Colorism and Its Correlation with Implicit Racial Stereotyping: An Experimental Action Research Study

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This study examined the correlations between implicit racial stereotyping and colorism and their roles in society. Using Fitzpatrick's Skin typing scale and animated facial software, this study used a mixed method approach to examine participants' reactions to stimuli in the context of colorism and implicit racial stereotyping. In addition, participants offered responses to explicit response open-ended questions concerning colorism and racial stereotyping. The findings revealed that color-blind ideology, exposure, and education displayed participants' knowledge of explicit examples of racial stereotyping, but excluded their knowledge of critical implicit racial stereotyping and colorism. Implications are provided.

Keywords: colorism, racial stereotyping, implicit response, color-blind ideology, education, exposure

While explicit forms of racism have been the focus of many academic and socio-progressive movements, such as the Civil Rights Movement, implicit forms of racism are also prevalent and harmful in our society. Once used as a socio-economic tool to categorize slaves, enforce racial etiquette, and support segregation laws, implicit forms of racism, especially colorism and implicit racial stereotyping, are forms of racism that often go unknown and unnoticed by the general public (Arboleda, 2011; Exhibit, 2016; Greenwald, Banaji, & Nosek, 1998). Colorism, defined as the "Prejudice or discrimination against individuals with a dark skin tone, typically among people of the same ethnic or racial group" ("Colourism", n.d.), and racial stereotyping, defined as "a standardized mental picture that is held in common by members of a group and that represents an oversimplified opinion, prejudiced attitude, or uncritical judgment" ("Stereotype", n.d.)

can both be found between and within racial/ethnic groups, making implicit racism a prevalent issue in our society. This implicit racism often negatively affects an individual's emotional, economic, and social status (Duke & Berry, 2011; Norwood, 2014; Hunter, 2005), leading to the following inquiry: How and in what ways are colorism and implicit racial stereotyping correlated in a multicultural society such as the United States?

Literature Review

Implicit Racism

Significant evidence suggests that implicit forms of racism, such as colorism and implicit racial stereotyping, are currently more socially prevalent and seen as more socially acceptable than explicit forms of

racism. Danel (2012), Walker (2008), and Stepanova (2009) each examined implicit responses and stereotyping in reaction to varying racial phenotypicality and skin tones. The results found that Polish and Scottish participants strongly preferred phenotypicality which resembled the features present in their own ethnic population (Danel, 2012), while South Asian and European American participants both preferred European Americans' phenotypicality over South Asians' phenotypicality (Walker, 2008). Similarly, both European American and African American participants negatively stereotyped African American phenotypicality and skin tones when it was compared to Eurocentric phenotypicality and skin tones (Stepanova, 2009). These studies assert that colorism often relates negatively to implicit racial bias and stereotyping, both within and between various racial and ethnic groups.

Polyhart (2004), Kelly (2004), and Breland (1998) each examined the implicit perceptions and stereotypes associated with African Americans while administering a basic knowledge test. The results of the study found that out of African American and European American participants, the African American participants scored higher on average but were perceived by both the European Americans and themselves as scoring lower (Polyhart, 2004). Concerning African American participants of varying skin tones, the African American participants with darker skin tones were perceived as doing worse than the African American participants of lighter skin tones (Kelly, 2004). A separate study found similar results, reasserting the claim that African American participants of darker skin tones were perceived as having lower intelligence than African American participants of lighter skin tones (Breland, 1998). These studies found that negative implicit stereotypes are not only seen in interracial colorism, but also prevalent within ethnic and racial communities, especially between individuals with varying skin tones.

Correlations within Implicit Racism

While the majority of studies focus only on examining explicit racism or implicit racism, few studies address the direct correlations between implicit aspects of racism. McLallen et.al (2006) examined color bias and its influence over implicit racial bias, by examining implicit responses to an Implicit Association Test of binary colors (black and white) and an Implicit Association Test of ethnic and non-ethnic names (popular African American and European American names). The results of the study found that racial bias and racial preferences are connected to an implicit, learned preference for lighter colors over darker colors - the definition of colorism. Some evident limitations of the study are that it only includes European Americans in its final results, despite the fact that varying minorities participated in the study. Another limitation of the study is that it only discussed the implicit racial and color biases concerning black and white binary colors or European Americans and African Americans.

Even fewer studies directly address colorism and racial stereotyping. Clark & Clark (1947) conducted a series of experimental surveys from the 1930s—1950s, which showed the effect of colorism on young children, who continually chose the lighter doll as opposed to the darker doll. When they were asked why, the children made statements that supported their associations between the negative, explicit racial stereotypes, which were rampant in society at the time, and the darker skin tone of the doll. One limitation with the study that arises when applying it to modern society is that children were the sole participants, which allowed for only a restricted number of questions and procedures to take place. Another limitation is that there was a severe limitation of two skin tones that were tested, with only a pale white doll and a dark brown doll used as stimuli, as opposed to the various shades of skin tones present in our modern, and increasingly diverse, society.

Present Research

In summary, although explicit forms of racism are still being combated and reduced, implicit forms of racism, especially concerning colorism and implicit racial stereotyping, are prevalent and also need to be addressed as an issue in our society, in part by increasing awareness. The current study is a modern adaptation of the Clark and Clark (1947) study, in order to re-examine the problem of implicit racism in our society, and does so by examining implicit responses to colorism and racial stereotyping in working-age adults.

Method

Implicit Response

Having chosen a mixed, action research method in order to effectively examine the correlation between racial stereotyping and colorism, the current study primarily collected implicit reactions, emotions, and comments in a survey format. Implicit response was examined, as opposed to explicit response, because, "implicit bias is tested as a less controllable measure of other-race attitudes" (Walker & Hewstone, 2008), stating that implicit biases, especially those concerning sensitive and stigmatized topics, such as race, are more revealing of the individual's true opinions than explicit attitudes and biases. To create implicit responses, participants were timed at 12 minutes, for the survey, which had a total of 33 questions. I decided to utilize QuestionPro survey software, once I was given a student research scholarship, in order to administer the survey.

Data Collection

I collected data determining if there is a preference for lighter skin tones over darker skin tones (while accounting for the variable of the participants' race/ethnicity), and I also collected data stating that the bias for skin tones has a correlation with implicit racial stereotyping. Due to the ethical concerns regarding studies with human subjects, I received approval from the Institutional Review Board. Participants will also be asked to explicitly discuss their experiences and feelings of being racially stereotyped or concerning colorism, and this will help assert that colorism and racial stereotyping continue to be prevalent in society. The Clark Doll Experiment shares similar goals as the present study, which is to examine the correlations between colorism and negative stereotypes (Clark & Clark, 1947).

Baseline Test

The baseline test was created in order to compare the implicit results to a set standard. This test was inspired by a study in *Black and White: The Role of Color Bias in Implicit Race Bias*, where the "color names were judged, from positive to negative, as white, yellow, red, brown, and black, and evaluations of racial categories made a separate group of participants were ordered similarly from positive and negative as Caucasian (White), Oriental (Asian), American Indian (Native American), Asian Indian, and Negro (Black)" (McLallen et al., 2006).

The baseline test consists of six varying skin tones from the Fitzpatrick skin-typing test (Figure 1) which is a modern scale of skin tones used by dermatologists to determine the amount of SPF (Sun Protection Factor) needed, due to ultra-violet light exposure and the level of melanin present in the skin ("Know your Skin Type", 2016). Participants were asked to implicitly rate each skin tone on a scale, ranging from 'Strongly Dislike' to 'Strongly Like'. Each participant was matched to a skin tone on the Fitzpatrick skin-typing test by the researcher in order to allow for additional correlations between the individual's skin tone and their views on other skin tones. The skin tone categories are defined as the following: Light skin tones (Types I and II), medium skin tones (Types III and IV), and dark skin tones (Types V and VI) (Figure 1).

Animated Faces Test

The Animated Faces Test was created in order to examine implicit racial stereotyping using realistic stimuli. The current study was inspired by an experiment in *Making of a Face: Role of Facial Physiognomy, Skin Tone, and Color Presentation Mode in Evaluations of Racial Typicality,* where the researchers "controlled and modified the variables of skin tone, slight facial feature variations, and color presentation in a panel of Eurocentric faces, low facial variation of Afrocentric faces and high facial feature variation of Afrocentric faces; this concludes that color perception plays an important role in facial categorization and is critical to the study of prejudice and stereotyping" (Stepanova & Strube, 2009, p. 69). Using MakeHuman software, an open source software program that creates realistically animated faces, I created animated facial stimuli that have slightly varying ethnic features and a dark, medium, and light skin-tone for each animated face. Each animated face varied, with 1.1-1.3 (Figure 2) possessing completely African features and 75% male features, 2.1- 2.3 possessing completely African features and 75% female fea-

tures with a thinner nose width, and with 3.1-3.3 possessing African, Asian, and Caucasian characteristics with a smaller lips and a smaller forehead.

Each facial series had all of the three varying skin tones, with 1.1, 2.1, and 3.1 possessing the light skin-tone; 1.2, 2.2, 3.2 possessing the medium skin-tone, and 1.3, 2.3, 3.3 possessing the dark skin-tone. All of the animated faces were defaulted at twenty-five years of age, and without facial hair and eyebrows. Additionally, the default eyes for all the faces are a light-brown color, as this eye color is prevalent across the majority of races and ethnicities, and each face had a neutral expression. These features were chosen because these facial aspects have been known to significantly influence the results of studies regarding race. The participants were each shown the animated faces and asked to associate one of the eight adjectives, four negative and four positive, from the Project Implicit Skin-tone Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, Banaji & Nosek, 1998) with the animated face. Participants also had the option to give their own adjective to accurately describe the face.
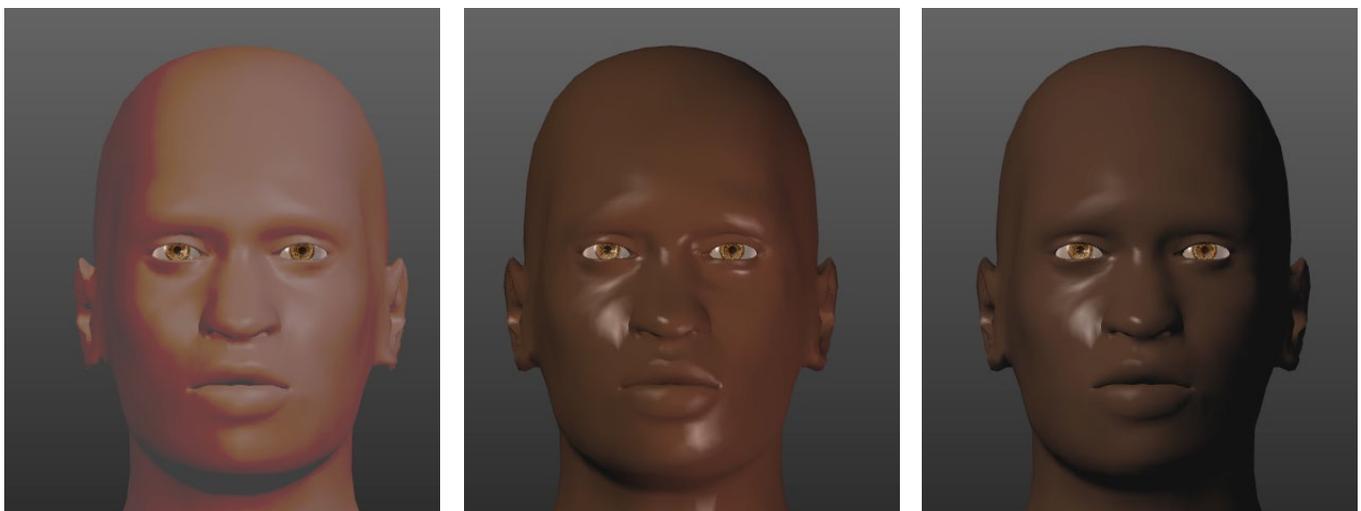
Hypotheses

For the Baseline Test, which examines participants' response to skin tone stimuli in order to simulate colorism, I hypothesized that the majority of adult participants will associate the darker skin tones (Types V and VI) with negative adjectives, despite the individual's racial or ethnic background and personal skin

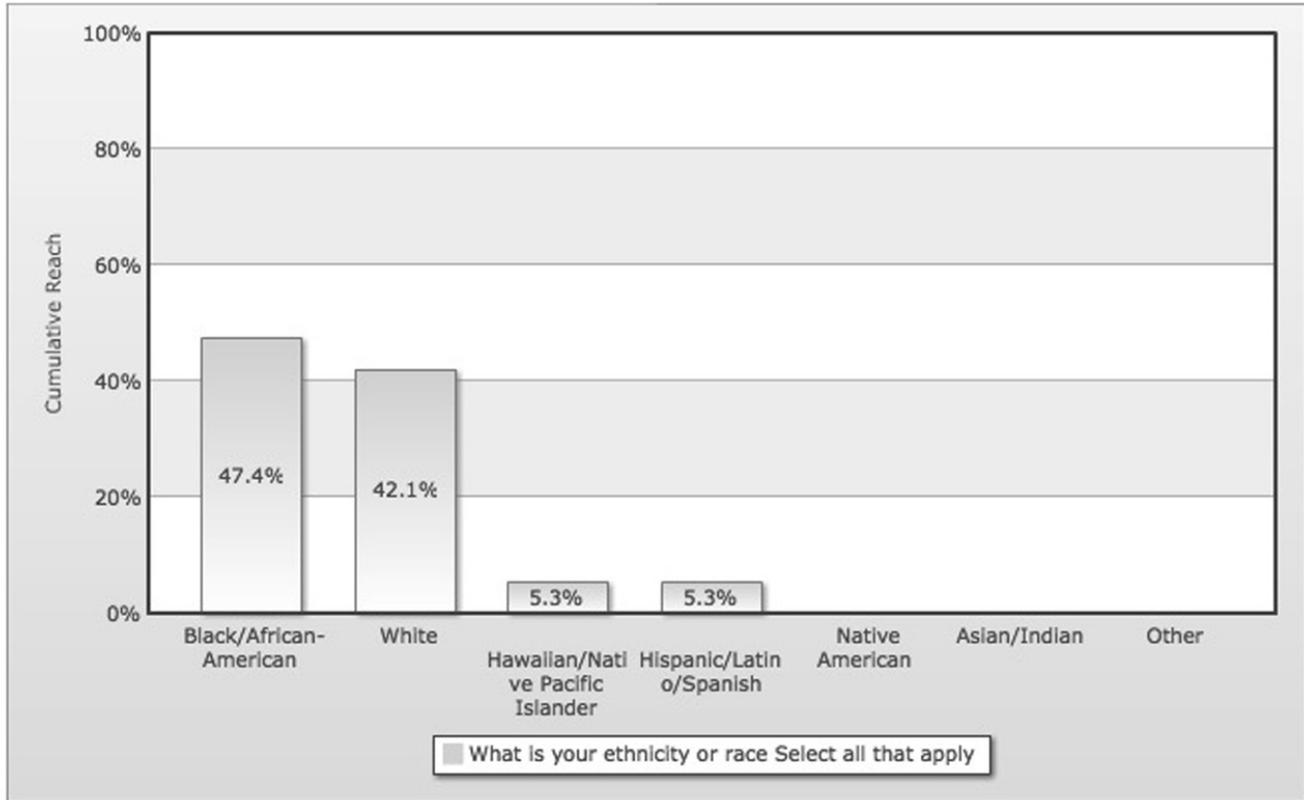## Fitzpatrick Skin-Typing Scale

tone; due to learned stereotyping and the burdens that those who are affected by colorism, those who possess darker skin tones, have in society and would associate the lighter skin tones (Types I and II) more positively,

Animated faces 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 respectively

with a positive linear association from the darker skin tones to the lighter skin tones.

For the Animated Faces Test, which examines participants' response to animated faces in order to simulate implicit racial stereotyping, I hypothesized that the participants who are of ethnic or racial backgrounds will associate the faces possessing darker skin tones with more positive adjectives, while European-American participants will associate the same faces with more negative adjectives.

Participant Questions

The participant question section was created so participants could fully and explicitly express their feelings on colorism and racial stereotyping. This section was included in order to aid in the discussion of implicit racial stereotyping and skin-tone bias, while assisting in promoting future research.

Participants

My scope of eligible participants were working-aged adults, 25 to 65 years in age, in the general public from a South-Midwest mid-sized urban city

in the US. This age group was chosen due to the fact that their implicit formation of stereotypes and reactions to various skin tones directly impacts the social values of the general population of the United States. Participants possessed a variety of racial/ethnic backgrounds (European-American, African American, Hispanic American, and Native Pacific Islander). Nineteen voluntary participants were tested in the present study. The participant demographics consisted of ten females and nine males, with eight participants being of African-American descent and eight participants being of European-American descent; along with one Hispanic participant, one Native Pacific Islander participant, and one participant of both European-American and African-American descent.

The demographic chart (pictured above), illustrates the amount of influence each racial and ethnic group had over the overall survey results, with African-American participants having the most influence.

Although I administered every survey in person, each participant was stripped of any identifying information in order to remain anonymous. Participants also had the option to discontinue the survey or omit a survey section if they were experiencing emotional stress.

Results

Baseline Test

African Americans were the group who rarely positively associated the lighter skin tones (Types I and II), with only one African-American participant preferring the lighter skin tones. In addition, this group also rated the medium Fitzpatrick skin tones (Types III and IV) as the most positive, however, they were also the group that negatively associated the darker Fitzpatrick skin tones (Types V and VI) the most.

European-Americans were the group who positively associated the lighter Fitzpatrick skin tones (Types I and II) the most when compared to other groups. This group also preferred the medium skin tones (Types II and IV), although not as strongly as the lighter skin tones. None of the participants from this group preferred the darker skin tones (Types V and VI).

A Native Pacific Islander participant was neutral across all skin tones. A Hispanic participant, however, strongly disliked both the lighter skin tones (Types I and II) and the medium skin tones (Types II and IV) when compared to the strongly preferred darker skin tones (Types V and VI). One participant, who was of both African-American and European-American descent, significantly preferred the lighter skin tones, while also strongly preferring the darker skin tones.

I had initially hypothesized that the overall result would be a positive linear association from the darker brown skin tones to the lighter pale skin tones, with the paler skin tones being the most positively associated. However, there was a pattern resembling a bell-curve of positive association, with the tan and mid-brown skin tones being the most positively associated with more "Strongly Like" or "Like", while the palest white skin tone and the darkest brown skin tone were the most negatively associated with more "Dislike" and a few "Strongly Dislike".

Animated Faces Test

For African Americans, the majority preferred the African Female animated face. However, the results of the African Male face and the Various face were inconclusive, with participants positively and negatively associating each face with adjectives.

For European Americans, the African Female and African Male were both preferred in equal numbers, but, overall, were preferred less than the Various face. A small percentage of participants from this group also could not associate the faces with adjectives in the context of simulated racial stereotyping, and would therefore give a 'neutral' result, which were not related to the context of race.

The Native Pacific Islander participant strongly preferred the African Female face and somewhat preferred the African Male face and Various face. In contrast, the Hispanic participant was not able to associate the faces with adjectives within the context of simulated racial stereotyping, and therefore provided a 'neutral' result in this section of the survey. Concerning the participant who was of both African American and European American descent, the African Female and the African Male face were both preferred over the Various face.

I initially hypothesized that the participants who are of ethnic or racial backgrounds will associate the faces possessing darker skin tones with more positive adjectives when compared to European-American participants, and my study confirmed this, although there were more participants who were of an ethnic or racial background who participated in the study.

Spearman's Coefficient Correlation Analysis

Using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient, it was determined that the average correlation between the implicit judgments of the skin tones present on the Fitzpatrick skin typing test and the implicit attitudes expressed concerning the Animated Faces Test accurately highlight the correlation between implicit colorism and implicit racial stereotyping.

The overall participants' responses rating for the Fitzpatrick Skin Typing Scale Type I skin-tone were compared to the overall responses from the Animated Faces Test using a correlation analysis, by utilizing Spearman's rank correlation coefficient, as seen in Table 1.

The "Types" in the chart are designated as the Fitzpatrick skin-typing scale skin-tone types, I through VI. The numbers in the brackets are the individual correlations between the responses concerning im-

Type I	Type II	Type III
7 (1) and 8 [-0.22]	7(2) and 8 [0.01]	7(3) and 10 [-0.25]
7(1) and 16 [0.12]	7(2) and 16 [0.25]	7(3) and 14 [0.08]
7(1) and 22 [0.09]	7(2) and 22 [-0.11]	7(3) and 18 [-0.22]
Avg: -0.003	Avg: 0.05	Avg: -0.13
Type IV	Type V	Type VI
7(4) and 10 [-0.19]	7(5) and 12 [0.38]	7(6) and 12 [-0.08]
7(4) and 8 [0.01]	7(5) and 20 [0.17]	7(6) and 20 [0.25]
7(4) and 18 [0.01]	7(5) and 24 [0.17]	7(6) and 24 [0.44]
Avg: -0.06	Avg: 0.24	Avg: 0.20

plicit racial stereotyping from the Animated Faces Test, and the responses concerning colorism from the Baseline Test. For skin-types III, IV, and I the average results showed a negative agreement between the ranking of the skin-tone type and the responses concerning the animated facial stimuli. In contrast, for the skin-types II, V, and VI the average results depicted a positive agreement between the skin-tone type and the responses concerning the animated facial stimuli. The total average of all skin-tone correlations was 0.05.

Open Response Discussion

When asked to give possible solutions to decreasing colorism and racial stereotyping in our society, ten participants cited exposure, nine participants cited education, and two participants cited colorblind ideology as the solution or a part of the solution.

Discussion

Baseline Test

African-Americans had the highest rate of negative association concerning the darker skin tones of the Fitzpatrick scale (Types V and VI), which accurately portrays the prevalent issue of colorism within the African-American community, with darker skin tones being 'strongly disliked' and tans and mid-browns be-

ing 'strongly liked'. This prevalence of colorism within the African-American community is not a recent development, but most likely a continued systematic consequence of the adversities, such as racism, discrimination, and second-class citizenship, which this racial group has to confront. This hierarchy of skin tones within the African-American community can be seen explicitly in even modern contexts, such as "In the early 1990s, the EEOC [Equal Employment Opportunity Commission] typically received less than 500 complaints of color-bias per year. By 2002, the number had nearly tripled to 1,400 complaints of color-bias" (Hunter, 2005). This leads to darker-skinned African-Americans being given fewer opportunities in both the African-American community and our society, as they combat both colorism and racism simultaneously. In addition, for African-American participants to rarely positively associate the lighter skin tones (Types I and II) accurately illustrates the perceived tension between these two racial groups. However, this result was also somewhat unexpected due to European Americans being on top of the social hierarchy, as articulated by sociologist Maxine Leeds, where she "describes her [women] interview participants as able to see the beauty in traditionally black identities…. But it seems as if they have not completely released the power of the white ideal of beauty. They stand outside of a white cultural ideal, yet they have internalized it" (2005). This internalization of beauty ideals standardized by European-Americans is due to European Americans having increased influence and

positive representation in the media, which would have set this group as the ideal standard.

For European-Americans to have the highest rate of positive association concerning lighter skin tones (Type I and II) accurately depicts the benefits that these skin tones, mainly held by European-Americans, have in our society, such as white college graduates being chosen more often for high paying positions of leadership over their black college graduate peers, all of whom possessed the same credentials (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). Similarly, for European-Americans to prefer the medium skin tones (Types III and IV) as opposed to the darker skin tones (Types V and VI) justifies the assertion that European-Americans historically and continually give more privileges and rights to those who share this group's physical features, traits, and characteristics and thus, those who had a skin-tone closer to their own. None of the European Americans preferred the darker skin tones (types V and VI), which accurately portrays the aforementioned continued stigmas our society holds against those who possess a darker skin tone, also known as colorism, as opposed to stigma against a specific race, which is racism. Similarly, for this group to also have the most neutral responses asserts the common perception that European-Americans are more prone to being uncomfortable discussing skin tones, and race in general. This is specifically seen when one European-American participant stated "because I am white [it is assumed that] I have racial feelings towards other skintones", when, in actuality, the vast majority of individuals, despite race, possess bias towards skin tones.

For the Native Pacific Islander participant to be positive across all of the skin tones accurately supports the assertion that exposure to a larger range of skin tones, many of which are present on the diverse Pacific islands, could increase the individual's rate of positive association related to a wider variety of skin tones.

Meanwhile, the Hispanic participant strongly preferred the darker skin tones (Types V and VI) over both the lighter skin tones and the medium skin tones, which was an unforeseen result. This is due to the prevalence of colorism also present in the Hispanic community, which tends to be more explicit. This can be seen in a 2002 court case where "the EEOC [Equal Employment Opportunity Commission] sued the owners of a Mexican restaurant in San Antonio, Texas for color-based discrimination. A white manager at the restaurant claimed that the owners directed him to hire only light-skinned staff to work in the dining room" (Hunter, 2005). Despite this and various other cases of explicit colorism in the Hispanic community, for the Hispanic participant to prefer the darker skin tones conveys a strong variation of opinions on skin tones within the Hispanic community, and can be further examined in future research.

For the participant of both African-American and European-American descent to strongly prefer the darker skin tones (Types V and VI) and prefer the lighter skin tones (Types I and II) over the medium skin tones (Types III and IV) was also an unexpected result, due to the prevalence of medium skin tones in the growing community of individuals who are of both African-American and European-American descent, such as the participant. This result can best be explained by a quote from the participant, stating, "As a biracial person, I have never been black enough or white enough". Hopefully, this phenomenon can be examined further in future research.

Baseline Test Hypothesis

For the baseline test to be a bell-curve positive association, where the medium skin tones (Types III and IV) were the most positively associated, and the lighter skin tones (Types I and II) and darker skin tones (Types V and VI) were the least favored, instead of the linear positive association I had initially hypothesized, effectively illustrates the gradual change in our societal beauty standards. Although beauty standards are still centered on European-American traits and features (Hunter, 2005), the recent increase in the general population of ethnic backgrounds has begun to diversify the media and change traditional beauty ideals.

Animated Faces Test

For African-American participants to significantly prefer the African Female animated face as opposed to the African Male face and the Various face can be attributed to the fact that the African Female animated face was physically smaller and had 'softer' features

than the other animated faces, in order to convey its gender appropriately, and was therefore the most easily recognizable as 'friendly' and 'non-threatening' by participants.

For European Americans to strongly prefer the Various face can be correlated to the current rise in the number of children from various races and ethnicities parented by the participant age range ("Multiracial in America", 2015). These children would be represented by and somewhat resemble the Various animated face, resulting in a higher rate of positive association.

For the Native Pacific Islander participant to strongly prefer the African Female face can be attributed to the aforementioned phenotypicality variation that this face had from the other two faces, however, for him not to strongly prefer the African male face and the Various face was an unforeseen result, due to the expectation that the participant would have had more exposure to various ethnicities and skin tones while living on the diverse Pacific Islands. Therefore, it would be assumed the participant would have the most positive association with the Various face. Hopefully this phenomenon can be examined further in future research.

For the Hispanic participant to have a 'neutral' result accurately support the aforementioned division of opinions on colorism in the Hispanic community.

For the participant of African American and European American descent to prefer both the African male face and the African Female face as opposed to the Various face, which was meant to represent individuals from multiple racial and ethnic backgrounds, was an unexpected result, because it was inferred that the participant would have most positively associated the Various face.

Spearman's Coefficient Correlation Analysis

Referring to the previous chart, for skin types III, IV, and I the average results effectively illustrates that the three aforementioned skin types and the animated facial stimuli correlate in a negative linear association, with the Baseline Test results negatively affecting the results in the Animated Faces Test. In addition, for the skin-types II, V, and VI, the average results depicts that the three skin types and the animated facial stimuli correlate in a positive linear association, meaning that the Baseline Test results positively affected the

results in the Animated Faces Test. Overall, this indicates that as skin types III, IV, and I were ranked the highest on average, the animated facial stimuli that followed was ranked negatively in comparison; as skin types II, V, and VI were ranked the lowest on average, the animated facial stimuli that followed was ranked positively in comparison. This resulted in a significant positive correlation between racial stereotyping and colorism in implicit response, revealing that these factors can function simultaneously in the formation of implicit racial bias.

Open Response Discussion

The three most common themes in the open response discussion section were exposure to various cultures and minorities, the promotion of colorblind ideology, a concept where individuals choose not to acknowledge race and ethnicity, and education in our schools and in our society concerning various cultures, ethnicities, and races.

The exposure to different cultures and the interaction with various races within our society, in order to decrease racism and its various forms and outlets (such as racial stereotyping and colorism) is a commonly discussed solution, and has been proven to be effective in certain settings; such as in a 2004 study that examined levels of negative racial biases and stereotyping on college campuses, which found that "stereotypes can be overcome with relatively superficial contact under the right conditions" (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004). However, it is a widely contested solution, due to the lack of a variety of minorities in certain rural areas of the United States, and the continued socio-economic housing divide in large urban areas, where the majority of minorities are forced into and kept in poorer neighborhoods, due to phenomena such as ghettoization and redlining.

The promotion of 'colorblind ideology', a term used to describe how individuals choose to ignore the races and ethnicities of other individuals in an effort to avoid acts of discrimination and racism, is a commonly denounced solution throughout academia. Therefore, it is more effective to embrace various races and ethnicities, as opposed to ignoring their existence and the contribution they make to our multicultural society.

Education in our schools and in our general society is widely acknowledged as the most effective solution in combating racism and its diverse forms and outlets, due to its easy access ad lasting effect on children. This can be seen in a recent mixed method study concerning child development, where 75 European American children (ages 4-9) were told three stories stereotyping the actions of African American classmates and three stories with non-stereotypical stories concerning the actions of African Americans classmates, and it was found that "stereotypic stories were remembered better (M = 5.0, SD = .9) than counterstereotypic stories (M = 4.2, SD = 1.4)" (Bigler & Liben, 1993). However, increased education on what stereotyping is and how it contributes negatively to society, and hinders the individual being stereotyped, was proposed as a possible solution to combat these higher rates of acceptance concerning the stereotypical stories, justifying the need for education on racism and how our society can prevent it.

Conclusion/Future Research

The current study examines colorism and its role in the formation of implicit racial stereotyping, with the focus being between analyzing the correlation between the two variables. A statistically significant and positive correlation was discovered between the two variables, and justifies the hypothesis that colorism and racial stereotyping do correlate with each other. A limitation of the current study is that these results cannot be generalizable, due to the nature of the study as a mixed method with a qualitative analysis. Future research would need to be conducted on the specific ways that colorism and racial stereotyping operate in our society and how this correlation hinders various minority populations.

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