewer volunteering opportunities that would dampen their volunteering rates to levels similar to those of low SES black people.

Two major arguments come up in the literature about black people's motivations to volunteer. First is the argument that black people volunteer to compensate for "the denial of opportunities for ego gratification, prestige, and achievement within the majority society" (Latting, 1990, p. 123). This compensation process leads black people to form their own associations and organizations to avoid the racism of white organizations while engaging civically (Olson, 1970). The second argument is about ethnic community. The ethnic community argument says black people who identify as members of an ethnic minority tend to be more active than non-identifiers (Olson, 1970). Latting (1990) contends that the ethnic community argument has stronger empirical support and that it implies that black people's civic participation is based in a type of linked fate with the black community and a desire to right historical wrongs that have been inflicted upon the black community resulting in its disadvantaged position. In effect, the ethnic community argument claims that black people who more strongly identify with their blackness seem to feel a stronger responsibility to improve their community and thus volunteer more.

Volunteering and Color

To date there is no research examining the effect of color—or skin tone—on volunteering rates. That means we are not sure whether lighter skinned black people volunteer more than their darker skinned counterparts *and* whether volunteering motivations differ for light, medium, and dark skinned black people. We plan to examine that relationship with this study, but previous research on color and volunteering, even though they do not intersect, offers us a preliminary understanding of how color may shape volunteering among black people.

First, because studies consistently show that broad SES differences between lighter and darker black people (Monk, 2014)—even sometimes suggesting that light skinned black social outcomes are closer to white outcomes than they are to dark skinned black outcomes (Goldsmith et al., 2007)—we may expect differences between lighter and darker black people to correspond with those SES differences. Conversely, Musick et al.'s. (2000) finding that SES does not may affect volunteering rates among black people may mean that volunteering rates between different skin tones are similarly flattened. Perhaps more telling than SES is the difference in social capital between lighter and darker skinned black people. Lighter skinned black people are considered more palatable because they seem phenotypically closer to white (Goldsmith et al., 2007; Painter et al., 2015). This palatability may allow lighter skinned people to accrue broader, deeper, perhaps more diverse social networks (Hunter, 2002; Hunter, 2007), which will afford them more opportunities to volunteer. They may ultimately be able to leverage these increased opportunities into more volunteering hours.

Second, there are also two possibilities for the relationship between volunteering motivations and color. Consistent with the idea that black people may volunteer to compensate for missing opportunities (Latting, 1990), we may expect darker skinned people to actually volunteer more than lighter skinned people because they face more discrimination (Monk, 2015). More discrimination may lead darker skinned black people to seek higher levels of compensation, resulting in higher volunteering rates. Conversely, an ethnic community argument may suggest that volunteering rates do not differ by color. If levels of ethnic solidarity do not vary by color (Hochschild & Weaver, 2007), similar levels of racial obligation may lead them to volunteer at proportionally similar rates.

To better understand these ideas, we will use regression analysis to test the effect of color on volunteering rates and explore whether the motivations and opportunities for volunteering differ by color. This study will allow us to clarify some of the complexity surrounding the literature on race and volunteering by adding a dimension—color—that may account for some of the aforementioned lingering questions such as why do black people's volunteering rates seem to not matter by SES. In doing this we also build on our primary goal, which is to deepen analyses regarding color, political attitudes, and racial socialization by moving past the idea that political attitudes may be the end of that discussion. Instead, we will begin to answer the crucial question: "what does it mean that black people's political attitudes seem not to vary by color even though their life chances vary by color?" It

is possible that our results ultimately leave that question unanswered or that investigating volunteering is not the best gateway to an answer. Conversely, our results may reveal that though lighter skinned and darker skinned black people hold similar political attitudes, similar attitudes do not necessarily lead to similar political action.

DATA AND METHODS

Our data comes from Add Health, a nationally representative in-home survey conducted, so far, in four waves between 1994 and 2009. At wave I, the respondents were in adolescence, and by wave IV most were around 30 years old. Because our dependent variable is from wave IV, we include all respondents who self-identify as black in wave four, for a total of 2047 cases.

Our focal independent variable is "color," which comes from wave III of the Add Health study. The color variable is derived from an interviewer coded rating of the respondent's skin color on a scale from 1–5 where 1 is "black" skin, 2 is "dark brown" skin, 3 is "medium brown" skin, 4 is "light brown" skin, and 5 is "white" skin. We recoded the variable so that 5 is "black" skin and 1 and "white" skin because we thought a progressive scale of darkness was more intuitive as a measure of color than a progressive scale of lightness. That is, on our scale, respondents get darker as numbers are higher.

Our dependent variable is "volunteering," which comes from wave IV. The volunteering variable is a self-report of how many hours the respondent volunteered in the 12 months prior to the interview. The number of hours are presented on a progressive scale from 1–6 where 1 = 0 hours volunteered, 2 = 1–19 hours, 3 = 20–39 hours, 4 = 40–79 hours, 5 = 80–159 hours, and 6 = 160+ hours.

In addition to color, we included for a number of other factors that may shape volunteering rates and motivations. We included a few basic demographic variables: age and gender, where "1" means the respondent is a woman and "0" means the respondent is a man. Next, we included measures of socio-economic status that research shows to affect volunteering: yearly income, education, weekly hours worked. Yearly income is a continuous variable for self-reported income, and education is a measure of the number of years of education a person has achieved based on their report of their educational level. For example, we coded a person with a high school education as "12;" a bachelor's degree would be "16," and a master's degree would be "18." Weekly hours worked is a continuous measure of how many

hours a respondent reports working per week. We include this as a measure of time available to volunteer; that is, we would intuitively expect people who work more hours per week to have less free time to volunteer. However, Wilson (2000) suggests this relationship may be a bit more complicated. He argues that at the upper end of weekly hours worked, the variable functions less as a measure of job demands and free time and more as a measure of job prestige, such that as a certain point, working more hours actually increases volunteering rates.

We then included variables for family history: parents' education and whether the respondent grew up in a two-parent household. Parents' education is the sum of the number of years of education the respondent's parents received. For example, if R's mother received a bachelor's degree and R's father received a high school diploma, R's mother would receive an education value of "16" and the father would receive an education value of "12," for a total value of "28" for R's "parents' education." If a respondent only reported one parent, the value of education of the other parent would be "0," such that a father with a master's degree but no mother would yield a respondent a total "parents' education" value of "18." Two-parent household is a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent reported living with two parents growing up. A value of "1" means the respondent lived with two parents, and "0" means that the respondent lived with one parent. This is meant to complement the parents' education variable by providing a check for parents' education values that may seem low because there was only one parent but that parent was highly educated. Whereas two parents with relatively low education may yield a higher cumulative parents' education value. We include these two variables because research shows that the children of higher status parents tend to volunteer more often as they are able to leverage their parents' social networks for increased opportunity (Wilson, 2000).

And, finally, we added measures of political attitudes and political participation: how often the respondent participates in local elections, a progressive scale of liberalism, and the racial heterogeneity of the respondent's friend networks. See Table 8.1 for full descriptions of these variables. Local election participation functions as a measure of past civil engagement, which we want to include because people with a history of civic engagement may be more likely to volunteer. To measure local election participation we use a progressive scale from "1" to "5" with "1" indicating the respondent never votes in local elections and "5" indicating the respondent always votes in local elections. Liberalism is our primary

measure of political attitudes, which according to previous research should not differ by color (Hochschild & Weaver, 2007) but may nonetheless affect volunteering rates. We measured liberalism using a progressive scale from "1" to "5," with "1" indicating a "very conservative" respondent and "5" indicating a "very liberal" respondent. Finally, we use racial heterogeneity of the respondent's friendship networks as a measure of the quality of the respondents' social networks based on the idea that deeper, more diverse social networks may yield more opportunities for volunteering. Like the aforementioned two variables, friendship diversity is a progressive scale from "1" to "5" measuring how many of the respondent's friends belong to the same racial group as the respondent. A value of "1" means that all of the respondent's friends belong to the same racial group as the respondent, and "5" means that all of the friends belong to a different racial group.

Table 8.1. Means

	Mean	SD	n
<i>Volunteer</i>	1.47	.04	2018
<i>Color</i>	3.71	.06	2042
<i>Woman</i>	.51	—	2047
<i>Age</i>	28.75	.19	2047
<i>Local political participation</i>	2.54	.06	2021
<i>Liberalism</i>	3.04	.03	1943
<i>Friendship diversity</i>	2.37	.11	1958
<i>Income</i>	26172	1328.81	1859
<i>Weekly hours worked</i>	38.81	.69	2041
<i>Education</i>	13.60	.15	2033
<i>Parents' education</i>	18.45	.38	2013
<i>Two parents</i>	.43	—	2047

Analytic Strategy

Our analytic strategy is two pronged. First, we used OLS regression to examine whether rates of volunteering varied by color when controlling for other factors. This original series of models contains five individual models. The first model serves as a baseline to test whether there is an initial relationship between color and volunteering. The second model incorporates the demographic variables: age and gender to test whether any relationship

Table 8.2. OLS Estimates for hours volunteered for black Americans

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Intercept	1.50***	.11	1.84***	.54	.89	.57	-.63	.72	-.86	.76
Color	-.01	.03	-.01	.03	.01	.03	.02	.03	.02	.03
Woman			-.03	.05	-.06	.06	-.07	.06	-.05	.06
Age			.001	.02	-.002	.02	.01	.02	.01	.02
Local political participation					.12***	.03	.07**	.03	.07**	.03
Liberalism					.08**	.03	.07*	.04	.07*	.03
Friendship diversity					.04**	.02	.04*	.02	.04*	.02
Income							.000002*	.000001*	.000002*	.000001
Weekly hours worked							-.003	.003	-.003	.003
Education							.01***	.02	.09***	.02
Parents' education									.02*	.01
Two parents									-.23*	.13
<i>n</i>	2013		2013		1844		1691		1669	
<i>R-squared</i>	.0001		.0003		.03		.08		.09	

between color and volunteering remains robust to basic demographics. In the third model we add the variables on political attitudes and political participation: local political participation, liberalism, and diversity of friendship networks to test whether color would remain robust to stronger predictors of volunteering. Model four incorporates SES variables: income, weekly hours worked, and education, and model five incorporates variables for family background: parents' education and two parent household. These two models test whether SES factors, which have also been shown to be very strong predictors of volunteering rates, dampen the effects of color.

Second, we used OLS regression to examine whether the factors that influenced volunteering rates differed by color. Here, we collapsed the five skin tone levels into three color categories. We collapsed "1" and "2" into "Light skinned," made "3" "Medium skinned," and collapsed "4" and "5" into "Dark skinned." Then we ran a model for volunteering for each color including the variables: gender, age, local political participation, liberalism, friendship diversity, income, weekly hours worked, education, parents' education, and two parents. These models offer us additional insight into the relationship between color and volunteering. If the motivations for volunteering differ by color, we can draw conclusions about the differing ways black people are led to volunteer based on their color, even if they ultimately volunteer at the same rates. In addition to allowing us to better understand the complexity of the factors that influence volunteering, this will help us understand how black people of different colors are received by society and forced to make decisions.

RESULTS

Color and Volunteering Rates

The results from the first series of models reveal that color does not play a role in shaping the number of hours a black person volunteers. This result is not terribly surprising as the average number of hours volunteered does not vary by color. Even when using regression analysis to account for other factors that both differ by color and influence volunteering, such as education and income, color remains non-significant.

In model 1, the baseline model, color is nonsignificant, and it remains nonsignificant in model 2 when we include woman and age. Gender and age are also nonsignificant. This means that color and other demographic characteristics do not shape rates of volunteering among black people.

Table 8.3. OLS Estimates of hours volunteered by skin tone

	<i>Light skinned</i>		<i>Medium skinned</i>		<i>Dark skinned</i>	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
<i>Intercept</i>	1.44	1.95	-2.51*	1.50	-.45	.80
Woman	-.44**	.18	.04	.12	.01	.07
Age	-.01	.06	.06	.04	-.004	.02
Local political Participation	.16**	.08	.07	.05	.04	.03
Liberalism	-.12	.08	.13**	.06	.09**	.04
Friendship diversity	.01	.05	.08*	.04	.03	.02
Income	.000007	.000004	.000002	.000002	.0000007	.0000001
Weekly hours Worked	-.02**	.01	.001	.002	-.001	.003
education	.06	.05	.10**	.04	.10***	.02
Parents' education	.01	.04	.004	.01	.02**	.01
Two parents	-.05	.56	-.02	.22	-.34***	.13
<i>n</i>	265		488		916	
<i>R-Squared</i>	.15		.14		.09	

In model 3, color, woman, and age remain nonsignificant, but each of the three political variables: local political participation, liberalism, and friendship diversity, is positive and significant. This means that people who vote more in local elections, people who self-identify as more politically liberal, and people who claim to have more racially diverse friend groups also volunteer more hours. Local political participation is the strongest of the three variables with a coefficient 50 percent larger than liberalism and three times larger than friendship diversity. Moreover, politics seems to explain about three percent of the variance of black people's volunteering rates, up from a miniscule amount explained by color, gender, and age in the previous model.

In model 4 we add SES variables: income, weekly hours worked, and education. Color, woman, and age are again nonsignificant, and local political participation, liberalism, and friendship diversity remain positive and significant. Among the new variables, income and education are both positive and significant while weekly hours worked is nonsignificant. This means that black people who earn more money and are more formally educated tend to volunteer more hours than their less affluent, less educated counterparts. The effect of income is minute, and even the effect of education is smaller than that of the political variables. But the addition of these variables allows us to explain an additional five percent of the variance, which is more than the three percent explained by the political variables. While the smaller coefficients of the SES variables seem at odds with its larger *r*-squared, it may simply mean that the political variables, while ultimately stronger predictors, fluctuate more than the SES variable, which may be more tightly clumped. Moreover, although the political variables remained positive and significant, the coefficient decreased noticeably for local political participation and slightly for liberalism. This suggests that SES may mediate the relationship between these two variables and rates of volunteering among black people, or the reverse. This is logical because people with larger incomes or more education may participate more often in local elections and be more liberal.

In model 5, we add the family background variables: parental education and two parents. Color, gender, and age remain nonsignificant. The political variables remain positive and significant, and income and education remain positive and significant. Among the new variables, parental education is positive and significant and two parents is negative and significant. This means that people who grew up in homes with more educated parents tend to volunteer more hours, and people who grew up in single parent homes, *net of other factors*, tend to volunteer more hours. As counterintuitive,

perhaps contradictory, as these results seem, they can coexist. Both may lend themselves to a particular type of political development that leads to a greater affinity toward volunteering. Highly educated parents may place a similar value on volunteering as becoming educated oneself, while growing up in a single parent home, where people are more likely to experience disadvantage, may lead people to appreciate volunteering as a way to help others who experienced similar struggles. Indeed, the two parent variable was the strongest predictor in the final model, with a coefficient about 2.5 times the size of the second strongest predictor. The addition of the family background variables also allowed us to explain an additional one percent of the variance. Also notable in the final model, the coefficient for education increases nine-fold from its small effect in the previous model to become the second strongest predictor. This increase is probably attributable to the addition of the parents' education, which had likely been cofounded with education in the previous model, making its effect appear smaller.

Color and Volunteering Motivations

Although color does not shape volunteering rates among black people, these models still offer insight into their motivations for volunteering. Nevertheless, color's nonsignificance in this first series of models does not mean that color does not matter for black volunteering rates. Indeed, the next series of models demonstrates that though black people of different colors volunteer at roughly the same rates, their motivations and methods of access to volunteering may differ widely. These differences in motivations likely reflect differences in their life experiences as shaped by their color.

The most important differences between light skinned black people and their darker skinned counterparts seem to be medium and dark skinned black people need additional credentials to gain access to the volunteering opportunities afforded to light skinned black people. This is evident in the differences in three variables: friendship diversity, education, and parents' education.

Friendship diversity is positive and significant for medium skinned black people and nonsignificant for light skinned and dark skinned black people. That means that medium skinned people volunteer more often as the diversity of their friendship networks increases, but friendship diversity does not influence the volunteering rates of light and dark skinned black people. Though friendship diversity is nonsignificant for both light skinned and dark skinned black people, it may reflect different phenomena. More

racially diverse friendship groups may offer medium skinned black people a wider range of volunteering opportunities which may, in turn, lead to them volunteering more hours. In contrast, light skinned people may have broader social networks that keep them abreast of an array of opportunities such that having more diverse close friends does not necessarily offer them more volunteering opportunities. Darker skinned people may have more homogenous friend groups. That lack of diversity and lack of variance in the variable would prevent them from leveraging the opportunities presented by racially heterogenous friendships and prevent the variable from showing any effect.

Education is positive and significant for medium and dark skinned black people but nonsignificant for light skinned black people. That means that medium and dark skinned black people tend to volunteer more hours as they gain more years of formal education, while there is no connection between volunteering rates and education for light skinned people. This may reflect a similar phenomenon to friendship diversity where light skinned people are afforded knowledge and access to volunteering opportunities by virtue of their lighter skin affording them a broader social network. Medium and dark skinned black people may need more education to compensate for the social penalty of their darker skin and gain access to more volunteering opportunities. Light skin may function as its own type of social capital, perhaps roughly equivalent to the social capital gained by having a racially diverse friend group or more education. That means that medium and dark skinned black people have to search for additional ways to reach a comparable level of social capital that they will need to gain access to a similar number of volunteering opportunities.

Parents' education is positive and significant for dark skinned black people but nonsignificant for light and medium skinned black people. That means dark skinned people tend to volunteer increasingly more hours as their parents become more educated while there is no relationship between the two for light skinned and medium skinned people. Like friendship diversity and education, to a lesser extent, this may reflect a need for darker skinned black people to accumulate more social capital to reach parity with the volunteering opportunities afforded to their lighter skinned counterparts. Dark skinned people may need the additional social networks afforded to them by having higher status parents.

In addition to revealing the different ways that color may shape volunteering opportunities, this series of models offers insight into the different ways that they develop the politics that may guide their volunteering. This

disparate political development is reflected in three variables: local political participation, liberalism, and two parents.

Local political participation is positive and significant for light skinned black people but nonsignificant for medium and dark skinned black people. That means light skinned people who vote more often in local elections tend to volunteer more hours, but there is no connection between the two variables for medium and dark skinned black people. In contrast, liberalism is positive and significant for medium and dark skinned black people but nonsignificant for light skinned black people. That means more liberal medium and dark skinned people tend to volunteer more hours while there is no connection between liberalism and volunteering for light skinned people. The combination of local political participation and liberalism suggests that darker skinned black people may be more motivated to volunteer by a commitment to their political affiliation, while light skinned black people may be more motivated by a commitment to civic participation in general. Specifically, darker skinned black people's liberalism, perhaps a desire to produce progressive change as a reaction to their social struggles as darker black people, seems to spur them to volunteer. Light skinned black people seem to be less driven by a specific political affiliation and more by a general desire to be involved in the local political process and availability of free time. The latter is reflected in that weekly hours worked is negative and significant for the light skinned but nonsignificant for medium and dark skinned people, meaning that light skinned people volunteer more when they work fewer hours per week.

Furthermore, two parents is negative and significant for dark skinned black people and nonsignificant for light and medium skinned black people. This means that dark skinned black people who grew up in homes with only one parent volunteer more hours, while there is no connection between family background and volunteering for their lighter skinned counterparts. Moreover, two parents is by far the strongest predictor for dark skinned people. As with the first series of models, this may reflect a type of political development, where the disadvantage of growing up in a single parent home may spark a desire to volunteer to help other people who may have been similarly disadvantaged. This idea is strengthened by the fact that growing up in a single parent home matters for dark skinned black people but not for light and medium skinned black people. Perhaps the cumulative disadvantage of a single parent upbringing *and* dark skin creates a specific type of political development that increases rates of volunteering.

DISCUSSION

In combination, these two series of models reveal that though color does not directly influence the number of hours black people volunteer, it shapes their motivations and opportunity in vastly contrasting ways. These motivations appear to be reactions to the differential life circumstances of lighter skin and darker skinned black people. Darker skinned black people seem to be spurred more by a history of disadvantage and perhaps a desire to incite positive change but to do so they're forced to compensate for the advantages offered to their light skinned counterparts. Light skinned black people are offered access to broader and deeper social networks by virtue of their light skin which may provide them with a fair amount of volunteering opportunities. Because darker skinned black people are not received as favorably and thus have different, perhaps weaker, extended social networks, they must leverage more diverse close friendships and more formal education to bridge the volunteering opportunity difference.

Though research does not address the question of whether lighter and darker skinned black people share political attitudes, this research suggests that their motivation to *act* based on whatever attitudes they may or may not share differ substantially by color. This is important because political attitudes only matter to the extent that they encourage a corresponding action. So, while similar racial socialization may lead to similar attitudes, the combination of racial socialization and color disadvantage may lead the medium and dark skinned black people to *act* differently. This builds on the other research seeking to complicate the skin color paradox and leads these complications into a different direction by not simply measuring attitudes but the ways people use their attitudes. However, volunteering is but one action associated with political and racial attitudes, and researchers should continue to investigate this question to gain a fuller understanding of the ways that racial socialization intersect with racialized experiences to shape black people's political actions.

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