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Everyday Ingroup Colourism and Racial Esteem: Investigating the Moderating Role of Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity among Afro and Indo Trinidadians

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EVERYDAY INGROUP COLOURISM AND RACIAL ESTEEM: INVESTIGATING THE MODERATING ROLE OF ASSIMILATION TO A NATIONALISTIC IDENTITY AMONG AFRO AND INDO TRINIDADIANS

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Abstract

Colourism is a form of prejudice based on skin tone that occurs intraracially among communities of colour. Whereas light-skin tones are highly favoured, dark-skin tones are privileged in terms of perceived ethnic authenticity and legitimacy, thus, leading to assumptions about greater group level support and resources for dark-skinned persons. This study challenges these assumptions on the premise of ingroup colourism jeopardizing the relationship between Afro and Indo Trinidadians, and their racial-ethnic groups based on the tenets of Social Identity Theory and Social Identity Threat Theory. Social Identity Threat Theory proposes that the response to rejection from one's ingroup depends on how highly or lowly the individual identifies with their ingroup. Therefore, as a proxy for determining how highly or lowly participants identified with their racial-ethnic group, this study used assimilation to a nationalistic identity to discern the extent to which participants disassociated from their racial-ethnic identity. Trinidadians were the population of interest for this study since colourism is significantly under-researched in the English-speaking Caribbean.

For the purpose of examining the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem, as well as, the moderating role of assimilation to a nationalistic identity and other demographic variables, an analytical sample of 86 young adults attending the University of the Southern Caribbean filled out the Everyday Colourism Scale, the Assimilation subscale of the Cross Ethnic-Racial Identity Scale – Adult, and the Race-Specific Collective Self-Esteem Scale. This study conducted Independent Samples t-tests to assess for group differences in ingroup colourism, racial esteem, and assimilation to a nationalistic identity between genders and racial-ethnic groups. An Ordinary Least Squares Regression tested whether ingroup colourism explained variance in racial esteem. Moderation analyses were carried out to investigate whether assimilation to a nationalistic identity, gender, or racial-ethnic group moderated the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem.

Group differences, based on racial-ethnic group, in racial esteem were found. Experiences of perceived ingroup colourism predicted Private Collective Self-Esteem and Public Collective Self-Esteem. Assimilation to a nationalistic identity moderated the relationship between ingroup colourism and Public Collective Self-Esteem. Implications of these results for the mental health field in Trinidad are discussed.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the dark-skinned girls and boys, women and men, who have struggled with their racial identity and sense of belonging in their racial-ethnic groups due to colourism. It is my hope that my research sheds light on this issue and opens up a conversation where your experiences are acknowledged, articulated, and validated. As a researcher who has studied the topic of colourism over the past couple of years, the stories and research shared about colourism have remained near and dear to me. Therefore, I hope that my work provides some justice to you and helps you feel seen and heard.

I also dedicate this work to my vulnerable, insecure self who had doubts about my ability to get this dissertation done. Whether it was imposter syndrome or anxiety or whatever that plagued you and clouded your ability to fully believe in yourself … let the completion of this dissertation serve to remind you that you are capable, you are competent, and you have the ability to achieve excellence once you give your full effort.

Lastly, I would like to dedicate my dissertation to my parents, who have invested in my education and ability to succeed from the very beginning. They planted the seeds of desiring to help others in me. One of the things that kept me motivated throughout this journey of pursuing my PhD was how I would be able to enact my passion for helping people through the skillsets I was continuing to develop as a student. As a teacher and police officer, my mother and father, respectively, have demonstrated to me how genuine interest in the betterment of others, paired with genuine effort leads to a great sense of fulfilment. I seek this sense of fulfilment in my life. This PhD journey has allowed me to further cultivate genuine interest in the betterment of those who could benefit from my research, while also requiring genuine effort from me to see the research through to the end. Needless to say, this was a huge undertaking that tested me in a lot of ways. Dear mummy and daddy, your example

continued to inspire me along this arduous journey and kept me motivated when it became overwhelming as I pursued not just my degree but what the degree also represented in terms of opportunity… an opportunity to sharpen my skills and use them to help others.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"Dem seh mi black til mi shine, til mi look dirty

And it's the only line in life that will ever hurt me

Cause it never come from a Caucasian, trust mi

Dis a black colourism big hypocrisy" – Spice [Grace Latoya Hamilton]

These lyrics from influential Caribbean musical artist, Spice, communicate the sense of betrayal she feels from the Black community, from which she received the message that dark skin is unattractive, dirty, and undesirable. She calls the skin tone bias she experienced a hypocrisy which can be interpreted in a couple of ways. Firstly, she highlights the hypocrisy of how a community affected by the perils of racism has internalized this oppression and perpetrate it within their own community through prejudice against darker skin tones. Another way in which hypocrisy can be understood is that although the Black community is a social group with which she identifies, she experiences rejection from this group due to colourism, thus negatively impacting her collective identity. Spice's lyrics speak to a wider problem in the Caribbean concerning the issue of colourism and how it affects the collective identities of those who are victimized by it.

The sense of betrayal that Spice expresses in her lyrics speaks to the negative impact that colourism has on dark-skinned individuals. While racism is understood as discrimination based on perceived and self-identified racial-ethnic heritage, colourism is a physiognomy-based discrimination that prejudices against darker skin tones across and within racial groups (Harris, 2008). Spice perceives "black colourism" as betrayal because the perpetrators of colourism are from within her own racial ingroup. This betrayal hurt as it caused her to self-perceive her skin tone as something to be looked down upon, thus affecting her self-image, and possibly, her self-esteem. Theoretically contextualising Spice's lyrics and the experiences they reference regarding colourism in the Caribbean and its impact on those affected by it can

take several different approaches. The focus of this study narrows in on the impact of ingroup colourism on the collective identities of Caribbean communities of colour. Therefore, Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorization theory were adopted to contextualise the impact of colourism on collective identity among Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians.

European conquest, colonisation, and involvement in the Transatlantic Slave Trade were major contributing factors to the development of colourism in the Western and Eastern worlds. These key factors also play an instrumental role in the history of Trinidad. Trinidad was chosen as a representative of the Caribbean because of the influences of the West and the East in its history and culture which positions the island to be a unique case study of colourism in the Caribbean.

History of Trinidad

The following presents an overview of the history of Trinidad, integrating information provided by Brereton (n.d.), CountryWatch (n.d.), and Williams (1964). Arawakan-speaking and Cariban-speaking Amerindian groups originally inhabited Trinidad before Christopher Columbus landed in 1498, on behalf of the Spanish Crown, introducing Spanish rule and administration. The Spanish presence only grew until the year of 1593 because the island was ignored since it was an underdeveloped colony. Trinidad remained an underdeveloped, agricultural economy (producing and exporting tobacco and cacao) in the 17th and early 18th centuries, first relying on enslaved Amerindians, and then on enslaved African labour after the Amerindian population was decimated.

When the Spanish Crown declared a cedula that allowed for Roman Catholics from other nations to settle in Trinidad, this brought a great migration of French settlers to Trinidad, thus bringing the island under de facto French control, though it remained under Spanish administration. The cedula granted land and tax incentives to settlers. Upon the mass influx of settlers and their accompanying enslaved personnel, Trinidad experienced rapid

expansion concerning the population, the economy, and society. This led to the prominence of a plantation economy in Trinidad as enslaved persons from other colonies and Africa were brought in to cultivate sugar and cotton.

The French and Dutch fought Spain over control of the island, but ultimately the British captured Trinidad in 1791 and the island was formally ceded to the British Empire in 1802. As Trinidad became a British colony, more enslaved Africans were brought in through the Transatlantic Slave Trade. Ultimately, African enslaved labour was introduced to Trinidad in three crucial ways: (a) by the Spanish as a replacement for Amerindian labour; (b) with French planters who emigrated to Trinidad due to the cedula decreed by the Spanish Crown; and (c) through the Transatlantic Slave Trade through the British. However, the importation of enslaved Africans was rendered illegal by the British in 1807. Despite the abolition of the Slave Trade in the British Empire, Trinidad continued to develop as a sugar colony under British rule. A divide-and-conquer strategy was enacted by the Europeans upon the enslaved Africans by separating families and mixing up tribes in an attempt to suppress a common tongue and a common culture among them.

Slavery was officially abolished on August 1st, 1838, with a transitional period of apprenticeship lasting from 1834 until 1838. Apprenticeship was perceived as half slavery and half freedom by the enslaved Africans who deemed it as unacceptable and, thusly, protested against it. Consequently, rather than ending in 1840 as originally planned, the apprenticeship and slavery ended on August 1st, 1838. In apprenticeship the enslaved had to work for their former masters under certain conditions and extenuating stipulations. The circumstances of apprenticeship reinforced racist beliefs of African inferiority. Apprenticeship also worked to uphold the sugar plantocracy. Some of the conditions of apprenticeship included depriving apprentices from owning land and paying them unliveable wages.

There was worry and concern over how emancipation would affect Trinidad's economy. However, it was observed that the formerly enslaved were hard-working, which went against the racist belief that Africans were lazy. Furthermore, production and standard of living had increased as well as the standard of housing. This was because the majority of the formerly enslaved chose to rent or purchase land and work for estates, as opposed to remaining as serfs for sugar plantation owners. Nevertheless, emancipation disrupted the profits of the sugar plantations and competed against the interests of the plantation owners and members of the British government who advocated for the profitability of the sugar plantocracy. Therefore, the need to bring in an alternative labour force on the sugar plantations arose to increase competition and reduce wages, even though sugar plantation owners were compensated for their loss of enslaved labour.

In search of alternative labour forces, Trinidad became one of the most racially and ethnically diverse Caribbean islands as it attracted immigrants from other British colonies, Africa (from which individuals came as free settlers or were rescued from European slave ships), Madeira, Portugal, Italy, China, Syria, Lebanon, Venezuela, the Mediterranean and the UK. Finally, it was agreed upon in 1845 by the British to import East Indian labour, through the Indentureship programme, at the public's expense (including the emancipated Africans).

The wage to be paid for this indentured labour was set by the British government, which kept the interest of sugar plantation owners at hand. This indentureship lasted until 1917. Even though ordinances were put in place to protect the Indian immigrants, they were still subjected to low wages, poor housing conditions, and being heavily policed. Part of the contract for the indentured Indians was repatriation to India, which was covered by public expenses. However, repatriation disturbed the sustainability of their labour. Therefore, as an incentive to re-indenture themselves after their original contract had ended, they were offered the opportunity to purchase parcels of land in Trinidad in place of repatriation.

Administratively, Trinidad was set up as a Crown Colony, where the British government retained power through the Governor. This was due to the island's idiosyncrasies compared to other self-governing British colonies in the West Indies. Under the constitution of a Crown Colony, there was a Governor and a Legislative Council. The Legislative Council was comprised of top officials and unofficial persons who were nominated by the Governor. Activists advocated against this composition and called for the inclusion of elected members into the Legislative Council. This advocation was granted through a constitution reform in 1925, which allowed for 7 elected members.

What contributed to the constitution reform was the discovery of oil in Trinidad in the early 20th century, which transformed the economy and society. Oil field workers, under the leadership of Uriah Butler (a Grenadian-born oil field worker and trade unionist) unionised and organised labour movements. These movements developed into political organizations that advocated for universal adult suffrage and other measures of self-governance through striking, rioting, and protesting. In addition to politicised labour movements, sentiments of national consciousness and sovereignty were stirred by the Creole (both European and non-European), who were granted access to higher education that included liberal political ideologies. As a result, full adult suffrage was achieved in Trinidad in 1946.

The first political party to formally advocate for independence from Britain was the People's Education Movement (PEM), which was formed in 1956 by Dr. Eric Williams. In pursuit of autonomy, a constitution arrangement was made with Britain which allowed for limited self-government by this party when it won control of the Legislative Council. Trinidad gained its independence from British colonial rule on August 31st, 1962. The first party to win an election and form Trinidad and Tobago's first party-based cabinet government was the People's National Movement (PNM) under Dr. Eric Williams. Upon independence, the PEM evolved into the PNM, and thusly, Dr. Williams served as the first Prime Minister of

Trinidad and Tobago. The PNM continued to have a nationalistic, self-determination agenda. Other political parties began to take form in the post-colonial era. However, their appeal was stratified along ethnic lines with PNM appealing to Africans and the United Labour Force (ULF) to Indians. The other parties appealed to the middle class. However, the PNM won every election and enjoyed uninterrupted rule from 1962 to 1986. Trinidad became a Republic in 1976.

Colourism in the Caribbean

Colourism has been studied among a multitude of communities of colour, yet it remains critically understudied in the Caribbean, where the majority of studies have largely focused on pigmentocratic social stratification (a system of stratification that is divided according to degrees of skin tone) in Latin America and the Spanish speaking Caribbean, and Jamaica (Charles, 2021; Hernandez, 2015, Kelly, 2020), while other colourism-focused studies have targeted the experiences of Black Caribbeans as an immigrant group within the US and the UK (Bijou & Colen, 2022; Byrd, 2014; Craddock et al., 2023b; Wilder & Cain, 2011). The history and development of colourism among African Americans largely parallels Trinidadian history, in terms of European colonization and the Transatlantic slave trade, thus reaffirming the need to study colourism within the island as a representative for the English-speaking Caribbean. This study intends to address this gap by examining the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and collective self-esteem among Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians.

Background and Significance of Current Study

Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorization theory posit that the individual's self-concept consists of a personal identity and a social identity (Turner, 1985). Personal identity refers to people's perception of themselves as individuals, factoring in their personal values, goals, and unique attributes. Social identity is the part of the self-concept that arises from the

individual's engagement in the processes of self-categorisation and social comparison. What emerges from these processes is a self that is known based on the social groups to which the individual belongs (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Stets & Burke, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The individual comes to know the self through affiliation with different social groups. This affiliation and identification form the basis of the individual's ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Tajfel and Turner (1986) postulated that individuals are motivated to maintain a positive self-image. Subsequently, the valuation of the self is based on how the individual judges their ingroup (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Stets & Burke, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In other words, in attempts to enhance one's self-image the individual is motivated to judge their ingroup more favourably than their outgroup due to their identification with their ingroup and the fact that part of their self-conceptualisation is derived from belonging to their ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) expanded this theory by introducing a third type of identity in the individual's self-concept, termed the collective identity. In this development, personal identity remains the aspect of the self that references how people see themselves as individuals. However, social identity is understood differently. In Luhtanen and Croker's (1992) expanded conceptualisation, social identity refers to the self in interpersonal domains, meaning the aspect of the self in relation to others, concerning "one's popularity, reputation, and mannerisms" (p.302). The collective identity relates to the original Social Identity Theory's conceptualization of social identity, where it refers to the aspect of the self-concept that is concerned with one's social groups such as race, ethnicity, and religion. The sense of belonging and community one feels among these social groups is also considered as part of the collective identity. The individual's assessment of their collective self and their attitudes toward/perceptions of their ingroup is their collective self-esteem.

Studies on colourism have focused on the impact of colourism on personal identity and interpersonal identity (Abrams et al., 2020; Coard et al., 2001; Hall, 2017; Hochschild & Weaver, 2007; Matthew & Johnson, 2015; Thompson & Keith, 2001). However, there is a gap in the literature concerning the impact of colourism on social/collective identity. This gap is problematic because research has shown that dark-skinned individuals of different racial and ethnic groups are perceived as more ethnically authentic and legitimate than their lighter skinned counterparts (Hall, 2017; Hunter, 2002; Hunter, 2007). These studies assumed that due to this perception, dark-skinned individuals experience a sense of belonging and social cohesion among their racial ethnic groups. However, research that verifies the validity of this assumption are few and far in between. Furthermore, the value that dark-skinned individuals place on their ethnic group has also been understudied. This relationship needs to be studied because although they may be perceived as more ethnically authentic, this does not fully account for the experiences dark-skinned individuals have in their ethnic groups and how these experiences affect the value dark-skinned individuals place on their ethnic groups.

In Social Identity Threat Theory, Branscombe et al. (1999) created a taxonomy that categorised different types of identity threats. One of these threats included acceptance threat, which takes on the form of intragroup rejection where the individual's acceptance into the group is compromised or jeopardized. In addition to being an intergroup phenomenon, colourism also occurs intra-racially where bias is perpetrated within communities of colour, and experiences of intragroup marginalization are predicated on preference for lighter skin tones (Alexander & Carter, 2022; Chen et al., 2022; Haywood, 2017). Therefore, although dark-skinned individuals are perceived as more ethnically authentic, this should not directly translate as greater group acceptance or greater embrace of one's racial-ethnic group since colourism can be conceived as a form of acceptance threat. Consequently, this raises the need to examine how experiences of colourism affect dark-skinned persons' evaluation of their

racial-ethnic groups. Therefore, this study seeks to investigate how the value placed on one's racial group (collective self-esteem, also referred to as racial esteem) is affected by the experiences of ingroup colourism (acceptance threat). Collective self-esteem brings forth a paradoxical situation for individuals subjected to ingroup colourism where the motivation to positively favour one's ingroup still exists but one's personal identity is being undermined by this ingroup due to colourism. Sanchez et al. (2012) noted how "little is understood about how individuals experience and cope with intragroup rejection, perceptions of rejection from fellow ingroup members" (p.1020). This study has the potential to contribute to the literature by addressing this gap, by looking at whether variance in racial esteem can be explained by experiences of perceived ingroup colourism.

Branscombe et al. (1999) theorized that the individual's response to acceptance threat is determined by how much they identify with their ingroup. Coupled with the motivation to maintain a positive collective identity, the degree to which the individual identifies with their ingroup dictates the strategies they engage in to protect their collective identity (Branscombe et al., 1999; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). One of these strategies is disassociation from one's social group. In this study, assimilation to a nationalistic identity is used as a proxy for disassociating from one's racial group as a response to ingroup colourism. This study is interested in assessing whether assimilating to a nationalistic identity over one's racial identity acts as a buffer for the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem. In other words, does assimilation moderate the effect ingroup colourism has on racial esteem.

The reason why this study focuses on assimilation to a nationalistic identity among a Trinidadian population is that throughout its history, there have been efforts to forge a national identity. This was in contrast to the ethnic identities that had been reinforced throughout Trinidad's history. As Brereton (2010) noted, there are three main revisionist perspectives that are prominent in the retelling of specifically Trinidadian (without the

inclusion of Tobago) history. Two of these perspectives are ethnically-racially based, while the other is primarily rooted in anti-colonialist rhetoric. While the anti-colonialist revisionist perspective seeks to centralize Trinidad's history on the achievement of freedom and independence from colonial rule as a creolized, unified nation, the ethnic-racial revisionist perspectives seek to retell the country's history through the lens of the struggles and contributions of specific ethnic groups, mainly an Afrocentric versus Indocentric revision of Trinidadian history.

The Afrocentric perspective focuses on how the enslavement of kidnapped Africans in Trinidad plays a centralized role in Trinidadian history, with loyalist ties to 'Mother Africa'. This perspective also focuses on how the rebellions of the enslaved shaped Trinidad's culture. Furthermore, the impact of slavery in its psychological and societal effects/outcomes on the descendants of the enslaved is an important part of the discourse in the Afrocentric revisionist perspective of Trinidadian history. The Indocentric revisionist perspective, with loyalist ties to 'Mother India', focuses on the role of Indo Trinidadian excellence and triumph in the face of personal and structural adversity as a key component of Trinidadian history. The rhetoric of the Indocentric revisionist perspective strives to emphasize the centrality of the specifically Hindu-Indian story to the economic and social advancement of Trinidadian society, especially in contrast to the contributions of other ethnic groups, particularly Afro-Trinidadians.

As Trinidad became decolonized from British rule, there were great strides to develop a sense of nationalism and an indigenous, creolized culture that was unique to the newly decolonized Trinidad. Thusly, these were attempts to forge a 'Mother Trinidad' identity. The pluralisation of Trinidad due to strong ties to the ethnic enclaves present within the country was perceived as an obstacle to becoming a unified nation, hence the proclamation declared by Dr. Eric Williams (1964)

> Only together can they build a society, can they build a nation, can they build a homeland. There can be no Mother India...no Mother Africa...no Mother England...no Mother China...no Mother Syria or no Mother Lebanon. A nation, like an individual, can have only one Mother. The only Mother we recognise is Mother Trinidad and Tobago, and Mother cannot discriminate between her children. (p.279)

Since this Trinidadian nationalistic identity was noted to be able to transcend ethnic identity, then it is plausible to assume that assimilating to a nationalistic identity may act as a buffer if ties toward one's ethnic identity is compromised due to ingroup colourism. Furthermore, in terms of accounting for variability in assimilation to a nationalistic identity, this study includes Indo Trinidadians as a comparison group. Rampersad (2014) stated that it is of the opinion of many Indo Trinidadians that a nationalistic identity is rooted in an African-Creole identity thus positioning Indo Trinidadians to choose between their Indian heritage versus their Trinidadian identity. Thus, implying that assimilating to a nationalistic identity varies between Afro and Indo Trinidadians.

Statement of Problem

Studies exploring the topic of colourism have found that despite the negative perceptions against dark skin, dark-skinned individuals are perceived as more ethnically authentic and legitimate than their light-skinned counterparts such as in African American, Asian Americans, and Latinx communities (Hall, 2017; Hunter 2007; Rondilla & Spickard, 2007). This perception has led to assumptions of greater sense of group belonging and social cohesion for darker-skinned individuals. However, these studies do not consider that although darker-skinned individuals are perceived to be authentic members of their racial-ethnic groups, their attitudes and perceptions toward their groups may be unfavourable. The relationship between colourism and racial-ethnic identity has been sparsely studied. This is because when examining the impact of colourism on identity and the self, the majority of

studies have focused on assessing the affect colourism has on personal identity and interpersonal identity, with relatively few focusing on social/collective identity, i.e., racial esteem.

Research on colourism and racial-ethnic identity have only focused on internalized colonial mentality, skin tone perception, skin tone satisfaction, and skin tone preferences as indicators of racial-ethnic attitudes, not taking into account how perceived experiences of colourism may function as a predictive factor of level of esteem toward ones' racial-ethnic group (Breland-Noble et al., 2003; David & Okazaki, 2006; Harvey et al., 2005; Maxwell et al. 2015; Utsey et al. 2015). These studies have concluded that although dark-skinned individuals may be satisfied with and prefer their complexion, medium skin tones were idealized among them. It was noted that this may have been due to the influence of ethnic identity. Since dark skin is considered a salient representation for African American heritage, participants in these studies wanted to give the perception of strong ties to their ethnic background, hence their preference for dark skin tones while idealizing skin tones that are lighter than theirs (Breland-Noble et al., 2003; Maxwell et al., 2015). Other studies have found that an internalized colourism mindset which stemmed from a colonial mentality was associated with low collective self-esteem (David & Okazaki, 2006; Urbey et al., 2015). However, they did not consider how the everyday experiences of ingroup colourism relates to collective self-esteem.

It is important that the relationship between experiences of colourism and racial-esteem be examined because group level support is theorized to ameliorate the impact of prejudice on stigmatized groups (Meyer, 2003). Since dark-skinned individuals are perceived as more ethnically authentic, it is presumed that they may have access to group level support from their racial-ethnic group. However, the ameliorating effect of group level support may be compromised for darker-skinned individuals since they are subjected to further

stigmatization by their racial-ethnic groups through ingroup colourism. Experiences of ingroup colourism can potentially affect the sense of belonging and community for dark-skinned individuals within their racial-ethnic groups, thus further contributing to the vulnerability experienced among these individuals. This, therefore, warrants the need to examine the association between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem.

Purpose of Study

Research shows that darker complexions indicate ethnic authenticity and legitimacy among communities of colour. However, dark skin faces prejudice within these communities based on ingroup colourism. Although the relationship between skin tone and ethnic identity has been studied, the associations between experiences of ingroup colourism and attitude toward one's ethnic group has been understudied. Therefore, this study aims to better understand the relationship between everyday experiences of ingroup colourism, as a form of acceptance threat, and value placed on one's racial group, as collective self-esteem (racial esteem), among Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians. Furthermore, assessing the moderating role of assimilation to a nationalistic identity on the aforementioned relationship is emphasized. Given this study's focus on the everyday experiences of colourism as a predictive factor, the recently developed Everyday Ingroup Colourism Scale (Craddock et al., 2023b) will be used. This differentiates this study from previous studies which used measures of skin tone, and skin tone preferences and satisfaction as independent variables when exploring the concept of colourism and its impact on racial-ethnic identity. Additionally, since this study focuses on the attitudes toward and value placed on one's ethnic identity, the race-specific Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) will be used as a measure of the dependent variable. Worrell et al.'s (2017) Cross Ethnic-Racial Identity Scale–Adult will be used to assess whether assimilating to a nationalistic identity neutralizes the impact of experienced colourism on racial-esteem. This study seeks to advocate for building the

empiricism of colourism studies in the Caribbean, hence its focus on the Afro Trinidadian and Indo Trinidadian populations. It also seeks to illuminate the experiences of dark-skinned individuals whose skin complexion may be taken for granted in terms of ethnic authenticity, which does not take into consideration the impact of ingroup colourism on this demographic and their relationship to their ethnic groups.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This *ex post facto*, non-experimental study attempts to extend the literature review by quantitatively examining the following research questions regarding experiences of ingroup colourism, racial esteem, and assimilation to a nationalistic identity among Afro and Indo Trinidadians.

RQ1. What is the state of experiences of ingroup colourism, racial esteem, and assimilation to a nationalistic identity among Trinidadians?

RQ2. How does experiences of ingroup colourism differ by gender? It is hypothesized that there will be a significant difference in the experiences of ingroup colourism between males and females (H1).

RQ3. How does experiences of ingroup colourism differ by racial-ethnic group? It is hypothesized that there will be a significant difference in the experiences of ingroup colourism between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians (H2).

RQ4. How does racial esteem differ by racial-ethnic group? It is hypothesized that there will be a significant difference in racial esteem between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians (H3).

RQ5. How does assimilation to a nationalistic identity differ by racial-ethnic group? It is hypothesized that there will be a significant difference in assimilation to a nationalistic identity between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians (H4).

RQ6. To what extent do experiences of ingroup colourism predict racial esteem? It is

hypothesized that racial esteem will be a function of everyday experiences of ingroup colourism. (H5).

RQ7. Does the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem depend on assimilation to a nationalistic identity? It is hypothesized that assimilation to a nationalistic identity will moderate the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism experiences and racial esteem (H6). See Figure 1.

RQ7a. Does the moderating effect of nationalistic identity depend on racial-ethnic group (H7)? See Figure 2.

RQ8. Does the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem depend on gender? It is hypothesized that gender will moderate the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem (H8). See Figure 3.

RQ9. Does the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem depend on racial-ethnic group? It is hypothesized that racial-ethnic group will moderate the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem (H9). See Figure 4.

Figure 1. Conceptual Moderation between Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity, Experiences of Ingroup Colourism, and Racial Esteem

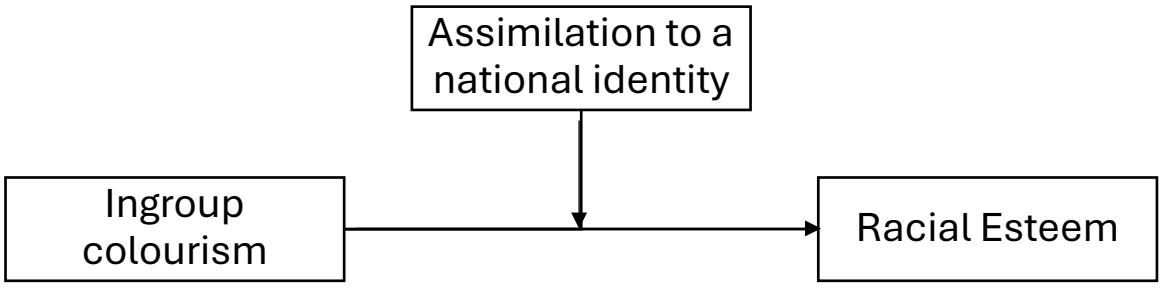


Figure 2. Conceptual Moderated Moderation between Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity, Racial-Ethnic group, Experiences of Ingroup Colourism, and Racial Esteem

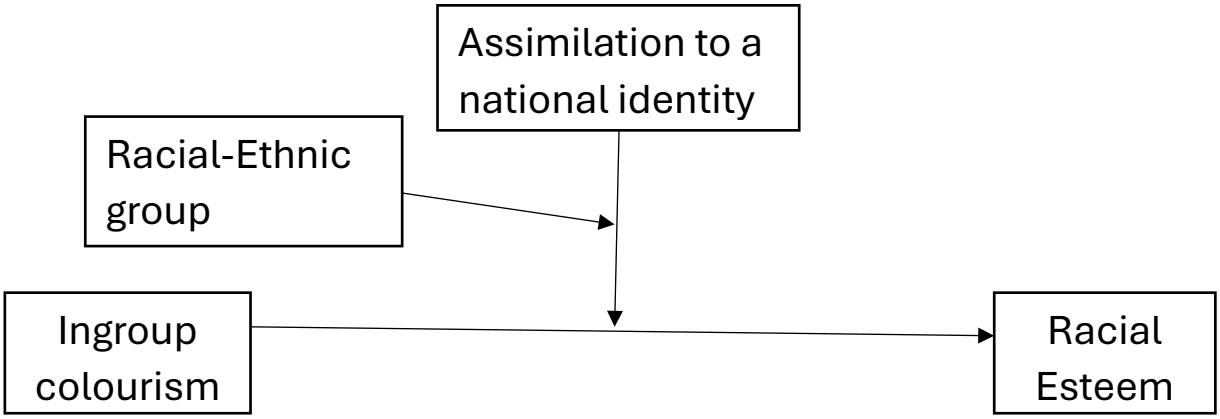


Figure 3. Conceptual Moderation between Gender, Experiences Ingroup Colourism, and Racial Esteem

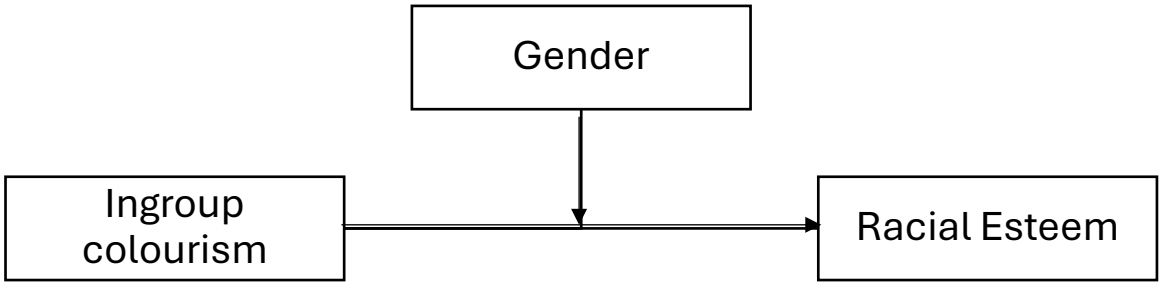
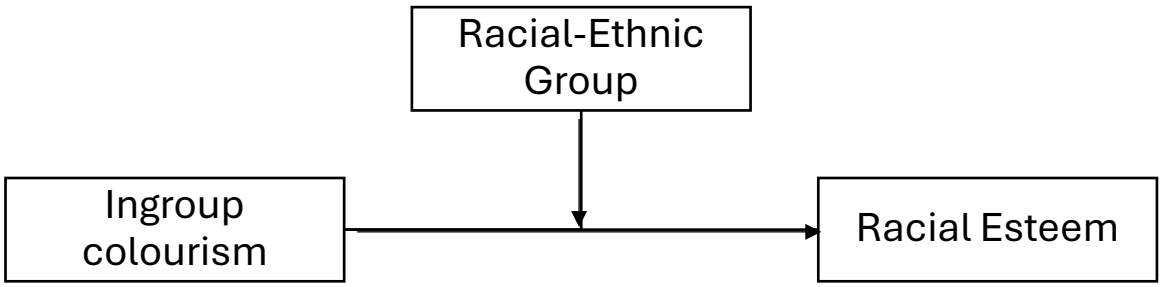


Figure 4. Conceptual Moderation between Racial-Ethnic Group, Experiences of Ingroup Colourism, and Racial Esteem



Theoretical Framework

Social Identity Theory states that social categorizations are "the cognitive tools that segment, classify, and order the social environment" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p.15). According to Self-Categorization Theory, this systemization then enables the individual to categorize themselves based on comparing how similar they are to those belonging to certain social categorizations and how different they are from members of other social categorizations (Turner, 1985). Turner (1985) claimed that there are different levels of self-categorization which include the personal identity and the social identity. Personal identity refers to that aspect of a person's self-concept that makes them a unique individual (Turner, 1985). Social identity refers to the aspect of the self-concept that arises from the individual's perception of belonging to particular social categories (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The formation of social groups is the result of individuals identifying with different social categories (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Perceptions of one's personal identity and social identity each contribute to the individual's self-image (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1985). Social groups, through social identity, thus play a role in self-image (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Therefore, belonging to a racial-ethnic group effects one's self-image, as membership in social groups contribute to understanding ourselves as individuals (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). It was proposed by Tajfel and Turner (1986) that individuals are intrinsically motivated to maintain a positive self-image by protecting and enhancing one's self-esteem, and this includes maintaining a positive personal identity as well as a positive social identity. One's ingroup, such as one's racial-ethnic group, is believed to provide an avenue for promoting a positive social identity through social comparison and positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social comparison is the process through which the individual favourably compares their ingroup to their outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This favourable comparison translates into a positive social identity

as the individual identifies with the distinctively positive comparison of their ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This, therefore, highlights the importance of ingroups for individual well-being in terms of maintaining a healthy, positive self-esteem.

It appears likely then that intragroup rejection jeopardizes the wellbeing of one's social identity as one's ability to identify with the positive distinctiveness of one's ingroup might be compromised due to this rejection. How does intragroup rejection affect social identity? This study attempts to address this question by assessing the impact of ingroup colourism on collective self-esteem. Dark-skinned individuals within different communities of colour are sometimes subjected to derogation from their racial-ethnic ingroup on the basis of their skin tone. As was previously noted, studies on the impact of skin tone bias have mostly focused on how colourism has affected personal self-esteem. The need to examine impact of colourism on collective self-esteem is crucial to contributing to the understanding of intragroup dynamics, within the context of Social Identity Theory. This is because ingroup colourism provides a keen example of intragroup rejection, and it poses a threat to maintaining a positive social/collective identity. Maintaining a positive social/collective identity is partly achieved by the individual's evaluation of their self-concept. Mistreatment from one's ingroup in the form of rejection can negatively impact how dark-skinned individuals evaluate their self-concept, thus potentially affecting their collective self-esteem.

Social Identity Threat theory states that high identification with one's social group is associated with responses to acceptance threat that include outgroup derogation. In contrast, low identification with one's social group is associated with no response to acceptance threat. Therefore, this study hypothesizes that those who more so identify with a national identity over an ethnonational identity will experience a weaker relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and collective self-esteem, whereas the relationship will be stronger for those who did not assimilate to a nationalistic identity.

Definitions of Major Constructs

Colourism

The first construct of interest relates to the main independent variable, which concerns the experiences of perceived ingroup colourism. Colourism is the outcome of a colour hierarchy which is stratified according to gradations of skin tone complexions, ranging from light to dark, where biases are attributed to skin tones on the darker end of the skin complexion continuum (Dixon & Teller, 2017; Monk 2021; Snell, 2017). Colourism is a phenotypically based form of prejudice and discrimination in which proximation to Whiteness, via lighter skin tones and Eurocentric features, is privileged over darker skin tones and non-Eurocentric features (Hunter, 2005; Monk, 2021). Ingroup colourism is within racial-ethnic group discrimination based on skin shade (Craddock et al., 2023b; Monk, 2021).

Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity

The main moderating variable in this study concerns the construct of assimilating to a nationalistic identity. Traditionally, social assimilation is understood in terms of acculturation, a process by which immigrants adopt the majority culture of their host country. However, within the context of this study, assimilation to nationalistic identity refers to the integration of a national identity into one's self-concept versus an ethno-nationalistic identity. Worrell et al. (2017) identified assimilation to a national identity over an ethnonational identity as one of seven key ethnic-racial attitudes that facilitate the development of one's racial ethnic identity. In general terms, national identity can be described as "the identity of the citizens of a country with their own country's historical and cultural traditions, moral values, ideals, beliefs, national sovereignty, and so on" (Liu & Turner, 2018, p.1080). This definition reflects an all-encompassing notion of national identity, whereas some of the discourse on national identity has included the understanding of this concept along ethnic lines versus civic lines (Gustavsson & Miller, 2019). This study adopts the civic understanding of a national identity,

which involves an identity that is based on “a subjective or internalized sense of belonging to the nation” (Huddy & del Ponte, 2019, p.39).

Collective Self-Esteem

Collective self-esteem was used to operationalize the dependent variable of this study, measuring the racial esteem that Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians ascribe to their racial group (Crocker et al., 1994). Individuals are motivated to maintain a positive self-concept (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As has been already established in this study, according to the expanded version of the Social Identity Theory, the self-concept also consists of the collective self. The collective self is that aspect of one’s self-concept that relates to the social groups to which the individual belongs. Due to this motivation for positive self-regard, the individual is impelled to favourably evaluate their ingroup. The different dimensions of this evaluation comprise collective self-esteem. These dimensions, as related to one’s racial group, include one’s private appraisal of one’s racial group, one’s perception of how others may appraise one’s racial group, the centrality of one’s racial group to one’s self-concept, and one’s judgement of one’s worthiness as a member of one’s racial group (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Crocker et al. 1994; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Collective self-esteem encompasses these distinct dimensions.

Racial-Ethnic Group

According to Bulmer (1986) social science research has defined race as the social categorization of groups of people based on perceived differences in physical traits that are used to define group boundaries. Whereas ethnicity has been defined as a collective of people who share a common ancestry, history, and symbolic culture markers such as a common religion, language, or nationality (Bulmer, 1986). Although race and ethnicity are considered distinct concepts, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) have advocated for the combination of the terms to “capture experiences that reflect both individuals’ ethnic background and their

racialized experiences as a member of a particular group" (p.23). For this current study, racial-ethnic group is used in terms of individuals who identify with ethnic backgrounds and racialized experiences associated with African descent or East Indian descent within a culturally Trinidadian context. The National Research Council (US) Panel on Race, Ethnicity, and Health in Later Life (2004) has also asserted the importance of combining the terms of race and ethnicity because "what begins as an ethnic or cultural distinction often becomes racialized, and racial groups are often identified, in the public mind, with reference to customs and behavior" which often results in the conflation of the terms (p.9). Therefore, in an effort to avoid this conflation, this study relies on the use of the combined term of racial-ethnic group.

Summary

Although the negative impact of colourism has been documented, research on its effect on collective self-esteem has been found to be inadequate thus forming a lacuna in the literature. It is imperative that this gap in the literature be addressed since studies that have found that dark skin tones are associated with ethnic legitimacy and authenticity assume that dark-skinned individuals are privy to greater ethnic group resources. However, this access maybe jeopardized due to the intragroup rejection that ingroup colourism threats against dark-skinned members of communities of colour, and how this affects their perception of their racial-ethnic groups. This study aims to address this dearth in the literature by assessing the relationship between everyday experiences of ingroup colourism and collective self-esteem as well as the moderating effect of assimilation to a nationalistic identity on this relationship. It also addresses a gap in the literature by focusing on colourism within the Caribbean, since colourism in this particular region has been severely understudied even though skin tone bias is a global phenomenon.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Colourism

As has been previously noted, Trinidad has experienced historical and cultural influences from the Western and Eastern world, with a particular focus on India. Therefore, the historical origins of colourism in these worlds are explored because it provides context for understanding the implication of colourism in Trinidad, especially as it relates to the main ethnic groups (Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians) that are of interest to this study.

After exploring the history and origins of colourism in the West and the East, a present understanding of how ingroup colourism operates as a form of acceptance threat is then prioritised. This section of the literature review aims to examine how ingroup colourism acts as a form of acceptance threat to the collective identity of dark-skinned persons among communities of colour, as well as, how ingroup colourism is experienced as a form of acceptance threat.

After widely exploring ingroup colourism as a form of acceptance threat, the literature review then narrows in on its geographic scope and focuses specifically on the English-speaking Caribbean. The state of colourism research in the English-speaking Caribbean is then investigated to identify how has it been studied, and which theories have been applied to understanding the impact of colourism in the region. The findings of these studies will be used to gain a critical understanding of the state of colourism in the region, as well as, to identify gaps that this current study addresses.

History/Origins of Colourism in the West

According to Hall (2018), prior to endeavours to invade, conquer and colonize *foreign lands*, Caucasian Europeans had conceived of a world order that was stratified along the lines of race and phenotypical features, that heralded Caucasian European race as the most superior. The European ideation of equating blackness with darkness and evil contributed to

the conception of this racial world order (Gabriel, 2007). The colour black represented the unclean, the accursed, and inferiority. Blackness was the antithesis to whiteness which represented goodness and purity. Religion was used to reaffirm these connotations of colour and the resulting world order by associating darkness with sin, hell, and demon entities as opposed to spiritual light (Gabriel, 2007). Religion and religious folklore ascribed negativity to darkness, thusly, giving Blackness meaning. This fixation on the meanings of colours was then directed toward skin tone, where inferences were made about human beings based on their skin tone (Gabriel, 2007). These inferences were used to validate and rationalize their racial world order as well as their actions of invasion, conquest, and colonization of the New World (Gabriel, 2007; Hall, 2018). They carried and implemented this racial and colour awareness and hierarchy into the New World (Hall, 2018).

The institutionalization of Transatlantic chattel slavery by the Europeans, upon colonizing the Americas, facilitated the development of colourism among the enslaved persons of African descent in the US. It laid the roots for intraracial division within the African American community based on skin tone (Dixon & Telles, 2017; Jablonski, 2012; Keith & Monroe, 2016). To protect the interest of slavey, a system of pigmentocracy was developed on plantations to diminish any chances of unifying an insurrection among the enslaved. This pigmentocracy was upheld by physical intimidation, biblical justification, legal institutions, and tradition. Work and type of chores were divided according to skin tone to create an environment of mistrust and antagonism among the enslaved (Hunter, 2002; Jablonski, 2012; Strmic-Pawl et al., 2021). For example, light-skinned enslaved persons were viewed as being more acceptable in White spaces like the household, whereas darker skinned enslaved persons were perceived as more brutish and suitable for field work (Dhillon-Jamerson, 2018). Light-skinned Blacks even disproportionately represented freed Blacks during slavery (Daniel, 1992). Light skin among those of African descent became associated

with freedom while darker skin came to symbolize slavery (Dhillon-Jamerson, 2018). This practice of skin tone determining one's treatment, type of work, and freedom may have further contributed to the animosity between light-skinned and dark-skinned African Americans during slavery. Furthermore, light-skinned persons accrued certain privileges over fellow darker skinned enslaved Africans due to preferential treatment (Banks, 2000, Keith & Monroe, 2016; Reece 2018). This was due to the racialization instituted via European colonization, which dictated that European ancestry was superior to others, especially Black ancestry. The propagation of the superiority of European ancestry alluded to the Mulatto hypothesis, which proposed that the presence of White genes in Black ancestry makes the individual more fit according to the principles of social Darwinism (ya Azibo, 2014). Light skin among the Black population served as a driver of privilege since it indicated some degree of European ancestry, even though the distinction was a result of White slave owners raping their Black enslaved women, or the sexual liaisons between white women (wives of slave owners) who took advantage of enslaved Black men (Hodes, 1997). This perceived superiority was translated into opportunities for social, economic, and cultural mobility/advancement for Mulattos during and after slavery, so much so, that indicators of success such as economic gains and literacy were stratified along colour lines where lighter skinned Mulattos continued to benefit from their light-skinned privilege (Banks, 2000; Daniel, 1992; Dhillon-Jamerson; Dixon & Telles, 2017; Keith & Monroe, 2016; Reece, 2018; Wilkerson, 2020). Mulatto was the term used to refer to persons with one Black parent and one White parent (Keith & Monroe, 2016).

Colourism was perpetuated by the creation of sub pluralist communities within the African American community during the antebellum period, where diverse and distinct groups were extant within this community. Since Mulattos and light-skinned Blacks were unable to attain equality with Whites due to their African heritage and the premises of the

One Drop Rule, they created pluralist enclaves within the African American community that distinguished them from dark-skinned "others". By doing this they were able to retain the privileges they accrued on account of their light skin complexions. Complexion-based social exclusionary practices were reinforced to maintain the pluralist, elitist norm to which they believed they were entitled (Daniel, 1992). These skin tone-based exclusionary practices continued after the Civil War (Dixon & Telles, 2017). Intergenerational perpetuation of colourism was reified by the marriage practices of Mulattos and light-skinned Blacks who tended to marry along colour lines to retain light-skinned privileges among their families (Dixon & Telles, 2017; Reece 2019).

During the Civil Rights Movements and Black Power Movement, the importance of differences in gradations of skin tone was downplayed as a means of uniting the African American community and focusing on Black/White inequality, thereby pushing colourism to the background, so that racism might occupy the foreground (Dixon & Telles, 2017). Although the focus has shifted and the influence of Mulatto coalition as a separate entity has since dissipated, there still exists privileges among light-skinned Blacks, which positions them as intermediaries between the White elite and the Black majority. Research has shown that colourism is still an active schism among the African American community to varying degrees (Dixon & Telles, 2017; Keith & Monroe, 2016).

The seeds of colour consciousness and colourism in Latin America were also planted through the processes of European conquest and colonization, and the Transatlantic Slave Trade (Charles, 2021; Dixon & Telles, 2017; Keith & Monroe, 2016). These historical events saw the supplanting of European views, including racial stratification and hierarchy on the Indigenous peoples that originally occupied Latin America. Race-mixing was an outcome of the contact between conquistadores/colonizers and the Indigenous. Further race-mixing was practiced via the emergence of enslaved Africans via the Transatlantic slave trade (Charles,

2021; Dixon & Telles, 2017; Keith & Monroe, 2016). The consensual and non-consensual intermixing of different races were driven by different motives (Charles, 2021; Keith & Monroe, 2016). Voluntary motives included wanting one's children to possess a heritage that was above one's own social standing so that they would have a better life, such as being born free of enslavement (Charles, 2021). Involuntary motives included raping women from lower rungs of the racial hierarchy by men in the higher rungs of social hierarchy partly due to a shortage of high-status women (Charles, 2021).

The widespread miscegenation of the European colonizers, freed Indigenous, and enslaved Africans contributed to the ethnic and skin tone heterogeneity of Latin America, and the eventual development of a race- and colour-based caste hierarchy (Charles, 2021; Dixon & Telles, 2017; Keith & Monroe, 2016). This hierarchy was structured according to race and skin tone with Whites occupying the apex of the hierarchy, and Indigenous persons and Africans occupying the lowest strata of the hierarchy respectively (Keith & Monroe, 2016). Status in the middle strata of this hierarchy was determined by degree of White ancestry due to intermixing and skin tone (Charles, 2021; Keith & Monroe, 2016). Intermixing between the various racial groups led to the distortion of racial lines and dilution of race, which then led to skin colour playing a more pertinent role in determining social status (Dixon & Telles, 2017; Keith & Monroe, 2016).

Laws, and social and political movement like *blanqueamiento* and *mestizaje* to *mejorar la raza* (translated as "bettering the race") further supported social stratification by skin colour in Latin America's caste system (Charles, 2021, Dixon & Telles, 2017; Strmic-Pawl et al., 2021). These movements and initiatives supported the *whitening* of Latin America driven by the belief of European superiority (Charles, 2021). They were used to dilute the racial and ethnic minorities in Latin America, meaning that these, sometimes, eugenics-centred movements were motivated to erase the traits of minoritized African and Indigenous

populations so that society would move closer to whiteness, thus further exacerbating the epidermic capital inherent in lighter skin (Charles, 2021; Strmic-Pawl et al., 2021). Although these laws are no longer in place and these movements have waned in recent times, research continues to show that colourism negatively impacts dark-skinned Latin Americans, as skin tone has been found to be associated with significant sociological outcomes such as educational attainment, occupational mobility, and societal standards of beauty (Charles, 2021; Dixon & Telles, 2017; Keith & Monroe, 2016).

Hall (2018) reasserts that although racism has been rendered *de jure* illegal in the New World and Europe, thus supposedly dismantling the racial world order, *de facto* this hierarchy has been upheld by the powers and privileges ascribed to lighter skin tones. In this hierarchy, even members of the previously conceived inferior races maintain prejudice against darker skin tones within their own race and across other races as a result of globalized attitudes toward skin tone (Hall, 2018). This is because light skin functions in the new world order as a proxy for Caucasian race, as it was in the old racial world order, in various social contexts such as beauty standards, marriage market, and wealth distribution in terms of income compensation and attaining positions in high income earning fields (Hall, 2018).

History/Origins of Colourism in the East

The history and origins of colourism in the East is obscure, complex, and highly contested, especially in the case of India (Mishra, 2015; Paul, 2016; Vaid, 2009). Bettache (2020), Dixon & Telles (2017), and Vaid (2009) note that colourism in Asia predates European colonization, however, Jablonski (2012) and Mishra (2015) contest that, with regard to India, although there was an awareness of differences in skin complexions, ancient Indian civilizations did not discriminate according to skin tone, and dark complexions were not stigmatized. In fact, ancient Indian civilisation venerated characters who had dark skin from epics of ancient India including the Mahabharata and the Rig Veda (Lalrinawmi &

Kaparwan, 2022; Mishra, 2015). However, researchers agree that the invasion, conquest, and colonization of India by fair, light, and white-skinned powers (Mughals, Portuguese, & British) embedded into the psyche of Indian society, along with the standardization and internalization of western norms, the association of superiority, desirability, and beauty with fairer skin tones. British colonization reinforced a colour consciousness that already existed, as well as the power dynamics related to colourism, where dark skinned Indians were discriminated against in every aspect of society by the British, such as availability of jobs, types of jobs, and access to social spaces compared to their light-skinned counterparts who were treated more preferably (Bettache, 2020; Hall, 2010; Lalrinawmi & Kaparwan, 2022; Mishra, 2015; Vaid, 2009).

The colour consciousness in Asia, including India, which is assumed to predate colonization, was related to class distinctions, and division of labour, along with, the value ascribed to these divisions (Bettache, 2020; Dixon & Telles, 2017; Mishra, 2015; Vaid, 2009). Dark skin tones were associated with lower class, menial, physical labour, which was looked down upon, while fair skin tones were associated with the upper class and life of leisure. Therefore, skin tone functioned as an indicator of financial and social status. However, colonization repurposed the function of skin tone as an indicator of race (Bettache, 2020; Mishra, 2015). Amid the ideology of British colonization was distinguishing "us" the *superior race* from "them" the *inferior race*, therefore, differences in skin tone facilitated the conceptualization of differences in race (Mishra, 2015). As a result, European colonizers restructured Asian societies where the miscegenation of races led to stratification of society by race and by colour (Bettache, 2020).

Although it is widely believed that the caste system in India is stratified according to skin tone, Mishra (2015) and Vaid (2009) argue this is not the case because each caste consists of varying gradations of skin tone since skin colour is geographically specific, rather

than caste specific (Hall 2010). The immigration of light-skinned Aryans to northern India as opposed to the native darker-skinned Dravidians of southern India contributed to the geographically specific skin tone distinctions of the caste system in India (Glenn, 2009). However, skin tone and the caste system are related to some degree, since darker skin in higher castes is deemed more acceptable than dark skin in a lower caste (Mishra, 2015). Furthermore, Hall (2010) and Wilkerson (2020) contend that there is a correlation between skin colour and caste. Despite the fact that the caste system is not explicitly based on skin tone, implicitly skin colour functions as a "caste within [the] caste" (Wilkerson, 2020, p.176) as dark-skinned Indians tend to belong to lower castes, though not always.

Historically, the social divisions that were a part of ancient Indian civilization consisted of a multitude of subdivisions, known as jatis, that are organized according to varnas which mean "radiance and colour," but it remains debated whether varna pertained specifically to skin tone at that time (Jablonski, 2012, p. 102; Wilkerson, 2020). Intermixing between the different groups of ancient Indian society led to a need for stricter markers of division for the purpose of distinguishing and maintaining difference between the varnas (Jablonski, 2012). These divisions evolved into class distinctions that were religiously sanctioned (Jablonski, 2012; Wilkerson, 2020). The main colours of the varnas were white, red, yellow, and black, which were associated with the highest class of priests, warriors, peasants, and serfs respectively (Jablonski, 2012). However, this was not directed at skin tone. Nevertheless, over time these colour distinctions became reified by law, culture, spiritual and religious beliefs, thus strengthening the Hindu caste system. Moreover, ties with Europe further contributed to the varna becoming a colour line (caste within the caste).

Fair skin is still idealized and idolized in India, which is demonstrated by the colourism perpetuated in the media, and the booming skin lightening industry where fair skin has been commodified (Lalrinawmi & Kaparwan, 2022; Mishra, 2015; Paul, 2016). This

idolization of fair skin is further observed in marriage advertisements where potential brides (and grooms) push their fair skin as one of their most desirable and valuable attributes. This practice is so widespread that complexion functions as symbolic capital in marriage negotiations (Hall, 2010; Mishra, 2015; Paul, 2016; Vaid, 2009). Mothers-to-be are even greatly encouraged to consume certain foods to ensure that their babies are born with fair skinned complexions (Paul, 2016; Vaid, 2009).

Ingroup Colourism as Acceptance Threat

As has been noted above, even though colourism had been instituted by historical events and processes, it still affects modern society. This study aims to investigate the effect of ingroup colourism, as a form of acceptance threat, on racial esteem. Branscombe et al. (1999b) defined acceptance threat as a situation in which "one's position within the group is undermined" (p.36). Acceptance threat is also understood in terms of being excluded or rejected due to the individual's non-prototypicality based on their ingroup's standards and ideals. This section explores how colourism affects dark-skinned individuals' sense of acceptance in their racial groups.

Adapting Higgins' (1987) domains of self from the Self-Discrepancy Theory, it is proposed that ingroup colourism, as an acceptance threat, is a result of discrepancy between prototypicalities of racial-ethnic groups. Domains of self include the actual self, which represents the self as is; the ideal self, which represents the desired self; and the ought self, which represents the obligated and socially-acceptable self (Higgins, 1987). Branscombe et al. (1999b) state that a member's non-prototypicality makes the individual prone to acceptance threat from their ingroup. A review of the literature finds that there exists an actual prototypicality, an ideal prototypicality, and an ought prototypicality of racial-ethnic phenotypes, especially in terms of skin tone. When members of racial-ethnic groups do not meet the ideal prototypicality, they ultimately face acceptance threat. Across various racial-

ethnic groups such as African Americans (Alexander & Carter, 2022; Brown et al., 2023; Leath et al., 2023; Maddox, 2004; Uzogara & Jackson, 2016; Wilder & Cain, 2011), Asian Americans (Navata et al., 2023), Arab Americans (Alsaidi et al., 2023), Latinx (Araujo Dawson et al., 2023; Haywood, 2017), and East Indians (Sims & Hirudayaraj, 2016) the ideal prototypicality phenotype involves light skin, for both men and women, but especially light skin on women. Therefore, when members of these various communities of colour do not meet the ideal light-skinned standard, they are subjected to ingroup colourism by their racial-ethnic groups due to their non-prototypicality.

For example, in the African American community dark skin is considered the actual prototypicality (mental representations of *purely Black* African Americans usually entails dark skin), while medium skin is the ought prototypicality (medium complexion is considered the most socially acceptable skin shade among African Americans), and light skin is the ideal prototypicality (Maddox, 2004). Studies of skin tone preference, such as those by Alexander and Carter (2022), Matthews and Johnson (2015), and Uzogara and Jackson (2016) support these categorizations of skin tone prototypicalities, where among African American participants, medium skin tones were explicitly preferred while light skin tones were implicitly preferred, because medium skin tones are considered the most acceptable and participants did not want to be considered colourist by explicitly preferencing the lightest skin tones. This was especially the case among African American men, who always chose the lighter option when comparing skin tone preferences among African American women. Furthermore, dark-skinned women were found to experience both ingroup colourism and outgroup colourism when compared to their light-skinned and medium-skinned counterparts, and medium-skinned women perceived the most favourable treatment from their racial ingroup (Uzogara & Jackson, 2016).

Light skin is also considered the ideal prototypicality for other cultures as well. Alsaidi et al. (2023) noted that within Arab American culture, there exists an internal hierarchy that is based on proximation to Whiteness and Westernized ideals in terms of physical characteristics including skin tone. Those whose phenotype is close to Whiteness are considered idealized prototypical since they are regarded as "favourable and civilized" (p.167) compared to the darker skin tones within the hierarchy. In India, Indian celebrities are venerated as the ideal standard phenotype for women, and they are often fair skinned, thus signalling that the ideal prototypicality for Indian women is fairer skin tones, which positions darker skin tones as being non-prototypical (Sims & Hirudayaraj, 2016). Dark-skinned Afro and Caribbean Latinx are considered non-prototypical in the Latinx community, so much so, that their Latinidad (i.e., authentic Latin American identity) has been questioned, since dark skin is denigrated and stigmatized in this community (Araujo Dawson et al., 2023; Haywood, 2017). According to Haywood (2017) the rise of light skin as the ideal prototypicality within the Latinx community was facilitated by the internalization of perceived Black inferiority and White superiority, which is historically based on the white supremacy imposed by the Spanish when they encountered the New World which includes Latin America. The normalization of this supremacy has become deeply rooted in Latin American society and materializes through colourist messages conveyed within Latinx families, along with vital societal systems and institutions that maintain colour consciousness.

The differences in ideal, ought, and actual prototypicalities provide insight as to why ingroup colourism occurs within communities of colour as a means of acceptance threat. The following explains how this acceptance threat is effectuated and experienced.

The family represents a microcosm of one's racial-ethnic group. Many studies have reported instances of dark-skinned persons experiencing intrafamilial marginalization due to their darker skin tone and the non-prototypicality it represents (Araujo Dawson et al., 2023;

Brown et al., 2023; Hall, 2017; Hall & Crutchfield, 2018; Haywood, 2017; Sims & Hirudayaraj, 2016; Smith, 2022; Wilder & Cain, 2011). As Wilder and Cain (2011) put it, the family serves as the point of origin in developing a colour consciousness and learning about the colourism-based meaning attributed to skin tone. The position of the family as this point of origin contributes to the persistence of colourism within communities of colour. Families introduce and perpetuate ingroup colourism by socializing children to believe that darker skin tones are unacceptable when compared to the ideal prototypical light skin. Thus, they should engage in sun avoidance behaviour to prevent themselves from getting darker or bleach their skin to become the ideal prototypicality as a means of evading the poor treatment associated with being dark-skinned (Chen & Jablonski, 2022; Wilder & Cain, 2011). Socialization also took the form of differential parenting of children according to their skin tone, where lower expectations were put on dark-skinned children compared to expectations of success for light-skinned children (Hall, 2017; Wilder & Cain, 2011). This differential treatment also included darker-skinned children being ignored and receiving lower quality parenting than their light-skinned siblings who were highly favoured and received preferential treatment (Landor et al., 2013; Sims & Hirudayaraj, 2016; Smith, 2022; Wilder & Cain, 2011).

In addition to their family members, ethnic peers, the media, and wider society also subject dark-skinned persons, especially women and girls, to microaggressions, microassaults, and microinvalidations, which lead to experiences of isolation and questioning their sense of belonging in their own culture and racial-ethnic groups (Abrams et al., 2020; Araujo Dawson et al., 2023; Brown et al., 2023; Chen & Jablonski, 2022; Diette et al., 2015; Hall, 2017; Hall & Crutchfield, 2018; Leath et al., 2023; Moffitt, 2020; Sims & Hirudayaraj, 2016; Wilder & Cain, 2011). Growing up, dark-skinned persons consistently received the message that their racial-ethnic ingroup devalued their skin tone. This is evident by the language used among these spheres of influence. For example, in Wilder and Cain's (2011)

study, participants shared instances where their light-skinned grandmothers, usually the matriarchs of Black families, would use derogatory and racist language or slurs to address dark skin because they came from generations where stark colour lines were reinforced. Another example is the colourist rhetoric portrayed in Black-centred media which tended to present negative images of dark-skinned African Americans versus positive images of light-skinned African Americans (Brown et al., 2023; Moffitt, 2020). The same can be said for Indian media (Sims & Hirudayaraj, 2016). The colourist language used by Latinx families reflects what Washington (1990) referred to as brown racism, where communities of colour internalize the racism perpetrated against them and then act it out against one another (Haywood, 2017). While white racism is concerned with white prejudice and discrimination toward brown people (non-whites), brown racism references prejudice against African ancestry by fair-complexioned in communities of colour (Washington, 1990).

As was previously noted, dark-skinned persons felt like their sense of belonging in racial-ethnic groups was jeopardized due to ingroup colourism. For dark-skinned African American women, the emulation of light skin tones within the African American community made them feel as though their ingroup (racial-ethnic group) was no longer a safe social space for them as their darker skin tones continued to be denigrated by this group. The acceptance, sense of belonging, and social protections that an ingroup was supposed to offer appeared to be compromised because of their failure to meet the ideal prototypicality and, consequently for them, intraracial solidarity and ingroup loyalty was violated due to ingroup colourism (Leath et al., 2023; Uzogara & Jackson, 2016; Wilder, 2010). Hall and Crutchfield (2018) provide an example of the compromised sense of belonging that dark-skinned African American women feel when they experience the social exclusion from certain Black organizations, such as Black Greek sororities, due to skin tone and the historical complexion-based exclusionary practices enacted by these organizations. For dark-skinned Afro-Latinx

persons, they had experienced rejection in Latin spaces because of how they looked (dark skin tone and kinkier hair) (Haywood, 2017). They felt uncomfortable and unwelcomed in Latin spaces because their Afrocentric appearance made them stand out as a non-prototypical Latinx when compared to *White passing* Latinx persons (Araujo Dawson et al., 2023; Haywood, 2017).

However, family members and ethnic peers have also been sources of counter-colourism messaging. This was evidenced in settings/contexts where Afrocentricity is embraced (Hall, 2017; Hall & Crutchfield, 2018; Harvey et al. 2005; Leath et al., 2023; Wilder & Cain, 2011). Skin tone becomes more salient in predominantly Black contexts than in predominantly White contexts (Harvey et al., 2005). Harvey et al., (2005) found that perceived acceptance by one's peers in the predominantly Black setting was higher for darker-skinned individuals and lower for light skinned persons (Harvey et al., 2005). Leath et al. (2023) found that dark-skinned participants did not perceive colourism in predominantly Black settings, as compared to predominantly White settings. This may be because darker skin tones are associated with highly achieved racial-ethnic identity (Harvey et al., 2005). This finding presents a paradox which contrasts what was previously discussed with regard to skin tone and sense of belonging, however it must be noted that the relationship between racial self-esteem and skin tone variation was not moderated by racial contexts (Harvey et al., 2005).

Although Monk (2021) found that ingroup colourism was experienced less frequently than outgroup colourism, ingroup colourism was found to be "significantly associated with a higher incidence and severity of cardiovascular and cardiometabolic disorder" (p.45). This result was also found in the relationship between ingroup colourism and pain (Monk, 2021). Thus, implying that ingroup colourism has more of an impact on physical health among African Americans than outgroup colourism (Monk, 2021). Furthermore, the impact of

ingroup colourism on physical health was on par with the impact of major lifetime and everyday discrimination (Monk, 2021). Oh et al. (2021) found that ingroup colourism was associated with "greater odds of having any lifetime psychiatric disorder" including alcohol use, substance use, anxiety, and eating disorders (p.510). These findings indicate that ingroup colourism activates the stress-response system in dark-skinned persons, which takes a toll on their physical and mental health. According to Alexander and Carter (2022), when African American women do perceive discrimination from African Americans (ingroup colourism), they experience psychological distress. This was not the case for men, thus implying that the impact of intragroup discrimination is more consequential than outgroup discrimination for African American women. The intergenerational trauma of colourism passed down within Black families jeopardizes the health and mental wellbeing of dark-skinned African Americans (Keyes, Small & Nikolova, 2020). These findings evidence how ingroup colourism as a form of acceptance threat is a source of "intraracial inequality in health" and a "risk factor for poorer physical health among Blacks" (Monk, 2021, p.47).

A note on gendered colourism. The majority of the cited studies in this section looked at the interaction between gender and colourism, noting that women are more likely to be victimized by ingroup colourism, whereas men were more likely to be perpetrators of ingroup colourism (Alsaidi et al., 2023; Araujo Dawson et al., 2023; Hall, 2017; Hall & Crutchfield, 2018); Leath et al., 2023; Sims & Hirudayaraj, 2016; Smith, 2022; Wilder & Cain, 2011). Attractiveness is considered an ideal trait for a woman to possess, especially in light of what is considered a prototypical woman. Colourism renders dark-skinned women as non-prototypical because dark skin is regarded as masculine and unattractive on women. This is an example of gendered colourism (Hall & Crutchfield, 2018). The microaggressions against dark-skinned African American women compromise their sense of womanhood since

the misgivings about them counter the narrative of prototypical womanhood (Hall & Crutchfield, 2018).

Colourism in the English-speaking Caribbean

An exhaustive search of peer-reviewed, published literature on colourism in the English-speaking Caribbean reveals that the subject is virtually unresearched. Consulting Caribbean-focused scholarly journals (including *Caribbean Journal of Psychology, Caribbean Quarterly, Caribbean Review of Gender Studies, Caribbean Studies, Journal of Caribbean History, Caribbean Conjunctures, Journal of Latin American & Caribbean Anthropology,* and *Journal of Caribbean History*) and a plethora of databases yielded no substantial results on this topic, thus evidencing a huge gap in the literature.

The handful of articles that addressed the topic of colourism in the English-speaking Caribbean included Whittaker-Augustine (2021), McCree (2014), and Charles (2009b, 2011). Whittaker-Augustine (2021) used a historical approach to inform reflections on the social and psychological impact of colourism in the Anglo-Caribbean country of Belize. The domains in which the social impact of colourism was evident included employment opportunities, social opportunities, politics, and education. Light-skinned persons received preferential treatment in these domains which was a result of the institutional colourism that was established by European colonialism and the introduction of African slavery into Belize. The historical and societal preference for light skin as well as the perceived acceptability of light skin have allowed for light-skinned Belizeans to have access to social and occupational mobility, of which dark-skinned Belizeans have continually been denied. Subsequently, social stratification according to skin tone has become silently observed in modern Belizean society. For example, although social exclusionary practices of the past have no longer been intentionally deliberate, they are still silently observed. Another silently observed social norm is the widely considered satisfactory phenotype and racial background of candidates for the

office of the Prime Minister of Belize. In essence, it is believed that candidates should either be light-skinned, Mestizo, or White (Whittaker-Augustine, 2021). Whittaker-Augustine (2021) further notes that the derogatory language used to address dark skin is another way in which colourism remains evident in its social impact on Belizean society. The colourist language connotes the internalization of the historical bias against dark skin.

According to Whittaker-Augustine (2021), the psychological impact of institutional and internalised colourism involved negative influences on the self-concept, self-esteem, and identity of Afro Belizeans. Internalised hatred against one's skin tone negatively affects one's sense of self. Dark-skinned Belizeans have responded to this compromised sense of self by altering their appearance to appeal to Whiteness as a means of enhancing or completing their self-image. Additionally, the negative psychological impact of colourism also manifests itself in Belizean society through the development of adaptive inferiority and inferiority complexes concerning being Black, which leads to lower self and group esteem as well as intolerance toward one's own group. Although it was very insightful, Whittaker-Augustine's (2021) chapter was based on reflections, as opposed to original, academic research to support its claims.

The purpose of McCree's (2014) study was to assess whether the historical colour code (social hierarchy and preferences according to skin tone) has endured in Trinidad and Tobago, through the example of skin tone-based exclusionary practices.

The expansion of Trinidad and Tobago's middle class to include those who were systemically resigned to the lowest rungs of society due to their skin tone and race questions whether the historical colour code has been abandoned in modern society. However, skin tone based exclusionary practices in social settings still appear to be silently enforced. Therefore, McCree (2014) sought to "determine the extent to which [these exclusionary practices] reflect the persistence of the colour code" (p.234). The methodology employed by McCree (2014)

involved participant observation, content analysis of newspapers, and focus groups comprised of university students who attended one of the nightclubs suspected of discriminating against its patrons. McCree (2014) believed that nightclubs serve as proxies for social institutions. One of the focus groups consisted of Afro Trinidadian students while the other consisted of Indo Trinidadian students.

The perceived and actual discrimination committed by the nightclub was based on the intersection of skin tone, race, class, and to some effect gender, or a combination of some of these factors among focus group participants. Some of these factors were also perceived, by some members of the focus groups, to have a singular effect. Although the middle class has expanded to include those who once occupied the lowest rungs, the nightclub had ascribed lower class distinctions to Black patrons and higher class to White and light-skinned patrons. The ascription of social class based on race and skin tone evidences the persistence of the colour code in terms of the intersection of colour and class. As McCree (2014) stated "the entry practices at nightclubs were racist, [colourist], classist, gendered and sexist, which combined to reflect and reinforce historical modes of inequality and injustice in the wider society" (p.237).

C.A.D. Charles is a prominent Jamaican scholar whose research and writings typically address how colourism, as result of a colonial past, affects Jamaica's present. He targets the salient issue of skin bleaching in Jamaica and how it relates to colourism (Charles, 2009b; 2011), racial identity (Charles 2003a; 2014), and psychological well-being including self-esteem (Charles, 2017), mental pathology (Charles, 2009a), and body image disturbance (Charles & McClean, 2017), as well as an intersection of these concepts (Charles, 2003b; 2010).

Regarding his studies that explicitly focus on colourism, Charles (2009b) aimed to investigate how Black Jamaicans who bleach their skin perceived skin colour and what it

implicates about the social meaning attributed to complexion in Jamaica. By applying the Social Representation Theory to his study, he found that the majority of participants' motivations to bleach their skin was predicated on colourist beliefs and notions, including projections of dark skin as ugly and unacceptable, while light skin was equated with "good skin." The findings suggest that, in Jamaican society, goodness is attributed to lighter skin tones while darker skin tones are denigrated and considered less than. Light skin is ascribed a higher social status because it is agreed upon as socially desired, and the means to attain it via skin bleaching is considered a socially acceptable practice.

Charles (2009b) argued that the participants' narratives about the social meaning of skin complexion is "embedded in the larger cultural context" (p.167). From Jamaica's colonial past to its contemporary present, the interaction of societal institutions has led to the emulation of light skin and its promotion as the ideal skin tone in Jamaican society. This has resulted in the projection of negative social representations of dark skin and positive social representations of light skin. These representations play a major role in Black Jamaicans' motivation and justification to skin bleach.

Charles (2011) asserts that the roots of colourism in Jamaica's past has sprouted branches in Jamaica's present where people are driven to bleach their skin due to colourism motives. Colourism in Jamaica upholds light skin as the ideal complexion to be considered sexually attractive and beautiful. Sexual attractiveness and beauty are social currencies that allow for acquisition of prestige and social mobility in Jamaican society. Subsequently, Jamaican skin bleachers are drawn to acquire this currency, and so, are motivated by colourist standards to lighten their skin in an effort to gain access to a higher social status.

These studies shed light on how colourism has endured in Anglo-Caribbean societies since the European colonialism period. However, they are scarce. This current study seeks to

build the literature on this topic, especially in regard to the impact of colourism on racial esteem.

Racial Esteem

This study targets the impact of experiences of everyday ingroup colourism on racial esteem, through collective self-esteem, among Afro and Indo Trinidadians. Therefore, it seeks to understand what racial esteem is and how it relates to colourism. This section examines racial identity and colourism, beginning with an understanding of racial identity. Racial identity is examined as an extension of the Social Identity Theory, given that belonging to a racial group contributes to cultivating the individual's collective identity. Models of racial identity development are explored to gain insight into factors that affect the development of racial identity among communities of colour, i.e., persons of African and Indian (Asian) descent. It is important to note, however that these models are centred in the American context, therefore, an understanding of the salience of race in Trinidad is discussed since the current study is concerned with Trinidad as its population of interest. Finally, the benefits of a positive racial identity and racial esteem are explored, to justify the importance of this concept as a construct in the current study.

Racial Identity Development

Racial development models provide insight into how the collective self is cultivated in terms of perceiving the self as a member of one's racial group, as identified in the Social Identity Theory. The following delves into the processes and stages by which African Americans and Asian Americans develop a positive collective identity in their respective racial groups.

Nigrescence refers to the process in which an Afrocentric identity is developed among Black Americans. It consists of 5 key stages that facilitate the development of a pro-Afrocentric identity. Cross (1991) details these stages as follows.

Stage 1 is the Pre-Encounter stage which represents a preexisting, non-Afrocentric identity. Attitudes and characteristics of persons in this stage include: low salience attitudes; social stigma attitudes; anti-Black attitudes; miseducation; a Eurocentric cultural perspective; spotlight or race image anxiety; and assimilation-integration. Low salience attitudes refer to attitudes in which race does not play a central role in their identity. These persons seek a sense of fulfilment and meaning through individualistic means outside of their race. Social stigma attitudes occur when one's racial identity is perceived as a nuisance due to the stigma attached to Blackness. Anti-Black attitudes are considered the adoption of racist attitudes by Black persons toward their racial group and their endorsement of negative stereotypes about Blackness. Pre-Encounter persons with this attitude tend to view their racial identity as a burden. Miseducation refers to Black persons in this stage who have received an education rooted in the emulation of Westernized history and society, which then inferiorizes and distorts Black and African history, thus leading to misperceptions and doubts about the relevance and cogency of Black history and the contributions of Black people as a racial group toward the advancement of society. A Eurocentric cultural perspective relates to when Black persons in the Pre-Encounter stage are socialized to believe that sociological cultural capital is determined by Eurocentric standards. Consequently, they develop a preference and respect for White/Western culture over Black culture). Spotlight or race image anxiety deals with situations in which Pre-Encounter persons become anxious and overly concerned with how they or other Black persons project a certain image of Blackness, meaning, they fear that negative stereotypes about Black people are confirmed when Black people act *too Black* in public, formal spaces. Assimilation-integration describes the attitude among Pre-Encounter Blacks who perceive the issue of racism in terms of a "blame-the-victim analysis" (p.196) and come to the conclusion that assimilation to White society is the answer to resolving racial conflict.

Stage 2 is the Encounter stage (Cross, 1991). The Pre-Encounter stage represents a stable identity that helps individuals make sense of themselves and the world around them. The Encounter stage represents racial experiences that disturb the Pre-Encounter's perceived stable identity and results in a change in one's identity. Encounters can be experienced directly or indirectly; they can be experienced as a singular event or series of events; they can be negative (e.g., the experiences of racism) or positive (e.g., gaining awareness of "powerful cultural-historical information about the Black experience" (Cross 1991, p. 200)). These encounters can be experienced in different ways based on the Pre-Encounter person's socioeconomic status. For example, the encounter can be in the form of racial discrimination at college for middle class Pre-Encounter Blacks or racial profiling and imprisonment for lower class Pre-Encounter Blacks. Those who experience a series of small encounters, tend to feel a cumulative effect where, over time, the security and stability of their identity is gradually weakened after experiencing each encounter, which then puts them in a position to feel compelled to pursue nigrescence. For the Encounter stage to hold significance in the Pre-Encounter person's life, they must first experience the encounter, as well as, personalize the encounter. In other words, they must be personally affected by the encounter they experienced. A range of emotions accompanies the Encounter, along with the intense desire to "search for [a] Black identity" (Cross, 1991, p. 201).

According to Cross (1991) Stage 3 represents the person in transition from their known, old self to developing a new frame of reference for their emerging new self and collective identity. In this stage, the person is in a sort of limbo because they now reject what had been familiar to them in preference of a new self that is unknown to them. This is why stage 3 is considered the "in-between" stage for Blacks who are going through the process of nigrescence. It is called the Immersion-Emersion stage due to its transitional nature. During the phase of Immersion, Black persons fully immerse themselves into Black culture, Black

history, Black politics, Black economics and so on, while rejecting symbols of Whiteness in an effort to cultivate a correct frame of reference for their emerging Afrocentric identity. This immersion process may sometimes be accompanied by anxiety over becoming *Black enough* and becoming the *right kind* of Black identity. Navigating this immersion and anxiety leads the individual to performing their Blackness as proof of their conversion, while conforming to established group norms regarding Blackness. Immersion is an intensely emotional phase for the individual as they work their way through dismantling their Pre-Encounter self, emotionally processing their Encounter stage, and processing the overwhelmingness of Immersion. The phase of Emersion in this stage refers to the growth that is resultant of the individual making sense of their immersion and adopting "a more advanced state of identity development" (Cross, 1991, p.207). Rather than romanticizing symbolic Blackness as one did during the Immersion phase, the individual grows to grasp a more substantial sense of Blackness which they then internalize as their new Afrocentric identity becomes more robust.

Stage 4 is the Internalization stage (Cross, 1991). The new internalized identity represents a full conversion in which the individual regards Blackness with high salience. At this stage the cognitive dissonance that occurred in the Immersion-Emersion stage is reconciled and resolved. Blacks at the Internalization stage resolve their anxiety which then transforms into a sense of Black pride and Black self-acceptance. Furthermore, a shift is experienced in terms of self-defining one's own parameters of Blackness versus seeking validation of being *Black enough* from others. A shift also takes place in terms of perspectives and reactions to whiteness. In the Immersion phase while one rejects whiteness, which then results in vexation against whiteness. In the Internalization stage, this rage toward white people is transformed into anger against systematic and systemic racism and oppression. Internalization is marked as maturation of the self in the Immersion phase where full maturity and conversion leads to "a deep sense of connection to, and acceptance by, the Black

community" (Cross, 1991, p.210), i.e., a positive collective identity. The emerging group identity of the Black self-concept is no longer marked by defensiveness, dichotomized (Black versus White) thinking, simplified notions of Blackness as it was in the Immersion phase. The internalized, matured group identity level of the Black self-concept appreciates the complexities of Blackness, engages in more critical analysis than before, and is no longer marked by emotional reactivity. Cross (1991) noted that this new, fully realized identity serves 3 major functions: (1) to guard the psychological well-being of the individual against the potentially compromising effects of racism; (2) "to provide a sense of belonging and social anchorage" (p.210); and (3) "to provide a foundation or point of departure for carrying out transactions with people, cultures, and situations beyond the world of Blackness" (p.210). Although internalization leads to a fully realized Afrocentric identity, it does not mean that the individual will no longer have a concern for nigrescence throughout the rest of their lives; for during their life span they may recycle through some of these stages based on new experiences, challenges, and encounters.

Stage 5 is termed Internalization-Commitment. Cross (1991) noted that there is little difference between this stage and the previous stage, only in that in their secured Black self-concept, individuals in this stage forge a commitment to enacting their personal sense of Blackness (i.e., committing a plan of action regarding concerns in Blackness and sustaining a lifelong interest in Blackness).

Although Cross (1991) Nigrescence model is one of the most mainstream models of Black racial identity development (in addition to Thomas (1971) model, Helm's modification of Cross' Nigrescence model, and Jackson (1975) model), Constantine et al. (1998) note the limitations of this model. One such limitation includes reducing the development of a Black identity to a linear process. Another limitation is that even though there exists heterogeneity and diversity within Black individuals as a racial group, the assertions of the Nigrescence

model is generalized to all Blacks, not accounting for differences (Constantine et al., 1998). Constantine et al. (1998) also noted that "there is nothing explicitly imbedded in the mainstream approaches indicating that knowledge and awareness of other world views (e.g., Afrocentricity and African axiology) exist as alternatives to idealizing Whiteness" (p.97). Lastly, the model addresses Black culture as a reaction to oppression rather than a "coherent and enduring system of African and Black American cultural practices" (Constantine et al., 1998, p.98).

The Asian American Racial Identity Development Model (AARID) was developed by Jean Kim (2012). It details the 5 stages that Asian Americans go through in the acquisition of a positive racial identity, i.e., a positive collective identity. These 5 stages are discussed.

The first stage of the AARID is Ethnic Awareness. In this stage, Asian Americans are fully immersed in their ethnic culture as children prior to entering the school system. Families and predominantly Asian American communities facilitate this immersion as they serve as the child's initial point of contact with their ethnic culture. This absorption of one's ethnic culture helps cultivate a positive self-concept among Asian American children at this stage, along with, a clearer ego identity, and a positive collective identity. However, if the child is raised in a predominantly White community where they have fewer encounters with ethnic activities and experiences then they are less likely to develop ethnic pride, and more likely to develop a neutral self-concept and a confused ego identity.

The second stage, according to Kim (2012) is White Identification. This occurs when the social environment of Asian Americans transitions from that of the home setting to a more public setting, where they come into greater contact with White racial dominance that is characteristic of US society. Attending school is a major conduit of this transition. In this setting, Asian Americans are subjected to racial prejudices and microaggressions which contribute to feelings of otherness when compared to their peers; however, they personalize

these experiences by believing that they are at fault for their mistreatment rather than attributing the experiences to racism or social injustice. Asian cultural values play a role in how Asian Americans respond to this otherness. Given the weightiness of how shame is treated in Asian cultures, Asian Americans may feel pressured to fit into White society to avoid the shame brought on by being othered. They then internalize White societal values and perceive themselves through the lens of White society.

Experiences of the White Identification stage is differentiated according to Active White Identification versus Passive White Identification. According to Kim (2012) Active White Identification refers to the experiences of Asian Americans who were socialized in primarily White settings, and so, they actively identify with White people by supressing "negative feelings and experiences associated with their Asianness" (p.146) and minimizing any perceived differences between themselves and their White peers. These individuals transition from a neutral self-concept to a negative self-concept. Passive White Identification deals with the experiences of Asian Americans who continue to associate with their Asianness but idealize Whiteness with respect to White values, standards, and beliefs. Although those who passively identify with Whiteness do not dismiss their Asian background, they still refer to Whites as their reference group. Furthermore, though those who experience this type (passive) of White Identification had a positive self-concept in the Ethnic Awareness stage, it transitions to a negative self-concept in this stage.

The third stage in Kim's (2012) AARID Model is termed Awakening to Social Political Consciousness. In this stage Asian Americans experience a paradigm shift in their perceptions of racism, upon gaining social and political knowledge/insight. By gaining an understanding of White racism, they no longer blame themselves for their experiences of racial prejudice and discrimination and are able to overcome feelings of inferiority that were resultant of self-blaming. They realize that their experiences are attributed to social causes,

rather than personal failings. In this stage, they no longer uphold Whiteness as their reference group…in fact Whiteness become their "antireferent" group.

The fourth stage of Kim's (2012) model is the Redirection to an Asian American Consciousness. At this stage, in disassociating from fitting in with Whiteness, Asian Americans allow themselves to fully immerse in Asian American culture and fulfil the urge to surround themselves with or predominantly interact with exclusively Asian Americans. Whereas in the Ethnic Awareness stage they were made aware of their Asian ethnicity, in this stage they discover what it means to be an Asian American, i.e., an American with Asian heritage. In exploring the particularities of this identity, there is an emotional reaction to the history of racial discrimination against Asian Americans, which eventually transforms into "a more realistic appraisal of themselves and other Asian Americans [as they] figure out what parts of themselves are Asian and what parts are American" (Kim, 2012, p.148). Asian Americans cultivate a sense of belonging to the United States while in this stage and reject the otherness they felt in previous stages. As a result, their ego identity, racial pride, and self-concept improve, thus promoting a positive collective identity.

The final stage of the AARID Model is the Incorporation Stage. Incorporation refers to the integration of Asian Americans' racial identity with their other social identities. This is made possible due to establishing confidence in an Asian American racial identity, which enables them to relate to other groups of people. Therefore, their racial identity still retains importance while exploring different social groups.

Although Kim's (2012) AARID Model is predominantly featured in the literature on the topic of Asian American identity development, other research has studied culture specific identity development among South Asian Americans (Ibrahim et al., 1997; Iwamoto et al., 2013) and East Asian Americans (Cheung & Swank, 2019). However, they are limited by focusing only on immigrant and native-born first generation South Asian Americans (Ibrahim

er al., 1997). They are also limited in terms of generalizability since they used qualitative measures to develop these models (Iwamoto et al., 2013) or used results from programme evaluation to cultivate a model (Cheung & Swank, 2019).

Despite their limitations, the models discussed provide keen insight into the factors that affect the development of a racial-ethnic identity, thus highlighting the processes involved in cultivating a positive collective identity and racial esteem. However, they do not examine the role skin tone plays in these processes. They do not account for how the experiences of these processes may differ across skin tones. Brown et al. (1999) began to address this issue by investigating the mean differences, according to skin tone, in measures of racial identity among African Americans. Brown et al. (1999) found significant differences in racial centrality, private regard, and political/economic ideology among skin tones. In terms of racial centrality, the light brown group had the greatest likelihood of expressing that their Black identity was important to them. The dark brown skin tone group had the highest private regard toward other Black people (Brown et al. 1999). Maxwell et al. (2015) also had a similar finding where African Americans who perceived themselves to be dark-skinned had higher private regard when they were high in skin colour satisfaction compared to those who were low in skin colour satisfaction. Regarding Cross' Nigrescence Model, Coard et al. (2001) found a positive relationship between lighter skin tones and the Immersion/Emersion stage among African American participants. Though insightful, these studies are limited in providing a fuller, clearer picture of how the positive racial identity processes, described above, are affected by colourism, i.e., how does ingroup prejudice influence/impact the development of a positive racial identity.

Racial Salience in Trinidad

Although race is a salient concept in Trinidad, studies, theories, and models on racial identity development among the different races that comprise Trinidadian society remains

understudied (hence this literature review's focus on racial identity development in the American context). This neglect may be due to the attempts to project an image of racial harmony in the country (Premdas, 2002; Rampersad, 2011). However, in the following section, a point is made to evidence the salience of race and racial identity in Trinidad. Based on the literature, it is theorized that race, and historical context intertwine to facilitate the salience of race and racial identity in Trinidad. It is important to establish the meaning and salience of race in Trinidad since the racial esteem among Trinidadians is of relevance to this study.

Regarding the sources of racialization in Trinidad and Tobago, Abraham (2001) expounds upon this topic. Whereas the discussions of racial identity development in the US focused on self-definition of racial identity, Abraham's (2001) historical discussion of racial identity in Trinidad focuses on the imposition of racial identity as determined by capital, the state, and community. When Trinidad and Tobago was a sugar plantation economy in need of labour as a source of capital, racial definition was motivated by this need for labour (Abraham, 2001). Differences in race and racial definitions were used to determine labour sources and to stratify the economy along racial lines. As Abraham (2001) put it "capital 'racially defines' in its process of recruitment, selection and division of workers, or in some cases, abandonment of workers" (p.983). In terms of the state, racial definition of the different ethnic groups present in Trinidad and Tobago was determined, upheld, and reinforced by the colonial state through the coercion exercised by its social and political institutions (Abraham, 2001). Regarding the influence of community in defining racial identity, Abraham (2001) says that "communities rely on regulations, customs and traditions that mark out strangers and particularly competitors within their range of influence, traditionally with the tools of observation and stereotype but particularly cultural ascription" (p.990). In the case of Trinidad and Tobago, families and ethnic political enclaves are

responsible for perpetuating racialization and racial definitions in Trinbagonian society. The racialization effected by the need for capital, the state, and communities has contributed to the pluralization of Trinidadian society, as argued by Brathwaite (1960).

According to Brathwaite (1960), the sociological definition of pluralism relies on the cultural and racial heterogeneity of a society, along with the shared goal of economic advancement among the different groups that comprise the society, which is the case of Trinidad's history. This shared goal is not a result of an indigenous process but of the imposition of the superordinate power, in this case British rule, on the subordinate subcultures during the colonialism of Trinidad (Brathwaite, 1960). Through this imposition, subordinate cultures ascribe and acculturate to the superordinate's high regard of economic interests (Braithwaite, 1960).

Therefore, through Braithwaite's argument, an understanding of how pluralisation functioned as a conduit for racial salience in Trinidad is proposed in the following. As has been established in Trinidadian History, discussed in Chapter 1, when the British Empire acquired Trinidad as one of its colonies, its main interest was cultivating sugar as a cash crop for the empire. Cultural and racial heterogeneity was a result of the Empire importing labour sources from different parts of the world into Trinidad to continue mass producing this cash crop. These labour sources entered Trinidad with their own cultures which became subordinate to the British plantocracy. Given the circumstances under which these ethnically and racially heterogenous labour sources were introduced to Trinidad, this brought about a lack of a common social will, especially considering the loyalist ties to mother cultures. This, therefore, contributed to the salience of race as the sociological evolution of Trinidad progressed through history.

Braithwaite (1960) postulated that ascription and acculturation to the superordinate's system of values was what allowed subordinate cultures to coexist without a common social

will. However, when that system needs to be replaced, such as when Trinidad achieved independence from Britain in 1962 and was no longer part of the British Empire, antagonism between subordinate cultures arose (Braithwaite, 1960). An example of this was when the diversity in race and colour symbols, which had evolved into principal markers of differences between the cultural communities in Trinidad, threatened anomie in Trinidad's post-emancipation period (Braithwaite, 1960). The antagonism, paired with loyalist ties to 'mother cultures,' and endogamous practices particularly among East Indians, fostered tension among the ethnic groups in Trinidad, specifically between the African Creoles and the East Indians, and reinforced racial lines thus bolstering the salience of race in society (Brathwaite, 1960; Schwartz, 1964).

Approaching this racial antagonism as a premarker to racial salience in Trinidad via Branscombe et al.'s (1999a) assertion about devalued groups can also be applied to this discussion. Branscombe et al. (1999a) asserted that in seeking to satisfy the desire to belong, people would seek greater identification with their devalued group when they attribute their rejection by and exclusion from other dominant groups to prejudice against their group. In Trinidad's historical and sociological development, Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians have been subjected to race-based prejudice. Although attempts have been made for these groups to come together to forge a committedly Trinidadian identity, attributions of mistreatment to prejudice prompted members of these groups to retreat to their racial groups, thus strengthening ties to 'Mother Africa' and 'Mother India' as opposed to 'Mother Trinidad'. Thus, it appears plausible to assume that the sense of belonging that racial groups provided Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadian reinforced their racial identity and contributed to the development of the salience of race within Trinidad, because as stated by Branscombe et al. (1999a), the greater one perceives prejudice against one's group, the greater one identifies with said group and integrates identity with that group into their self-

concept. The Afrocentric and Indocentric revisionist perspectives of history both detail the prejudices each racial group has faced. Key heralders of these revisionist narratives have advocated that members of their respective racial groups observe these narratives with the aim of fostering great bonds and developing a greater sense of collectivism among their groups (Brereton, 2010). Thus, further implicating the salience of race among their audiences.

Alternatively, the prejudice experienced by both groups, and the subsequent retreat to respective racial groups can be likened to the experience of the Encounter and Immersion-Emersion stages in the Nigrescence model, especially for Afro Trinidadians. For the early Indians who were introduced to Trinidad via the Indentureship programme and the generations that followed, they may have undergone similar processes highlighted in the AARID Model concerning coming to terms with their newly Trinidadian citizenship and their Indian heritage. However, this is speculation, and thus, indicates the need for research in this area.

Racial Esteem and Positive Racial Identity Benefits

Racial esteem is understood in terms of the individual's perception and evaluation of their racial group (Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000). This current study is interested in how colourism affects racial esteem among university students since several studies have documented the impact of racial esteem on students of colour' campus experience. For example, Kodama and Dugan (2020) found that racial esteem positively predicts resilience. This resilience helped Asian American students effectively navigate campus environment which led to potentially greater Leadership Self-Efficacy. Dugan et al. (2012) also found that collective racial esteem positively predicted "capacities for socially responsible leadership" among a racially diverse sample (p.181). Oxendine et al. (2020) presents another example of the positive influence of racial esteem where subscales of collective self-esteem were

indicators of perceptions of a sense of belonging campus climate and a non-discriminatory campus climate among Native American students.

It is important that university students develop a positive racial identity because research has shown how advantageous it is toward adolescents' mental health, academic success, and social wellbeing (Umaña-Taylor & Rivas-Drake, 2021; Wakefield & Hudley, 2007; White & Wanless, 2019). Systemic racism is a cyclical process that negatively impacts youth of colour, however, ethnic racial identity development disrupts this cycle by diminishing "ethnic-racial disparities in key developmental outcomes" in societies where people of colour are marginalized and minoritized (Umaña-Taylor & Rivas-Drake, 2021, p.294). This is because positive ethnic identity equips adolescents of colour with coping skills to actively confront racial discrimination and navigate ethnic and racial stress (Umaña-Taylor & Rivas-Drake, 2021; Wakefield & Hudley, 2007). Some of these coping skills include externalizing marginalization to societal influence rather than internalizing it and attributing this marginalization to their personal selves (Umaña-Taylor & Rivas-Drake, 2021). For example, Sellers and Shelton (2003) found that African Americans with high racial identity, in the form of Black nationalism and those with low public regard toward their race, perceive negative treatment towards African Americans as being attributed to race, thus when they are faced with negative behaviours, they are not as distressed as others. It is suggested that this is because experiencing racial hassles is consistent with how they perceive society's treatment of African Americans and they are able to make sense of their mistreatment, which then makes these experiences less taxing. Another example of coping skills benefitted by positive racial development is that it also serves as a protective factor against internalizing dominant standards of beauty that may be inconsistent with one's racial-ethnic phenotype, which then lowers the likelihood of engaging in disordered eating behaviours (Wakefield & Hudley, 2007). Thus, ethnic identity positively relates to self-esteem among adolescents of colour

(Wakefield & Hudley, 2007). However, it must be noted that the protective and promotive benefits of positive ethnic-racial identity is situationally dependent and are not considered universal (Umaña-Taylor & Rivas-Drake, 2021).

National Identity in Trinidad

A survey of the literature on national identity in Trinidad indicates that intercultural and interracial antagonism between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians stands in the way of an intercommunal, transcendental national Trinidadian identity. Perceived marginalization of Indo Trinidadians from the nation-building process is also discussed at length, regarding this ethnic group's difficulty in assenting to a Trinidadian national identity.

A single Trinidadian identity is only possible when "racial, cultural, language, locational, and religious divisions" are overcome, which presents a challenge due to the extant pluralistic society in Trinidad (Premdas, 2002, p.180). According to Premdas (2002), there are three significant areas in which interethnic conflict affect the emergence of a singular national, Trinidadian identity. These areas include election seasons, the public sector, and cultural politics.

Electing a representative government presents an obstacle to forging a superseding, national identity among Trinidadians because the bi-parliamentary system has facilitated the rise of political parties that are demarcated along predominantly ethnic lines (Premdas, 2002). The two major political parties in Trinidad are the People's National Movement (PNM), which was founded by and is heavily associated with Afro Trinidadians, and the United National Congress (UNC), which was founded by and heavily associated with Indo Trinidadians. It is assumed that the election of one party meant the detriment of the other co-majority ethnic group's way of life (Premdas, 2002). Election seasons disrupt the co-existence between the co-majority ethnic groups and resurface deep-rooted tensions and conflict between these ethnic enclaves. Consequently, the individual feels compelled to vote

in the interest of their ethnic community rather than a national interest. Additionally, the amplification of ethnic stereotypes that are portrayed in election campaigns reinforces ethnic solidarity and dissipates cross-communal ties, which interrupts the reaching of a national consensus. However, there have been attempts to overcome racial division during election seasons and achieve cross-ethnic appeal by each party hiring candidates from opposing ethnic groups and refraining from overt racial bashing. There is also an attempt to downplay the ethnic ties associated with each party. Furthermore, each party tries to appeal to the needs of opposing ethnic groups to evoke a sense of cross-communal appeal and national unity when campaigning. Nevertheless, these efforts have been described and viewed as contrived by the national audience. Additionally, the salience of political-ethnic ties remained strong at the grassroots level where "collective communal pressure served not only to reinforce communal solidarity but, in the long run, perpetuated ethnic division as the normal state of affairs" at the cost of an intercommunal, nationalistic Trinidadian identity (Premdas, 2002, p.185).

Employment and representation in the public bureaucracy sector also stands in the way of the emergence of a nationalistic identity. This arena is also a distinctive source of contention between Afro and Indo Trinidadians, where ethnic communal interest overrides intercommunal, national interest (Ballengee, 2019; Mahabir, 1996; Munasinghe, 2001; Premdas, 2002). Historically, Africans have been overrepresented in public sector (i.e., employment in state enterprises, teaching profession, and municipalities). This is due to historical, social, and geographical factors. According to Ballengee (2019) and Mahabir (1996), the settlement patterns of East Indians were largely rural and away from urban society which retained power through educational, economic, political, and social institutions. Historically, Afro Trinidadians settled in urban areas to move away from the plantations of their previous enslavement and to acculturate to European institutions such as education and administration for their advancement (Premdas, 2002). Furthermore, the political

minoritization of East Indians precluded them from making any contributions to or having any influence over the state (Mahabir, 1996). Ballengee (2019) also believed that Indians were underrepresented in the public sector because their introduction to Trinidad was through the Indentureship programme, which led the creolised African-European syncretism to regard them as temporary residents even though many chose to settle permanently after their indentureship had ended. This is compared to the nativeness that has been ascribed to Creole Africans, who, according to the beliefs of Munasinghe (2001), use this nativeness to endorse their right to head the state, as opposed to the East Indians who were viewed as foreigners.

Premdas (2002) noted that East Indians were blocked from positions in the public sector because they were not trusted to advocate for the wellbeing of those outside their ethnic community. As Indo Trinidadians began to apply for positions en masse in the public sector, anxiety and competition between the ethnic communities reignited. Each group's concern over whether their needs would be fulfilled, dependent upon the ethnic composition of public sector superseded any interest in national unity (Premdas, 2002).

Further pertaining to the role of the public sector in the interethnic divide and its effect on a transcendental national identity, Indo Trinidadians did not participate in the nation-building exercised by Afro Trinidadians in the era leading up to Independence and the post-Independence era, subsequently Indo Trinidadian scholars have criticized that the foundation of nation-building in Trinidad was based on a Creole African rhetoric which excluded Indians and Indian culture from the development of a national culture (Ballengee, 2019; Mahabir, 1996; Munasinghe, 2001). Due to their perceived isolation from the nationalist conversation, Indo Trinidadians abandoned the call to cultural integration and assimilation with the aim of forging a united, national identity among all the ethnic cleavages in Trinidad in the post-Independence era (Ballengee, 2019; Mahabir, 1996). This perceived isolation, and rejection of cultural integration, along with the fear of a racial hegemony of

Creole Africans (especially during the 1970s Black Power Movement) increased Indo Trinidadians' desire to retreat to their ethnic enclave and eschew a national identity (Mahabir, 1996).

Cultural politics serve as a critical domain for interethnic rivalry between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians, especially in the form of musical-cultural outputs (Premdas, 2002). Music is a very important platform in Trinidadian society, in terms of political and social commentary. Historically, music, particularly the art form of calypso, was used to mobilize Africans against European dominance and oppression pre-Independence. After Indentureship of East Indians in Trinidad, the rivalry between Creole Africans and East Indians was extremely vocalized in calypso, with hints of xenophobia against East Indians (Premdas, 2002). When East Indians created chutney as their cultural response to calypso, it was used to voice their disdain toward Creole Africans. These musical forms continue to highlight and reflect the interethnic conflict between these co-majority ethnic groups, which displaces the transcendence of a national identity (Premdas, 2002). This is because music has been used as a defense mechanism by each of the groups against each other, thus, widening the chasm between them, which makes it difficult for members of each group to override their ethnic identity for a national identity (Premdas, 2002).

In addition to interethnic conflict, cultural politics deterred East Indians from claiming a national, Trinidadian identity because they felt as though their cultural contributions to Trinidad's mainstream, national culture was eclipsed by Creole Africans whose contributions became synonymous with a national Trinidadian culture (Ballengee, 2019; Premdas, 2002). Furthermore, state support for Afro Trinidadian artforms as expressions of a national culture isolated Indo Trinidadian culture as marginal contributions to mainstream Trinidadian culture (Ballengee, 2019). On the other hand, some Indo Trinidadians feel the need to reaffirm their national identity by publicising Indian culture, so that nationhood and national identity do not

depend only on African expressions of culture but will also acknowledge the presence and inclusion of Indian culture (Mahabir, 1996). Indo Trinidadians cultural expressions have received private sector support in addition to grassroot and communal support, thus, mainstreaming some forms of Indo Trinidadian culture which has reconceptualised Trinidad's national culture (Ballengee, 2019).

The circumstances discussed in this section illustrate how Indo Trinidadians perceive their identities as an either/or situation (either an ethnic identity or a national identity) versus a both/and context where their identity formation could consist of both an ethnic and a national identity. Given this understanding of the relationship between Indo Trinidadians and a national, Trinidadian identity, this makes this population an ideal comparison group for Afro Trinidadians in terms of observing differences in the role of assimilation to a national identity in moderating the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem. However, the majority of the articles discussed were published in a time where political rule of the PNM was unbroken for 30 plus years. The UNC first came into power in 1995 and have been elected a couple of times since then. This is being highlighted because the age group which is being targeted for this study have had a different experience than that which was discussed in the articles. They have observed the ascendency of both political parties and the mainstreaming of Indo Trinidadian culture, along with a more diversified public sector. Therefore, assenting to a national, Trinidadian identity may mean something different to them than previous generational cohorts. Therefore, to control for the effect of varying experiences based on generational cohort, this study chooses to focus on university students.

A note on Douglas and National Identity. Dougla is the term used to refer to mixed-race Trinidadians whose background consists of both Afro Trinidadian heritage and an Indo Trinidadian heritage (Regis, 2011). Historically, Douglas were not embraced by their East

Indian heritage because they were considered ethnically impure due to inheritance of African ancestry (Franco et al., 2017). This was because race-mixing was believed to contribute to the erasure of pure Indianness in favour of Africanness. Contrastingly, the canvas of what was considered Afro Trinidadian was more inclusive. During slavery, enslaved Africans were stripped of their home cultures, and thus had to redefine what it meant to be African in Trinidad. Therefore, Africanness in Trinidad had historically encompassed "a variety of ethnicities, cultural practices, and phenotypes" (Franco et al., 2017, p.48). As a result, Douglas were more accepted in the Afro Trinidadian community. However, there were those within the Afro Trinidadian community who wished to retain pure Africanism, such as those who supported the Black Power movement in the 1960s and 1970s. They viewed Douglas as a threat to Black purity due to their East Indian heritage (Franco et al., 2017).

As Trinidad transitioned into decolonization and was finding its identity as an Independent nation, Afro and Indo racial identities became highly politicised, thus affecting the relationship between the two groups and the identity of Douglas (England, 2010). Consequentially, there arose competing views on the relationship between these racial-ethnic groups and the effect of this relationship on the nation building process and the perception of Trinidadian society (England, 2008). One view proposed that Trinidad is a creolised society in which the various racial-ethnic groups blend together to form a melting pot that creates a uniquely Trinidadian identity (England, 2008). The other view held that Trinidad is a pluralistic society in which there are distinct, heterogenous racial-ethnic groups that co-exist within their own boundaries (England, 2008).

The tension between these views triggered the historical tolerance versus intolerance of racial mixing by the different racial-ethnic groups. The difference between these views also influenced willingness to assimilate to a nationalistic identity among Afro and Indo Trinidadians. For example, England (2008) discussed that the East Indian community seemed

less tolerable of racial mixing that their Creole African counterpart, especially Hindu Indians as opposed to Muslim and Christian Indians. It appears that they adopted a more pluralistic view of Trinidadian society. England (2008) elaborated on how Hindu Indo Trinidadians were convinced that their culture is pure because they hold on to/retain the precepts of their "mother culture" while Africans in Trinidad had become creolised and forged a Trinidadian culture that is not perceived as a pure African culture. Due to the fact that creolised Africanness had become synonymous with *Trininess*, Hindu Indo Trinidadians believed that they would be diluting their own culture by giving into a creolised Indian Trini culture. Historically, they tended to look down on Africans and felt that Africanness was beneath them, therefore, succumbing to a Trini culture was perceived as degrading themselves, which is evident in how Douglas were treated by their East Indian families and community. This is symptomatic of the colonization by the British who sought to divide and conquer their labour sources (indentured Indians versus formerly enslaved Africans).

England's (2008) qualitative study on the modern Dougla identity found that participants echoed sentiments of feeling rejected by their Indian side because of the perception that the purity of their Indianness was contaminated by their African heritage. Thusly, they more so identified more with their African side, especially when their appearance presented a phenotype that was prototypically African or more mixed race. Many factors, including phenotypical features influence how others racially perceive Douglas and how they racially perceived themselves (Franco et al., 2017). However, Franco et al. (2017) found that compared to North American countries, where mixed-race individuals engage in racial fluidity by identifying with one of their racial backgrounds more than the other, depending on the context, Douglas are more rigid in their Dougla identity and tend to claim their mixed-race background no matter the circumstance.

The discrepancy between the findings of England (2008) and Franco et al. (2017) in terms of the racial identification of Douglas may be the result of the view of Trinidad as a "callaloo nation" (i.e. a melting pot of different races, ethnicities, and cultures) gaining more prominence over time. Over time, Trinidad has prioritised the projection of an image of a racially and ethnically inclusive "callaloo nation", where Douglas represent a blending of the nation's predominant cultures. Therefore, Douglas feel as though their Dougla identity is central to Trinidadian culture, so much so, that in some cases their national identity supplants their racial identity (Franco et al., 2017). Since diversity is celebrated and heralded as one of the cultural markers of Trinidad, Douglas believe that their diverse background echoes this national sentiment, which then positions their national identity to be the identity that they more so identify with than their individual racial heritages. Whereas in the past Douglas were heavily stigmatized, now they experience privileges especially in terms of being perceived as attractive and representing the "best of both worlds" when it comes to the intermixing of their distinctive heritages (Franco et al., 2017).

Douglas perceive themselves as the answer to Dr. Eric Williams' call to recognizing 'Mother Trinidad' despite one's racial-ethnic background because their mixed heritage speaks to bridging the gap between the co-majority racial-ethnic groups, and making the way for a uniquely Trinidadian identity that supersedes any racial identity (England, 2008). Participants in England's (2008) study "articulated this concept of 'mixed-race' as being unidentifiable other than simply as a Trini, a national identity that combines the best that Trinidad has to offer but with no racial specificity to authenticate it" (p.27). Douglas believe that their mixed background promotes a legacy of unity while challenging and deconstructing the colonial, antiquated perception of racial purity, and the binary conception of race and difference between Afro and Indo Trinidadians (England 2008; England 2010); even to the extent that while Douglas reported experiencing instances of racial prejudice within their families

particularly from their East Indian family members, these instances were downplayed due to the national habit of giving little weight to racism, in an effort to keep up the image of a "callaloo nation" (Franco et al., 2017).

Summary

Ingroup colourism acts as a form of acceptance threat where the individual's experience of being received into their racial ethnic group is compromised based on the use of skin tone as a barometer for prototypicality. Within communities of colour, while dark skin tones may represent authenticity and actual prototypicality, lighter skin tones are idolised as the ideal prototype. As a result of failing to meet this idealised prototypicality, dark-skinned persons are more likely subjected to rejection from their racial-ethnic ingroup.

Racial esteem is related to positive benefits for university students, and generally enhances their campus experiences. This finding raises the need for exploring whether ingroup colourism, as a form of acceptance threat, negatively impacts racial esteem. Furthermore, it also raises the need for exploring this construct among university students.

The literature on the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem is extremely sparse, especially in the English-speaking Caribbean. The colonial past of the English-speaking Caribbean had planted seeds of colourism within society, which has allowed for the endurance of colourism-based beliefs and practices in modern society, including the Caribbean island of Trinidad (and Tobago). The construct of race matters in Trinidad. Due to historical and sociological factors, race has become a salient matter in Trinidadian society, where the desire to belong was met by greater identification with one's racial-ethnic group. In the wake of this salience, it is important to evaluate whether ingroup colourism affects the relationship between the individual and their racial ethnic group among Trinidadian university students.

This study is interested in analysing if assimilation to a nationalistic identity moderates the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem among Afro and Indo Trinidadians. Assimilation to a nationalistic identity was noted to be experienced disparately between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians, where Indo Trinidadians believed that their Indian cultural identity was irreconcilable with a national Trinidadian identity, which was considered rooted in Africanism and exclusionary by Indo Trinidadians.

The literature was able to establish that ingroup colourism functions as an acceptance threat within racial-ethnic groups, however, its impact on racial esteem is understudied. The psychological and social benefits of racial esteem point to the need to examine whether it is affected by acceptance threat in the form of ingroup colourism. Furthermore, the literature on this relationship, and colourism in general, is particularly scarce in the English-speaking Caribbean, including Trinidad. In Trinidad, race plays an important role in terms of providing a sense of belonging, however, the state of ingroup colourism and racial esteem is understudied in a Trinidadian setting. This study aims to address these gaps in the literature.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology used to investigate the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem as well as the moderating role of assimilation to a nationalistic identity in this relationship. Firstly, the research design is summarised, followed by a discussion of the population and sample, setting, measurements, procedure, and data analysis.

Research Design

The research design entailed a quantitative *ex post facto* non-experimental approach. This approach was necessary for investigating the predictive relationship between ingroup colourism, assimilation to a nationalistic identity, and racial esteem to suggest whether a cause-and-effect relationship existed among the variables of interest. Cross-sectional data were collected from participants using online surveys. After applying the inclusion and exclusion criteria, the analytical sample included 86 participants.

Population of Interest

The population of interest to this study included university students who were born in Trinidad and identified monoracially as either Afro or Indo Trinidadian. Due to the study's focus on young and emerging adults, the population of interest also included individuals aged 39 years old and younger.

Power Analysis

A power analysis was conducted to determine a suitable sample size for this study. The process of carrying out the power analysis included searching the literature for relevant studies concerning the constructs of interest to this study, as means of gauging an appropriate effect size. Reported Pearson's correlation scores were converted into f^2, which is a statistical measure of effect size for regression analyses. The average of the calculated f^2 effect sizes was used to determine the minimum sample size at .80 power and .05 level of significance.

Five different effect sizes were calculated, and the mean was $f^2 = .0256$, which was rounded to two decimal places, thus establishing a final f^2 effect size of .03. Using G*Power, it was found that 264 was the suitable sample size for this study. However, a secondary power analysis was needed, using a medium effect size of .15, this changed the suitable sample size to 55.

Participants

A non-random, convenience sampling frame was used for recruiting participants, where the recruitment email for the study was sent to all actively enrolled students attending the University of the Southern Caribbean (USC) by the USC Communications Department. The email was sent on two occasions to increase participation in the survey. The total number of participants included in the analytical sample was 86. Although data were collected from a much larger number of participants, the pool of participants who met the inclusion criteria decreased the sample size. The final analytical sample was deemed acceptable upon conducting another power analysis, using a medium effect size instead of a small effect size, where the determined appropriate sample size was 55. Inclusion criteria for participation in the study included that they must be Afro Trinidadian or Indo Trinidadian. Afro Trinidadians were defined as those who are from Trinidad and are of African descent. Indo Trinidadians were defined as those who are from Trinidad and are of Indian descent. Other criteria included that they must have been born in Trinidad, and that they must be enrolled university students between the ages of 17 and 39 to account for the generational cohort factor. Participants must also identify as African or Indian as their sole racial identity (i.e., monoracial).

Setting

Upon receiving IRB approval, data were collected from Trinidadian university students attending the University of the Southern Caribbean which has a total enrolment of

approximately 3,500 students. The IRB process for USC involved emailing a request to the Director of Research and Innovation of USC-IRB, whose email address is featured on the USC website, to acquire the online IRB application form. Once the form was received, the researcher completed it and submitted additional files including the Informed Consent Letter, recruitment materials, and Research Ethics certification. The IRB then provided revisions to the application before approving it.

USC is one out of the three main universities in Trinidad. Despite being one of the main universities in Trinidad its student population is lower than the other two universities. It is also a faith-based institution so that might affect the demographic composition of the university in a way that is not nationally representative. However, unlike the other major universities in Trinidad, USC has protocol in place for external researchers to collect data students which has made this study possible. Recruitment of students for this study involved gaining IRB approval from USC, as well as Clemson University. The recruitment email, containing the survey link, was then distributed through USC's the internal networks to their students. This email introduced the researcher, and the supervising faculty, briefly described the study, and detailed the process involved in participating in the study.

Ethical Considerations

Clemson University as well as the University of the Southern Caribbean approved the study. Informed consent was obtained digitally when participants chose to actively participate in completing the online surveys. While neither participants' names nor any other identifying information were collected on the survey, participants had the option to submit their name and email address to enter a drawing for one of twenty Amazon gift cards valued at 50 USD each by emailing the researcher the code found at the end of the survey. Data was stored on a password-word protected laptop.

Instruments

Demographic Questionnaire

This study collected demographic information concerning race, age, gender, country of origin, country of residence, parents' country of origin, class standing (year at the university), socioeconomic status, and religion. See Appendix A.

Ingroup Colourism

Experiences of ingroup colourism was measured with the Everyday Colourism Scale (ECS) (Craddock et al., 2023b). This measure was designed to encapsulate common experiences of perceived prejudice against darker skin complexions perpetrated by one's ethnic ingroup and outgroup. It was developed to capture the "nuances and complexities of colourism" that other instruments lacked (Craddock et al., 2023b, p.2243). Adapted from the Everyday Discrimination Scale (Williams et al., 1997), items on the ECS target how differences in skin shade affect how one is treated and perceived by one's racial-ethnic ingroup and outgroup in comparison to lighter-skinned members of one's racial-ethnic group. Based on the focus of this study, only the ingroup colourism scale was used. The Ingroup Everyday Colourism Scale consists of 16 items which are divided into 2 subscales. The subtle colourism subscale (n = 10 items) measures experiences of implicit forms of colourism, while the overt colourism subscale (n = 6 items) measures explicit forms of colourism. Participants are asked to respond to the items (e.g. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people treat me with less respect than they do other [insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people who have lighter skin) (e.g. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people call me names about my skin shade) using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1-Never to 5-Always. See Appendix B. Total scores are summed then averaged. Higher average scores signify more perceived colourism.

In developing and testing the ECS, Craddock et al. (2023b) established its overall factor structure by recruiting 540 participants of colour who live in the UK and measuring their experiences with their racial ingroup. Internal consistency and test-retest stability of this instrument was also assessed. Data were collected in two waves. The racial composition of the participants included 58.5% identifying as Asian/Asian British, 17% identifying as Black/Black British, and the remaining identifying as Mixed or Other. When conducting analysis for factor structure, the data received from the 540 participants were divided into 2 comparable datasets. One dataset was used to conduct exploratory factor analyses while the other was used to conduct confirmatory factor analyses. The number of factors to retain was determined by parallel analysis and Velicer's Minimum Average Partial (MAP). Before conducting the exploratory factor analyses a correlation matrix was conducted to examine the degree to which items correlated. Pearson's correlation coefficients comparing and contrasting T1 and T2 scores were used to determine the test-retest reliability of the final ECS. Internal consistency was measured according to Cronbach's alpha coefficients. Given that the ECS was adapted from the Everyday Discrimination Scale, convergent validity was assessed using "Pearson's correlation coefficients between ECS and experiences of racialized discrimination scores on the T1 data" (Craddock et al., 2023b, p. 2250).

Results from the factor analyses found that there was a consistent 2 factor solution with the first factor capturing more subtle forms of colourism and the other factor capturing more overt forms of colourism. When accounting for ingroup analyses "the first two eigenvalues were 9.24 (95 per cent CI: 7.68–10.80) and 2.40 (95 per cent CI: 2.00–2.80) and all other eigenvalues were less than 1. These two components accounted for 72.8 per cent of the total variation" (Craddock et al., 2023b, p. 2251). All factor loadings were above 0.5, indicating good factor loadings for the ECS. Acceptable model fit was also indicated by CFI

scores (which for both ingroup and outgroup were more than or equal to 0.95) and RMSEA values of 0.08.

Craddock et al. (2023b) found that internal consistency for both subscales were high with $\alpha = 0.90$ to 0.96. Reliability for the test-retest analyses were also good with $r = .71$ to .83 for the total scale score, as well as, the subscales (Craddock et al., 2023b). Craddock et al. (2023b) also reported that the ECS had good convergent validity based on the outcomes of Pearson's correlation coefficients between ECS scores and scores on experiences of racialized discrimination in a confirmatory factor analysis of the ECS.

Racial Esteem

The value one places on one's racial group was measured by the Race-Specific Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES-R) (Crocker et al., 1994). In relation to the Social Identity Theory, the collective self refers to the aspect of one's self concept that is concerned with the social groups to which one belongs, such as one's racial-ethnic group. Collective self-esteem deals with the individual's assessment of and attitude toward their social groups, including the connection they have with these groups. The CSES-R was developed as modified version of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale which measured the level of esteem regarded to one's social group, in this case, one's racial group. Consisting of 16 items, participants are asked to rate each item using a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree. The CSES-R is divided into 4 subscales, each measuring specific dimensions of collective identity perception. A total score is summed and averaged for each subscale. Higher scores on the CSES-R subscales indicate higher levels of racial collective self-esteem. Creators of this scale (Crocker et al., 1994; Lutheran & Crocker, 1992) advise that an overall composite score is not calculated of all the subscales because they each measure distinct constructs which are uncorrelated.

The Membership Esteem subscale measures the individual's perception of how good or worthy they are to be member of their racial group. Examples of these items include "I am a worthy member of my race/ethnic group" and "I am a cooperative participant in the activities of my racial/ethnic group." The Private Collective Self-Esteem subscale considers how the individual favourably regards their racial group. Examples of these items include "I often regret that I belong to my racial/ethnic group" and "In general, I'm glad to be a member of my racial/ethnic group." The Public Collective Self-Esteem subscale, however, accounts for the individual's perceptions of how others favourably regard their racial group. Examples of these items include "Overall, my racial/ethnic group is considered good by others" and "In general, others respect my race/ethnicity." Finally, the Importance to Identity subscale measures the centrality of membership in one's racial group to one's self-concept. Examples of items include "The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am" and "My race/ethnicity is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am."

Using a sample of Black, White, and Asian students (238 students in total), Crocker et al., 1994) found that internal consistency for each subscale was strong with alpha coefficients ranging from .72 to .84. In terms of construct validity, Crocker et al. (1994) conducted correlations tests between Rosenberg's Self-Esteem (RSE) scores and CSES-R scores. For Black students there were significant positive correlations between the Membership CSE subscale of the CSES-R and the RSE with $r = .55$, $p < .01$. There also were significant positive correlations between RSE and the Private CSE subscale of the CSES-R among Black students with $r = .43$, $p < .01$ and Asian students with $r = .40$, $p < .05$. These correlations signal the theorized relationships between personal and collective self-esteem, while also indicating that they measure distinct constructs. See Appendix C.

Often studies, such as Barrie et al. (2016) and Liang & Fassinger (2008), utilize CSES-R as a moderator or mediator instrument. This current study differs by treating the measured construct as a dependent variable.

Nationalistic Identity

Assimilation to a nationalistic identity over an ethnonationalistic identity was measured using the Assimilation subscale of the Cross Ethnic-Racial Identity Scale–Adult (CERIS-A) (Worrell et al., 2017). The CERIS-A was developed as an attitudinal measure of ethnic-racial identity (ERI). ERI is defined as "a multidimensional, psychological construct that reflects the beliefs and attitudes that individuals have about their ethnic–racial group memberships, as well as the processes by which these beliefs and attitudes develop over time" (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014, p. 23, as cited by Worrell et al., 2017). In terms of Assimilation, this attitude is concerned with the individual's basing their identity solely on their nationality instead of a combination of their ethnicity and nationality (like identifying as an American, rather than an African American). Items in this subscale endeavour to capture preferences for national identity over membership in an ethnic or racial group when describing one's identity. Examples of items include "I think of myself primarily as a Trinidadian, and seldom as a member of an ethnic or racial group" and "I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am a Trinidadian." The Assimilation subscale of the CERIS-A consists of 4 items, where participants are asked the extent to which they strongly disagree or strongly agree with the items on a 7-point Likert-type scale. Subscales scores are calculated by obtaining the average of the 4 items that comprise the subscale. See Appendix 4.

In terms of internal consistency, Worrell et al. (2017) found strong alpha estimates ranging from .70 to .92 across all the racial groups when using the instrument among 803 participants whose ethnic-racial backgrounds included African Americans, Asian Americans, European Americans, Latino/as, and Other. It was also found to have strong structural validity

support using confirmatory factor analyses. Model fit was assessed using different indices including the comparative fit index (CFI), the Tucker–Lewis index (TLI), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) with a 95% CI. The CFI and TLI values for the final model supported the factor structure for the entire sample, as well as, ethnic-racial subgroups (Worrell et al., 2017). The values of the RMSEA ranged from .067 to .092, including 3 of the values which fell below .08 (Worrell et al., 2017).

Table 1 presents a summary of the constructs of interest in this study and the instruments used to measure them, along with, the scoring of the instruments.

Table 1
Summary of Measures

Construct	Measures	Scoring of Measures	Number of Items
Demographics	Demographic Questionnaire	No scoring	10
Ingroup Colourism	Everyday Colourism Scale (Total Ingroup Scale)	Summation of total scale then average is scored	16
Racial Esteem	Race-Specific Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Total Scale)	Summation of each subscale, then average is scored for each subscale.	16
Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity	Cross Ethnic-Racial Identity Scale- Adult (Assimilation subscale)	Summation of Assimilation subscale, then average is scored for this subscale	4

Procedure

Qualtrics software was used to facilitate the data collection process and to manage the data. Potential participants received an email link to Qualtrics forms that included a consent form, a demographics questionnaire, the Ingroup Colourism subsection of the Everyday

Colourism Scale (ECS), the Race-Specific Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES-R), and the Assimilation subscale of the Cross Ethnic-Racial Identity Scale – Adult (CERIS-A).

Instructions were provided to participants to read the consent form for their participation in this research. They then had the option to proceed if they chose to voluntarily consent to the terms of the study. Upon consent, participants were instructed to complete the self-administered survey instruments.

As an incentive to complete the surveys, participants were enrolled in a drawing for one of twenty Amazon gift cards valued at 50 USD each. Participants had a chance to win one of the gift cards by emailing the code left at the end of the survey. This was to ensure that their email address, or any other identifying information, would not be linked to their survey data. An Excel spreadsheet was used to draw random email addresses as winners of the gift cards.

Data Analytic Plan

Data Preparation

After data were collected, they were cleaned and organised. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 28 was used for analysing the data. Tests for reliability and intercorrelations were conducted. Assumptions for major analyses were also tested, including checking for linearity, multicollinearity, independence of observations, outliers, homoscedasticity, and approximately normal distribution. Descriptive statistics were run to familiarize the researcher with the data. Lastly, missing values analysis were conducted on the dataset.

Analytic Models

Group differences, based on demographic items (gender and racial-ethnic group), were assessed using independent-samples t-tests for the main variables of interest to this study, including experiences of ingroup colourism, racial esteem, and assimilation to a

nationalistic identity for research questions 2 through 5. Research question 6 was assessed using ordinary least squares regression. Moderation regression analyses with a dichotomous variable was used to investigate research questions 7 through 9, with a moderated moderation regression being run on research question 7a. Table 2 visually represents the statistical tests per research question and objective, while Table 3 depicts a summary of the variables of interest in the moderation models.

Table 2
Research Questions and Statistical Tests

Research Objectives/Questions	Hypothesis	Statistical Approach	Statistical Tests
Testing the scale reliability (internal consistency) of the instruments within Trinidadian population		Reliability + Intercorrelations	Cronbach's alpha Pearson's correlation
(1) What is the state of everyday ingroup colourism, racial esteem, and assimilation to a nationalistic identity among Trinidadians?		Descriptive	Mean and Standard Deviation
(2) How does experiences of ingroup colourism differ by gender?	It is hypothesized that there will be a significant difference experiences of ingroup colourism between males and females.	Inferential	Independent Samples t-test
(3) How does experiences of ingroup colourism	It is hypothesized that there will be a significant difference in		Independent Samples t-test

differ by racial-ethnic group?	experiences of ingroup colourism between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians.	
(4) How does racial esteem differ by racial-ethnic group?	It is hypothesized that there will be a significant difference racial esteem between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians.	Independent Samples t-test
(5) How does assimilation to a nationalistic identity differ by racial-ethnic group?	It is hypothesized that there will be a significant difference in levels of assimilation to a nationalistic identity between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians.	Independent Samples t-test
(6) To what extent does ingroup colourism predict racial esteem?	Experiences of ingroup colourism will significantly predict racial esteem.	Ordinary Least squares Regression
(7) Does the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem depend on assimilation to a nationalistic identity?	It is hypothesized that assimilation to a nationalistic identity will moderate the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem.	Moderation Regression Analysis
(7a) Does the moderating effect of nationalistic identity	It is hypothesized that the moderating effect of	Moderated Moderation

depend on racial-ethnic group?	nationalistic identity will depend on racial ethnic group.		
(8) Does the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem depend on gender?	It is hypothesized that gender will moderate the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem.		Moderation Regression Analysis with a dichotomous moderator
(9) Does the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem depend on racial-ethnic group?	It is hypothesized that racial-ethnic group will moderate the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem.		Moderation Regression Analysis with a dichotomous moderator

Table 3
Moderation Models Variables for Research Questions 7-9

Research Question	Predictor Variable	Moderating Variable(s)	Outcome Variable
(7) Does the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem depend on assimilation to a nationalistic identity?	Experiences of ingroup colourism	Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity	Racial Esteem
(7a) Does the moderating effect of nationalistic identity depend on racial-ethnic group?	Experiences of ingroup colourism	Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity Racial-Ethnic group	Racial Esteem
(8) Does the relationship between	Experiences of ingroup colourism	Gender	Racial Esteem

experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem depend on gender?			
(9) Does the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem depend on racial-ethnic group?	Experiences of ingroup colourism	Racial-Ethnic group	Racial Esteem

Chapter 4: Results

The following section details the results of the analyses conducted on the research questions of this study. First, descriptive statistics and correlation analyses are presented, followed by the results for Research Question 1 in terms of the prevalence of experiences of perceived ingroup colourism, assimilation to a nationalistic identity, and racial esteem. The tests of the study's hypotheses (*H*1 through *H*9) for Research Questions 2 through 5 are then presented. A brief summary of the results is then discussed at the end of the chapter.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive analyses such as distribution of the data and measures of central tendency were performed on; the demographic variables, to determine the characteristics of the analytical sample, (see Table 4). Descriptive analyses were also performed on the main variables of interest to the study including ingroup colourism, assimilation to a nationalistic identity, and racial esteem (see Table 5). Other descriptive analyses that were performed also included determining the reliability of the study's instruments, which is also reported in Table 5. All Cronbach's alpha reliability scores were acceptable, ranging from .66 to .94.

Table 4

Demographic Characteristics of Analytical Sample

Variable	*n*	%
Gender		
Female	69	80
Male	16	19
Other	1	1
Racial-Ethnic Group		
African Descent	73	85
Indian Descent	13	15
Religious Orientation		
Roman Catholic	13	15.1
Hindu	3	3.5
Pentecostal/Evangelical/Full Gospel	19	22.1

Baptist	4	4.7
Anglican	5	5.8
Islam	1	1.2
Seventh-Day Adventist	27	31.4
Other	5	5.8
None	9	10.5
Class Standing		
First Year Undergraduate Student	13	15.3
Second Year Undergraduate Student	26	30.6
Third Year Undergraduate Student	20	23.5
Fourth Year Undergraduate Student	15	17.6
Graduate Student	11	12.9
Socioeconomic Class		
Poverty level	4	4.7
Working class	48	55.8
Middle class	29	33.7
Upper middle class	5	5.8

Variable	*n*	Mean	SD	Min.	Max
Age	86	24	6.	17	39

Table 5

Descriptive Analyses of Study Variables

Variable	*n*	Mean	SD	Min.	Max	α
Ingroup Colourism	86	1.83	.72	1	4	.94
Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity	80	5.01	1.62	1	7	.89
Racial Esteem						
Membership Esteem	82	5.33	1.10	3	7	.68
Private Collective Self-Esteem	82	5.56	1.13	2	7	.70
Public Collective Self-Esteem	82	3.80	1.04	1	7	.66
Importance to Identity	82	4.22	1.29	1	7	.68

Correlational Analyses

Correlations between age and the main variables of interest of this study were analysed (see Table 6). There were no significant correlations between age and the study variables.

Table 6

Correlations between Age and Study Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Age						
2. Membership Esteem	0.070					
3. Private CSE	0.023	.477**				
4. Public CSE	0.025	-0.137	0.206			
5. Importance to Identity	-0.110	.276*	0.147	-.309**		
6. Assimilation to Nationalistic Identity	0.133	-0.044	0.019	0.192	-.412**	
7. Ingroup Colourism	0.040	-0.036	-0.215	-.362**	0.187	-0.092

** $p < 0.01$ level (2-tailed); * $p < .05$ (2-tailed)

Intercorrelations among the main measures of the study were also analysed (see Table 6). Membership esteem positively correlated with private collective self-esteem and importance to identity. Importance to identity negatively correlated with assimilation to a nationalistic identity and public collective self-esteem. Public collective self-esteem also negatively correlated with ingroup colourism.

Prevalence of Ingroup Colourism, Assimilation to Nationalistic Identity, and Racial Esteem in Trinidad

This study aimed to explore how prevalent ingroup colourism is among Trinidadian university students, as well as the prevalence of assimilation to a nationalistic identity, and the prevalence of racial esteem.

Concerning ingroup colourism, results showed that approximately a third (30.3%) of the participants perceived that they are less respected by their racial-ethnic group compared to lighter-skinned members of their racial-ethnic group. Additionally, approximately a third (32.4%) of participants also perceived that they are viewed as less intelligent than lighter-skinned members of their racial-ethnic group by members of their racial-ethnic group. Approximately a third of participants were perceived as service workers (33.7%) and called names about their skin shade (33.7%) by members of their racial-ethnic group compared to lighter-skinned members of their racial-ethnic group. Nearly one third (30.6%) of the participants experienced negative comments about the skin shade of people who have a similar skin shade. Almost half (41.9%) of the participants were perceived as less affluent by members of their racial-ethnic group when compared to lighter-skinned members of their racial-ethnic group. Table 7 further breaks down the frequency of participants experiencing ingroup colourism sometimes or more.

Table 7

Frequency of Participants' Experiences of Ingroup Colourism Sometimes or More

Experience of Ingroup Colourism	*n*	%
Treated with less respect	26	30.3
Treated with greater suspicion	18	20.9
Receive poorer service	23	26.8
Avoided in public spaces	5	5.9
Viewed as more aggressive	16	18.6
Viewed as less trustworthy	9	10.6
Viewed as more threatening	21	24.4
Viewed as less intelligent	28	32.5
Viewed as less affluent	36	41.9
Mistaken for someone in a service role	29	33.7
Called names about skin shade	29	33.7
Insulted about skin shade	15	17.5
Skin shade made fun of	16	18.8
Members of racial-ethnic group make negative comments about the skin shade of people who have similar skin shade	26	30.6
Told that they would be more attractive if they had lighter skin	23	26.7
Told that it would be harder for them to find a partner	10	11.7

In terms of assimilation to a nationalistic identity, results found that 76.2% of participants thought of themselves primarily as Trinidadian and seldom as a member of a racial-ethnic group. Furthermore, 67.7% of participants labelled their identity as Trinidadian and not a specific racial-ethnic group, while 75% of them categorized themselves as Trinidadian first and members of their racial-ethnic group second. However, 48.8% of participants believed that they were not so much a member of a racial-ethnic group as they were Trinidadian.

Regarding racial esteem, a breakdown of the results of each subscale of the Race-Specific Collective Self-Esteem Scale is displayed in Table 8. Results indicated that Racial Esteem is prevalent among Afro and Indo Trinidadians.

Table 8

Frequency for Racial Esteem Subscales

Variable	*n* (%)						
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree
Membership Esteem							
I am a worthy member of my racial-ethnic group	1 (1.2)			10 (12.2)	4 (4.9)	32 (39)	35 (42.7)
I feel I don't have much to offer to my racial-ethnic group	27 (32.9)	16 (19.5)	10 (12.2)	15 (18.3)	6 (7.3)	6 (7.3)	2 (2.4)
I am a cooperative participant in the activities of my racial-ethnic group	6 (7.3)	6 (7.3)	3 (3.7)	28 (34.1)	13 (15.9)	19 (23.2)	7 (8.5)
I often feel I'm a useless member of my racial-ethnic group	28 (34.1)	28 (34.1)	3 (3.7)	16 (19.5)	1 (1.2)	4 (4.9)	2 (2.4)
Private Collective Self-Esteem							
I often regret that I belong to my racial-ethnic group	34 (41.5)	13 (15.9)	3 (3.7)	10 (12.2)	15 (18.3)	4 (4.9)	3 (3.7)
In general, I'm glad to be a member of my racial-ethnic group	30 (36.6)	2 (2.4)	2 (2.4)	12 (14.6)	11 (13.4)	20 (24.4)	35 (42.7)
Overall, I often feel that my racial-ethnic group is not worthwhile		18 (22)	12 (14.6)	12 (14.6)	3 (3.7)	6 (7.3)	1 (1.2)
		1 (1.2)	3 (3.7)	13 (15.9)	12 (14.6)	24 (29.3)	29 (35.4)

I feel good about the racial-ethnic group I belong to							
Public Collective Self-Esteem							
Overall, my racial-ethnic group is considered good by others	5 (6.2)	15 (18.5)	13 (16)	25 (30.9)	11 (13.6)	10 (12.3)	2 (2.5)
Most people consider my racial-ethnic group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other groups	3 (3.7)	4 (4.9)	11 (13.4)	19 (23.2)	20 (24.4)	20 (24.4)	5 (6.1)
In general, others respect my racial-ethnic group	3 (3.7)	6 (7.3)	16 (19.5)	14 (17.1)	19 (23.2)	18 (22)	6 (7.3)
In general, others think my racial-ethnic group is unworthy	4 (4.9)	7 (8.5)	9 (11)	17 (20.7)	25 (30.5)	18 (22)	2 (2.4)
Importance to Identity							
Overall, my race/ethnicity has very little to do with how I feel about myself	1 (1.2)	7 (8.5)	18 (22)	13 (15.9)	11 (13.4)	10 (12.2)	22 (26.8)
The racial-ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am	6 (7.3)	6 (7.3)	4 (4.9)	13 (15.9)	14 (17.1)	24 (29.3)	15 (18.3)
My race/ethnicity is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am	7 (8.5)	15 (18.3)	9 (11)	11 (13.4)	11 (13.4)	14 (17.1)	15 (18.3)
In general, belonging to my race/ethnicity is an important part of my self-image	4 (4.9)	4 (4.9)	1 (1.2)	19 (23.2)	18 (22)	19 (23.2)	17 (20.7)

Hypothesis Testing

This section details the results of testing the hypotheses of this study. Research Questions 2 (*H1*) through 5 (*H*4) were assessed using Independent-Samples t-test to determine group differences in ingroup colourism, assimilation to a nationalistic identity, and racial esteem, based on gender (males and females), and racial-ethnic group (Afro and Indo Trinidadians).

H1 There will be a significant difference in the experiences of ingroup colourism between males and females.

No statistically significant difference was found when comparing the means of the experiences of perceived ingroup colourism between males and females (see Table 9). This hypothesis was not supported.

Table 9

Gender Differences on the Everyday Colourism Scale

	Male		Female		*t*(83)	*p*	Cohen's
	M	SD	M	SD			*d*
Ingroup Colourism	1.61	.56	1.89	.75	-1.382	.171	-.383

H2 There will be a significant difference in experiences of ingroup colourism between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians

No statistically significant difference was found when comparing the means of the experiences of perceived ingroup colourism between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians (see Table 10). This hypothesis was not supported.

Table 10

Racial-Ethnic Group Differences on the Everyday Colourism Scale

	Afro Trinidadians		Indo Trinidadians		*t*(84)	*p*	Cohen's *d*
	M	SD	M	SD			
Ingroup Colourism	1.84	.70	1.80	.85	.172	.864	.052

H3 There will be a significant difference in racial esteem between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians.

Racial esteem was measured using the subscales of the Race-Specific Collective Self-Esteem Scale (see Table 11). Results showed that there were significant differences between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians on the Membership Esteem subscale, Public Collective Self-Esteem subscale and the Importance to Identity subscale, with Afro Trinidadians scoring higher on Membership Esteem, and Importance to Identity, and Indo Trinidadians scoring higher on Public Collective Self-Esteem. No significant difference between Afro and Indo Trinidadians on the Private Collective Self-Esteem subscale was found. Therefore, the hypothesis was partially supported.

Table 11

Racial-Ethnic Group Differences on the Race-Specific Collective Self-Esteem Subscales

	Afro Trinidadians		Indo Trinidadians		*t*(80)	*p*	Cohen's *d*
	M	SD	M	SD			
Membership Esteem	5.49	1.04	4.50	1.11	3.115	.003	.942
Private Collective Self-Esteem	5.62	1.13	5.25	1.10	1.073	.286	.325

Public Collective Self-Esteem	3.65	.94	4.60	1.22	-3.152	.002	-.953
Importance to Identity	4.35	1.26	3.56	1.25	2.073	.041	.627

H4 There will be a significant difference in levels of assimilation to a nationalistic identity between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians.

No statistically significant difference was found when comparing the means of assimilation to a nationalistic identity between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians (see Table 12). This hypothesis was not supported.

Table 12

Racial-Ethnic Group Differences on the Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity Subscale

	Afro Trinidadians		Indo Trinidadians		*t*(78)	*p*	Cohen's
	M	SD	M	SD			*d*
Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	4.87	1.57	5.79	1.73	-1.841	.069	-.576

RQ6 asked to what extent does ingroup colourism predict racial esteem? The hypothesis was tested using Ordinary Least Squares Regression to determine if ingroup colourism functioned as a predictor of racial esteem.

H5 Experiences of ingroup colourism will significantly predict racial esteem.

Regression analyses were conducted on the subscales of racial esteem (see Table 13). When assessing for the regression of ingroup colourism on Membership Esteem, the overall adjusted R^2 was -.011, which indicates that the model is a poor fit and has no predictive value. As a result, ingroup colourism was not found to significantly predict Membership

Esteem. In terms of Private Collective Self-Esteem, ingroup colourism accounted for 4.6% of variation with an adjusted R^2 = 3.4%. Ingroup colourism statistically significantly predicted Private Collective Self-Esteem $F(1,80) = 3.88$, $p = .052$. Ingroup colourism also statistically significantly predicted Public Collective Self-Esteem $F(1,80) = 12.05$, $p < .001$ and ingroup colourism accounted for 13.1% of the explained variability in Public Collective Self-Esteem with an adjusted R^2 = 12%. Regarding Importance to Identity, ingroup colourism was not a statistically significant predictor. Thusly, the hypothesis was only partially supported.

Table 13

Linear Regressions for Racial Esteem

			95% CI			
Variable	Beta	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	β	*p*
a. Ingroup Colourism	-.055	.171	-.40	.28	-.036	.746
b. Ingroup Colourism	-.337	.171	-.68	.003	-.215	.052
c. Ingroup Colourism	-.523	.151	-.82	-.22	-.362	<.001
d. Ingroup Colourism	.334	.196	-.06	.72	.187	.092

a. Dependent Variable: Membership Esteem
b. Dependent Variable: Private Collective Self-Esteem
c. Dependent Variable: Public Collective Self-Esteem
d. Dependent Variable: Importance to Identity

RQ7 investigated whether assimilation to a nationalistic identity moderated the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem. The hypothesis was tested using Moderation Regression analysis to determine if assimilation to a nationalistic identity moderated the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem.

H6 Assimilation to a nationalistic identity will moderate the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem.

A moderation analysis, using PROCESS Macro, was run with the subscales of racial esteem. The interaction between assimilation to a nationalistic identity and ingroup colourism was not statistically significant for neither Membership Esteem (see Table 14), Private Collective Self-Esteem (see Table 15), nor Importance to Identity (see Table 16). However,

assimilation to a national identity was found to significantly predict Importance to Identity, and an inverse relationship was found between them. The interaction between assimilation to a nationalistic identity and ingroup colourism accounted for significant variance in Public Collective Self-Esteem with $R^2 = 0.22$, $F(3, 76) = 7.04$, and $p < .05$ (see Table 17). Thus, indicating that the interaction between assimilation to a nationalistic identity and ingroup colourism was statistically significant with B = .188 and $p = .03$. This model, therefore, implies that assimilation to a nationalistic identity serves as a moderator between ingroup colourism and Public Collective Self-Esteem, in such a way that assimilation strengthens the relationship. Consequently, the hypothesis was only partially supported.

Table 14

Moderation Analysis for Ingroup Colourism, Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity, and Membership Esteem

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	-.085	.177	-.44	.27	.632
Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	-.031	.079	-.19	.13	.695
Ingroup Colourism * Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	-.080	.101	-.28	.12	.434

Table 15

Moderation Analysis for Ingroup Colourism, Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity, and Private Collective Self-Esteem

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	-.396	.176	-.72	-.02	.040
Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	.002	.078	-.15	.16	.983

Ingroup Colourism * Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	-.094	.101	-.29	.11	.354

Table 16

Moderation Analysis for Ingroup Colourism, Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity, and Importance to Identity

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	.244	.186	-.13	.61	.195
Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	-.316	.083	-.48	-.15	<.05
Ingroup Colourism * Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	-.065	.106	-.28	.15	.542

Table 17

Moderation Analysis for Ingroup Colourism, Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity, and Public Collective Self-Esteem

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	-.494	.148	-.79	-.20	<.05
Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	.097	.066	-.03	.23	.146
Ingroup Colourism * Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	.188	.085	.02	.36	.029

RQ7a further investigated if the moderating effect of assimilation to a nationalistic identity depended on racial-ethnic group (Figure 2). The hypothesis was tested by conducting a moderated moderation, using PROCESS Macro software, to determine if the moderating effect of assimilation to a nationalistic identity depended on racial-ethnic group.

H7 The moderating effect of nationalistic identity will depend on racial ethnic group.

The hypothesis was tested with each subscale of racial esteem. It was found that 17% of variance was accounted for the model which included ingroup colourism, racial-ethnic group, assimilation to a nationalistic identity and Membership Esteem ($F(7, 72) = 2.18$, $p = .046$, $R^2 = .17$). However, the interaction term between ingroup colourism, assimilation to a nationalistic identity, and racial-ethnic group was not significant when predicting Membership Esteem (see Table 18). The interaction term was also not significant when predicting Private Collective Self-Esteem (see Table 19). When the model included Public Collective Self-Esteem as the dependent variable, 31% of variance was accounted for by all the variables included in the model ($F(7, 72) = 4.56$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .31$). However, the interaction term between ingroup colourism, assimilation to a nationalistic identity, and racial-ethnic group was not significant (see Table 20). Although the interaction term was also not significant for Importance to Identity (see Table 21), 25% of variance was accounted for by the model ($F(7, 72) = 3.43$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .25$). The hypothesis was not supported.

Table 18

Moderated Moderation for Ingroup Colourism, Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity, Racial-Ethnic group, and Membership Esteem

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	.414	.768	-1.12	1.94	.591
Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	.018	.371	-.72	.76	.962
Ingroup Colourism * Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	.406	.457	-.51	1.32	.378
Racial-Ethnic Group	-1.08	.506	-2.08	-.07	.037
Ingroup Colourism * Racial-Ethnic Group	-.365	.692	-1.74	1.01	.599

Assimilation to a nationalistic identity * Racial-Ethnic Group	-.020	.341	-.70	.66	.954
Ingroup Colourism * Assimilation to a nationalistic identity * Racial-Ethnic Group	-.342	.411	-1.16	.48	.408

Table 19

Moderated Moderation for Ingroup Colourism, Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity, Racial-Ethnic group, and Private Collective Self-Esteem

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	.733	.810	-.88	2.35	.369
Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	-.137	.391	-.92	.64	.728
Ingroup Colourism * Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	-.269	.483	-1.23	.69	.579
Racial-Ethnic Group	-.807	.534	-1.87	.26	.135
Ingroup Colourism * Racial-Ethnic Group	-.978	.730	-2.43	.48	.185
Assimilation to a nationalistic identity * Racial-Ethnic Group	.173	.360	-.54	.89	.633
Ingroup Colourism * Assimilation to a nationalistic identity * Racial-Ethnic Group	-.228	.434	-.64	1.09	.600

Table 20

Moderated Moderation for Ingroup Colourism, Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity, Racial-Ethnic group, and Public Collective Self-Esteem

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	-.443	.662	-1.76	.88	.505
Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	.276	.319	-.36	.91	.391
Ingroup Colourism * Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	-.116	.394	-.90	.67	.769
Racial-Ethnic Group	.818	.436	-.05	1.69	.065
Ingroup Colourism * Racial-Ethnic Group	-.058	.596	-1.25	1.13	.923
Assimilation to a nationalistic identity * Racial-Ethnic Group	-.164	.294	-.75	.42	.579
Ingroup Colourism * Assimilation to a nationalistic identity * Racial-Ethnic Group	.211	.354	-.50	.92	.553

Table 21

Moderated Moderation for Ingroup Colourism, Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity, Racial-Ethnic group, and Importance to Identity

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	-.107	.850	-1.80	1.59	.901
Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	.091	.410	-.73	.91	.825
Ingroup Colourism * Assimilation to a nationalistic identity	.690	.506	-.32	1.70	.177

Racial-Ethnic Group	-.185	.560	-1.30	.93	.742
Ingroup Colourism * Racial-Ethnic Group	.433	.766	-1.09	1.96	.574
Assimilation to a nationalistic identity * Racial-Ethnic Group	-.382	.377	-1.13	.37	.315
Ingroup Colourism * Assimilation to a nationalistic identity * Racial-Ethnic Group	-.655	.455	-1.56	.25	.154

RQ8 assessed if the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem depended on gender. The hypothesis was tested using Moderation Regression analysis with a dichotomous moderator to determine if the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem depended on gender.

H8 Gender will moderate the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem.

A moderation analysis was run with each subscale of racial esteem. A hierarchical multiple regression was run to assess the increase in variation explained by the addition of an interaction term between ingroup colourism and gender to a main effects model. Gender did not moderate the effect of ingroup colourism on Membership Esteem, as evidenced by an increase in total variation explained of 0.1%, which was not statistically significant ($F(1, 77) = .055$, $p = .815$) (see Table 22). However, when the interaction term was removed from the model, it was revealed that males had statistically significantly lower Membership Esteem than females, $b = -.90$, $SE = .298$, $p = .004$. Gender also did not moderate the effect of ingroup colourism on Private Collective Self-Esteem with ($F(1, 77) = .047$, $p = .829$) (see Table 23). Regarding Public Collective Self-Esteem, a moderating effect was not found ($F(1,$

77) = .075, p = .785) (see Table 24). Lastly, gender did not moderate the effect of ingroup colourism on Importance to Identity (F(1, 77) = 1.213, p = .274) (see Table 25). However, when the interaction term was removed from the model, importance of racial-ethnic group to one's identity was statistically significantly lower for males than females, b = -.96, SE = .345, p = .007. The hypothesis was not supported.

Table 22

Moderation Analysis for Ingroup Colourism, Gender, and Membership Esteem

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	-.241	.495	-1.23	.75	.628
Gender	.680	.918	-1.15	2.51	.461
Ingroup Colourism * Gender	.124	.526	-.92	1.17	.815

Table 23

Moderation Analysis for Ingroup Colourism, Gender, and Private Collective Self-Esteem

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	-.385	.185	-.75	-.02	.041
Gender	-.641	.958	-2.55	1.27	.505
Ingroup Colourism * Gender	.119	.549	-.97	1.21	.829

Table 24

Moderation Analysis for Ingroup Colourism, Gender, and Public Collective Self-Esteem

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	-.500	.163	-.83	-.18	.003
Gender	.207	.844	-1.47	1.89	.807

Ingroup Colourism * Gender	.132	.483	-.83	1.10	.785

Table 25

Moderation Analysis for Ingroup Colourism, Gender, and Importance to Identity

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	.161	.204	-.24	.57	.431
Gender	-2.071	1.054	-4.17	.03	.053
Ingroup Colourism * Gender	.665	.604	-.54	1.87	.274

RQ9 **s**ought to determine if the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem depended on racial-ethnic group. The hypothesis was tested using Moderation Regression analysis with a dichotomous moderator to investigate if the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem depended on racial-ethnic group.

H9 Racial-ethnic group will moderate the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem.

A moderation analysis was run with each subscale of racial esteem. A hierarchical multiple regression was run to assess the increase in variation explained by the addition of an interaction term between ingroup colourism and racial-ethnic group to a main effects model for each subscale. Results showed that racial-ethnic group did not moderate the relationship between ingroup colourism and Membership Esteem ($F(1, 78) = 1.376$, $p = .244$) (see Table 26). It also did not moderate the relationship between ingroup colourism and Private Collective Self-Esteem ($F(1, 78) = 1.105$, $p = .261$) (see Table 27). Racial-ethnic group was not found to moderate the relationship between ingroup colourism and Public Collective Self-Esteem ($F(1, 78) = 1.139$, $p = .289$) (see Table 28), nor the relationship between ingroup

colourism and Importance to Identity ($F(1, 78) = .597$, $p = .442$) (see Table 29). The hypothesis was not supported.

Table 26

Moderation Analysis for Ingroup Colourism, Racial-Ethnic Group, and Membership Esteem

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	-.447	.358	-1.16	.27	.215
Racial-Ethnic Group	.136	.794	-1.45	1.72	.864
Ingroup Colourism * Racial-Ethnic Group	.471	.401	-.33	1.27	.244

Table 27

Moderation Analysis for Ingroup Colourism, Racial-Ethnic Group, and Private Collective Self-Esteem

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	-.724	.377	-1.47	.03	.058
Racial-Ethnic Group	-.479	.836	-2.14	1.19	.568
Ingroup Colourism * Racial-Ethnic Group	.478	.422	-.36	1.32	.261

Table 28

Moderation Analysis for Ingroup Colourism, Racial-Ethnic Group, and Public Collective Self-Esteem

			95% CI		
Variable	Coeff	*SE*	*LL*	*UL*	*p*
Ingroup Colourism	-.208	.314	-.83	.42	.511
Racial-Ethnic Group	-.225	.698	-1.62	1.16	.748
Ingroup Colourism * Racial-Ethnic Group	-.376	.353	-1.08	.33	.289

Table 29.

Moderation Analysis for Ingroup Colourism, Racial-Ethnic Group, and Importance to Identity

Variable	Coeff	*SE*	95% CI		*p*
			LL	*UL*	
Ingroup Colourism	.027	.426	-.82	.88	.950
Racial-Ethnic Group	.099	.946	-1.79	1.98	.917
Ingroup Colourism * Racial-Ethnic Group	.369	.478	-.58	1.32	.442

Summary of Results

This study consisted of 10 research questions and 9 hypotheses. The first research question sought to explore the prevalence of ingroup colourism, assimilation to a nationalistic identity, and racial esteem within Trinidad. Results showed that although the overall score for ingroup colourism was not very high among the participants, some experiences of ingroup colourism, reflected in the items of the Everyday Colourism Scale, were experienced by nearly a third of participants such as being treated with less respect and viewed as less intelligent when compared to lighter-skinned counterparts. However, assimilation to a nationalistic identity, Membership Esteem and Private Collective Self-Esteem were prevalent. Importance to identity was fairly prevalent and Public Collective Self-Esteem was not as prevalent.

The first four hypotheses were tested using Independent Samples t-tests to determine if a significant difference occurred between the study variables (ingroup colourism, assimilation to a nationalistic identity, and the subscales of racial esteem) based on demographic variables (gender and racial-ethnic group). Hypothesis one, which was associated with RQ2, was not supported, indicating that there is no differential experience of ingroup colourism between males and females. Hypothesis two, which is associated with

RQ3, was not supported with no significant difference in experiences of perceived ingroup colourism between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians. Hypothesis three, which is associated with RQ4, was partially supported as Afro Trinidadians' sense of racial esteem was significantly higher than Indo Trinidadians in terms of Membership Esteem and Importance to Identity, whereas Indo Trinidadians had significantly higher Public Collective Self-Esteem than Afro Trinidadians. However, there was no significant difference between the groups concerning Private Collective Self-Esteem. Although Indo Trinidadians reported higher assimilation to a nationalistic identity than Afro Trinidadians, this was not found to be statistically significant, therefore the fourth hypothesis, which is associated with RQ5 was not supported.

The fifth hypothesis, which focused on the ability of ingroup colourism to predict racial esteem was tested by regression analyses on the different subscales of racial esteem. The hypothesis, associated with RQ6, was partially supported with findings showing that experiences of perceived ingroup colourism predict Private Collective Self-Esteem and Public Collective Self-Esteem, thus indicating that variance in these domains of racial esteem can be explained by ingroup colourism. However, ingroup colourism was not found to predict Membership Esteem and Importance to Identity.

To Hypothesis six, which is associated with RQ7, a moderation analysis was conducted to investigate whether assimilation to a nationalistic identity moderated the relationship between experiences of perceived ingroup colourism and the domains of racial esteem. Results found that the hypothesis was only partially supported, where assimilation to a nationalistic identity positively moderated the relationship between ingroup colourism and Public Collective Self-Esteem. Hypothesis seven, which is associated with RQ7a, further built on the sixth hypothesis by focusing on whether the moderating role of assimilation to nationalistic identity depended on racial-ethnic group. It was tested by conducting a

moderated moderation analysis through PROCESS Macro. Findings showed that the hypothesis was not supported.

The final two hypotheses, which are associated with RQ8 and RQ9 respectively, focused on the moderating role of demographic variables on the relationship between experiences of perceived ingroup colourism and racial esteem. They were tested using moderation analysis with a dichotomous moderator. Hypothesis eight was not supported with gender not functioning as a moderator. Hypothesis nine was also not supported with racial-ethnic group not functioning as a moderator.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Very few studies on colourism have applied the Social Identity Theory to research how colourism affects intragroup dynamics within racial-ethnic groups. This study contributes to the growing knowledge on this topic by investigating how experiences of perceived ingroup colourism, as a form of acceptance threat, impact collective self-esteem, i.e. racial esteem among Afro and Indo Trinidadians. To further investigate how racial-ethnic group intragroup dynamics are affected by ingroup colourism, this study also accounts for the moderating role of assimilation to a nationalistic identity as a buffer between experiences of perceived ingroup colourism and racial esteem. This study also contributed to the expansion of colourism research into the under-researched English-speaking Caribbean by focusing on the Caribbean island of Trinidad and comparing the variables of interest based on gender and racial-ethnic group.

The findings of this study, which included 86 Trinidadian university students, documented that ingroup colourism does function as an indicator of some of the domains of racial esteem, including Private Collective Self-Esteem and Public Collective Self-Esteem. Assimilation to a nationalistic identity was documented to significantly affect the relationship between experiences of perceived ingroup colourism and one domain of racial esteem, Public Collective Self-Esteem. Furthermore, group differences on the main variables of interest to the study were also documented.

This chapter of the dissertation presents key findings of the study, as well as practical implications for these findings. Limitations and strengths, plus, suggestions and recommendations for future research are also presented.

Key Findings

Prevalence of Study Variables among Afro and Indo Trinidadians

Since this study was the first of its kind to be conducted among a Trinidadian population, one of the research objectives of this study was to explore the prevalence of experiences of ingroup colourism, assimilation to a nationalistic identity, and racial esteem among Trinidadians. The current study found that experiences of perceived ingroup colourism was fairly prevalent among Afro and Indo Trinidadians with 30.3% reporting being treated with less respect compared to their lighter-skinned counterparts, 32.5% reported being viewed as less intelligent than their lighter-skinned counterparts, 41.9% were perceived as less affluent. However, the overall mean score was 1.83 compared to the mean scores of 1.99 and 2.06 obtained by Craddock et al. (2023b) while studying ingroup colourism in the UK.

It also found that assimilation to a nationalistic identity was prevalent with a total mean score of 5.01 which is higher than the score of 4.92 obtained by Worrell et al. (2017) with an American sample. In terms of racial esteem, Membership Esteem was prevalent; Private Collective Self-Esteem was prevalent; Public Collective Self-Esteem was not as prevalent; and Importance to Identity was fairly prevalent. The only merely comparative studies that measure racial esteem and colourism include David and Okazaki (2006), and Utsey et al. (2015) who both studied internalized colonial mentality and collective self-esteem among a Ghanian and Filipino American sample respectively. However, rather than reporting the prevalence of collective self-esteem scores they reported the correlation scores between the variables.

Differences in Experiences of Ingroup Colourism by Gender and Racial-Ethnic Group

Research has focused on the differential experiences of colourism between men and women. Therefore, this study sought to expand the literature by assessing whether the experiences of perceived ingroup colourism differed between men and women. Another

objective was to determine whether a difference existed between Afro and Indo Trinidadians, who represent the country's co-majority racial-ethnic groups, concerning experiences of perceived ingroup colourism.

Experiences of ingroup colourism and gender. Studies have discussed the gendered experiences of colourism, where colourism plays a more pivotal role in the lives of women when compared to men (e.g. Hunter, 2005; Lemi and Brown, 2020). Therefore, this study expected to find higher incidences of experiences of perceived ingroup colourism among females than males, especially as some of the prompts of the Everyday Colourism Scale incorporate aspects of colourism that have been documented to uniquely affect women such as perception of attractiveness and finding a partner. However, although ingroup colourism scores were higher among women than men, the finding was not statistically significant. Craddock et al. (2023b) also found a statistically insignificant difference between the ECS scores of men and women. A sampling error with respect to the underrepresentation of males in the sample of this current may have contributed to this statistically insignificant finding due to having low power.

All things considered, another factor may also be responsible for this result since Craddock et al.'s (2023b) analysis also established an insignificant difference between men and women with a much larger sample size. Assari and Caldwell (2017) found that dark-skinned Black Caribbean boys perceived more discrimination compared to dark-skinned Black Caribbean girls due to factors such as threat-based discrimination. Some of the prompts of the ECS speak to experiences of threat-based discrimination, such as being perceived as more aggressive and threatening by one's racial-ethnic group compared to lighter-skinned members of one's racial-ethnic group, which may affect men more than women based on Assari and Caldwell's (2017) findings. Therefore, it is possible that although ingroup colourism may be experienced differently between men (threat-based discrimination) and

women (perception of attractiveness), the rate at which they experience ingroup colourism may be similar, hence, the insignificant difference between the two groups without one group experiencing it more than the other.

Experiences of ingroup colourism and racial-ethnic group. This study was innovative in terms of measuring the difference in experiences of perceived ingroup colourism between Trinidad's co-majority racial-ethnic groups. However, there was no statistically significant difference between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians compared to Craddock et al. (2023b) who found a statistically significant difference between Black and South Asian participants in the UK. It was hypothesized that experiences of perceived ingroup colourism would differ between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians since there are cultural differences between the two groups. However, the historical development of colourist ideals in the cultural influences of the West and East were similar in terms of the role of European colonization and assimilation to white supremacy, where lighter skin tones were favoured over darker skin tones in both Western and Eastern cultures (Bettache, 2020; Charles, 2021; Dixon & Telles, 2017; Hall, 2010; Jablonski, 2012; Keith & Monroe, 2016; Lalrinawmi & Kaparwan, 2022; Mishra, 2015; Vaid, 2009). Therefore, although there are cultural differences between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians, the experiences of ingroup colourism may be experienced comparably between the two groups due to shared history of European colonisation and assimilation to white supremacy. Furthermore, the two cultures may also endorse the conceptualisation of an actual prototypicality, ideal prototypicality, and ought prototypicality based on skin tone just like their African American (Alexander & Carter, 2022; Brown et al., 2023; Leath et al., 2023; Maddox, 2004; Uzogara & Jackson, 2016; Wilder & Cain, 2011) and East Indian (Sims & Hirudayaraj, 2016) counterparts. These factors may have contributed to the insignificant difference in experiences of perceived ingroup colourism between Afro and Indo Trinidadians. However,

the underrepresentation of Indo Trinidadians in the sample may also be responsible for this finding since their low sample size may indicate low power.

Differences in Racial Esteem by Racial-Ethnic Group

Since racial esteem had not been studied using a Trinidadian population, this study was innovative in examining whether there was a difference in the domains of racial esteem between Afro and Indo Trinidadians.

There was no difference between Afro and Indo Trinidadians regarding Private Collective Self-Esteem, thus, suggesting that members of both groups similarly favourably regard their respective racial-ethnic group. In terms of Membership Esteem, which refers to how worthy participants perceive themselves as members of their racial-ethnic group, and Importance to Identity, which refers to the centrality of racial-ethnic group to one's self-concept, Afro Trinidadians had statistically significant higher scores compared to Indo Trinidadians. Regarding Public Collective Self-Esteem, which refers to the individual's perception of how favourably others judge their racial-ethnic group, Indo Trinidadians had statistically significant higher scores than Afro Trinidadians. The explanations for these differences are not accounted for in the literature, however, it is speculated that the rise in the political and economic power of Indo Trinidadians has created ethnic anxieties in Trinidad (Ramcharitar, 2021), and this may have contributed to these differences. Historically, Indo Trinidadians were othered in Trinidadian society and were considered the agricultural lower class. However, over time, this population grew in size and became more integrated into Trinidadian society, while making advances in education, politics, and economics. These positive advancements may be responsible for the higher Public Collective Self-Esteem of Indo Trinidadians. Ramcharitar (2021) speculated that this change is also responsible for strong ties to Afrocentrism and Pan Africanism among Afro Trinidadians as a type of "retributive fuel" (p.3767) against Indo Trinidadian success, hence the higher Membership

Esteem and Importance to Identity among Afro Trinidadians. However, this may be contested by the fact that Africanism was already prominent in Trinidad's culture and politics prior to the changes in Indo Trinidadians' status. Further research is needed to understand why these differences occurred.

Differences in Experiences of Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity by Racial-Ethnic Group

As discussed in the literature review, older research indicated that Indo Trinidadians faced greater difficulty assimilating to a national Trinidadian identity compared to their Afro Trinidadian counterparts due to reasons such as prioritising the maintenance of Indian purity, and the interference of racial-ethnic tension between Afro and Indo Trinidadians (Mahabir, 1996; Munasinghe, 2001; Premdas, 2002). This study investigated whether this sentiment was still present among a younger generation, who grew up in a Trinidad that differed from the Trinidad of yesteryear discussed in older studies, by examining whether there was significant difference between Afro and Indo Trinidadians in assimilating to a nationalistic identity.

Interestingly, Indo Trinidadians had somewhat higher assimilation scores than Afro Trinidadians, however, the difference was not statistically significant. This finding reveals that there is no difference in assimilating to a nationalistic identity over an ethno-nationalistic identity between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians, thus signifying that this generational cohort perceives a more inclusive Trinidadian identity rather than in the past where a national identity was viewed as predominantly Afrocentric. Changes in the social, political, and cultural landscapes of Trinidad may have contributed to this, where greater representation of the country's different racial ethnicities has been developed in light of Trinidad prioritising its image as a "callaloo nation."

However, a statistically significant difference may have been found if the sample size was larger and the discrepancy between the number of Afro Trinidadian participants and Indo Trinidadian participants was smaller.

The Predicting Role of Ingroup Colourism

This study is innovative concerning the aim of investigating the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem. Results of a linear regression indicated that variance in the Private Collective Self-Esteem and Public Collective Self-Esteem subscales of racial esteem can be explained by experiences of perceived ingroup colourism. The findings partially supported the hypothesis of ingroup colourism predicting racial esteem.

An inverse relationship was found where increases in the experiences of perceived ingroup colourism was related to decreases in Private Collective Self-Esteem and Public Collective Self-Esteem. This means that favourable judgement of one's racial ethnic group and perception of others' favourable judgement of one's racial ethnic group decreases when ingroup colourism is experienced. Qualitative studies (such as Wilder and Cain, 2011) provide insight into this finding where dark-skinned persons who experienced ingroup colourism discussed the sense of betrayal that accompanies ingroup colourism and how that negatively impacts their perception of and attachment to their racial-ethnic group. According to Social Identity Theory, an ingroup is supposed to provide the individual with a sense of belonging and identity. Therefore, when this group commits intragroup rejection against the individual, it is conceivable that one of the responses to this acceptance threat is that of weakening their impression of their ingroup. The findings of this study suggest that ingroup colourism functions as a form of acceptance threat where participants responded with lower Private Collective Self-Esteem. In terms of ingroup colourism negatively predicting Public Collective Self-Esteem, the reason for this finding may be attributed to the shame that the individual may experience when those outside their ingroup are made aware of the

disfunction of their ingroup pertaining to its perpetration of intragroup rejection. This sense of division may be considered embarrassing and further ignites others to perceive one's ingroup even less favourably and target one's ingroup with outgroup derogation. More research is needed to explain this relationship.

The Moderating Role of Assimilation to a Nationalistic Identity and Racial-Ethnic Group

When analysed as a predictor of racial esteem, assimilation to a nationalistic identity was found to be significantly negatively associated with Importance to Identity. This finding signifies that as choosing Trinidadian as a descriptor of one's identity increases the importance of one's racial ethnic identity to one's self-concept decreases. This implies that racial-ethnic identity loses its influence on identity in lieu of a nationalistic identity when assimilation takes place. Furthermore, as Trinidad further identifies itself as "callaloo nation," which prides itself on its inclusive racial diversity, Trinidadians may perceive less discrepancy between their racial-ethnic identity and their national identity, such as the case with Douglas (England, 2008; Franco et al., 2017).

The interaction between assimilation to a nationalistic identity and experiences of ingroup colourism was found to significantly moderate the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and Public Collective Self-Esteem. Contrary to the assumption that assimilation to a nationalistic identity, at higher levels, would act as a buffer and weaken the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem, results showed that higher levels of assimilation strengthened the relationship between the variables. It was assumed that participants who reported higher levels of assimilation to a nationalistic identity would experience a weaker effect of ingroup colourism on racial esteem as assimilation was conceived as a proxy for disassociation from one's racial-ethnic group, which Branscombe et al. (1999) considered as one of the responses to acceptance threat. However, findings

indicated that participants with higher levels of assimilation experienced a greater effect of ingroup colourism on racial esteem, in terms of Public Collective Self-Esteem.

As was previously speculated, shame of the disfunction exhibited by one's racial-ethnic group through its practice of intragroup marginalization based on skin tone may explain the statistically significant inverse relationship between ingroup colourism and Public Collective Self-Esteem, where more experiences of perceived ingroup colourism were related to decreased perception of others' positive evaluation of one's racial-ethnic group. It is possible that high assimilation to a nationalistic identity (which indicates lower identification with one's racial-ethnic group) strengthens the relationship between experiences of perceived ingroup colourism and Public Collective Self-Esteem on account of giving the individual more freedom to criticise and experience negative feelings toward their racial-ethnic group. Owing to the fact that participants were lowly identified with their racial-ethnic group, they were more prone to feeling ashamed of their racial-ethnic group instead of engaging in social creativity efforts to protect the image of their ingroup. Social Identity Theory proposes that that social creativity is the means through which the individual recontextualises their perception of their ingroup, in order to uphold ingroup favouritism when comparing against their outgroup (Bezouw et al., 2021). This recontextualization is motivated by the individual's need to enhance and protect the self-image through the collective identity (Bezouw et al., 2021). Due to the low identification with racial ethnic group, through high assimilation to a nationalistic identity, participants may have felt less pressure to engage in social creativity, allowing them to feel ashamed and embarrassed of their ingroup. Therefore, high assimilation to a nationalistic identity potentially lowers the individual's urge to engage in social creativity, thus, allowing feelings of resentment and shame, regarding perpetration of ingroup colourism, toward one's racial-ethnic ingroup, resulting in lower Public Collective Self-Esteem.

A three-way interaction effect of ingroup colourism, assimilation, and racial-ethnic group was not found such that the relationship between experiences of ingroup colourism and racial esteem was not moderated by assimilation to a nationalistic identity depending on racial-ethnic group. It was hypothesized that the moderating effect of assimilation to a nationalistic identity would depend on racial-ethnic group since studies such as Ballengee (2019), Mahabir (1996) Munasinghe (2001), and Premdas (2002) concluded that assimilation to a Trinidadian identity was experienced differently between Afro and Indo Trinidadians. However, results of this study found that there was no significant difference in assimilation to a nationalistic identity between Afro and Indo Trinidadians among young and emerging adults. Therefore, this result contributed to the insignificant moderated moderation result that considered the conditional effect of racial-ethnic group.

Furthermore, it must be noted that there was considerable discrepancy between the number of Afro Trinidadian participants and Indo Trinidadian participants where Indo Trinidadians were underrepresented, this may have contributed to the statistically insignificant result.

The Moderating Role of Sociodemographic Variables

It was important to the study to investigate the moderating role of gender and racial-ethnic group on the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem, since it also investigated if there were significant differences in the study variables based on gender and racial-ethnic group. The hypotheses were not supported where neither gender nor racial-ethnic group moderated the relationship between experiences of perceived ingroup colourism and the domains of racial esteem.

Studies such as Alexander and Carter (2022), Hall (2017), Hill (2002), Jha and Adelman (2009), and Monk (2021) discuss the moderating effect of gender in colourism where the impacts and implications of colourism are more intensified for women than men,

especially within the African American and Indian communities. Therefore, it was hypothesized that the relationship between experiences of perceived ingroup colourism and racial esteem would be stronger for females and weaker for males. However, the moderating effect of gender was not statistically significant. The underrepresentation of males in the study may be responsible for this insignificant result since moderation effects are usually small and, therefore, can only be detected in bigger sample sizes.

It was hypothesized that racial-ethnic group would moderate the relationship between experiences of perceived ingroup colourism and racial esteem because distinct strands of colourism exist across different cultures (Dixon & Teller, 2017). Therefore, it was assumed that perceived differences in racial-ethnic experiences and expressions of colourism between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians would interact with ingroup colourism to predict the different domains of racial esteem. However, the interaction term was not statistically significant for any domain of racial esteem. Perhaps this result could be explained by the role of assimilation to nationalistic identity. Since there was no statistically significant difference in assimilation to a nationalistic identity between Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians (suggesting that it is experienced similarly between the two groups), while the overall mean score for the sample indicated high assimilation, this possibly implies that cultural differences between Afro and Indo Trinidadians are minimized in favour of a collectively nationalistic culture. This implication suggests that the relationship between experiences of perceived ingroup colourism and racial esteem does not vary depending on the different categories of racial-ethnic group due to both groups conforming to a national culture, which possibly diminishes the cultural differences between the two groups.

An additional factor that may also be responsible for the insignificant moderating effect of racial-ethnic group is the sample composition. Indo Trinidadians were

underrepresented in the study, therefore, making it difficult to detect whether or not the moderating effect existed.

Practical Implications

Trinidad prides itself as a "calloo nation" celebrating its racial-ethnic diversity, yet cultural competence is not prioritised in the delivery of mental health care services. The results of this study advocate for the prioritisation of cultural competence as findings indicated that although Afro and Indo Trinidadians may experience factors related to mental wellbeing similarly, such as assimilation to a nationalistic identity and ingroup colourism, there is also some variation in how they experience other factors such as racial esteem. Cultural competence is needed among mental health professionals in Trinidad so that they may better understand and serve their clients' needs based on racial-ethnic cultural contexts. Furthermore, lack of cultural competence may contribute to the jeopardization of the supportive environments that mental health professionals are supposed to create for their clients, in such a way where their experiences of ingroup colourism are not validated as mental health practitioners and psychologists may lack the awareness to even assess for these experiences. Lack of cultural competence may also compromise patients' willingness to openly discuss their experiences of ingroup colourism with mental health professionals given how taboo the topic may be in some cultural communities, paired with mental health professionals' inability to approach the topic with the necessary cultural sensitivity that cultural competence would equip them with.

The findings of the study indicate the need for freedom to discuss experiences of perceived ingroup colourism as results showed that these experiences are related to lower Private Collective Self-Esteem, and lower Public Collective Self-Esteem among Afro and Indo Trinidadians. Racial pride and racial esteem are associated with positive psychological outcomes, for example, Mandara et al. (2009) found that among African American

adolescents, the development of racial pride was related to fewer mental health issues symptoms. Therefore, ingroup colourism may pose a threat the mental wellbeing of Afro and Indo Trinidadians since findings suggested that it affected racial esteem. Given this threat, it is recommended that further research on and awareness of ingroup colourism, and its impact on racial esteem and mental health, may be developed to assist mental health professionals in their intervention efforts when providing counselling and treatment.

Since there is no Trinidadian equivalent, to the author's knowledge, to the American Psychological Association's *Guidelines for Providers of Psychological Services to Ethnic, Linguistic, and Culturally Diverse Populations* where the delivery of mental health care and psychology-related services is specifically informed by racial-ethnic factors, adoption of these guidelines could assist in the development of cultural competence among Trinidadian mental health care practitioners and psychologists. Furthermore, these guidelines can help inform the treatment of clients whose racial esteem was affected by experiences of ingroup colourism.

One of the guidelines highlighted in *Guidelines for Providers of Psychological Services to Ethnic, Linguistic, and Culturally Diverse Populations* calls attention to the need of mental health practitioners and psychologists to identify resources in the larger racial-ethnic community to clients so that they may seek group level support from their respective communities. This is encouraged since group solidarity and cohesiveness serve as protective factors against poor psychological outcomes for members of the group because the individual may be able to embrace the group's self-enhancing values, attitudes, and structures (Brondolo et al., 2009; Meyer, 2003). When specifically looking at racial identity status and racial esteem, in terms of identifying and interacting with one's racial group, they have been linked to positive psychological outcomes because racial-ethnic groups offer social protection against the damaging effects of racism on mental and physical health by offering social

support which acts as a buffer between racism and its collateral mental and physical health effects (Brondolo et al., 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Rivas-Drake, 2021; Wakefield & Hudley, 2007; White & Wanless, 2019). Given these positive outcomes, psychologists and mental health practitioners may introduce seeking group level resources to their ethnically diverse clients as part of their treatment. However, the findings of this study may advise that mental health service providers take precautionary measures before defaulting to this recommendation.

Based on the findings, psychologists and practitioners should look into whether their clients' access to racial-ethnic group-level resources are compromised. Results for this study suggested that ingroup colourism negatively impacts sense of racial esteem, in the matter of Private Collective Self-Esteem and Public Collective Self-Esteem, among Afro and Indo Trinidadians. Experiences of perceived ingroup colourism act as a form of acceptance threat in which the response to this threat is weakening the impression of the ingroup, hence the lowered Private and Public Collective Self-Esteem scores. Therefore, group level resources may not be as effective if experiences of perceived ingroup colourism have occurred, since intragroup rejection is tied to negative outcomes (Mata-Greve & Torres, 2019). With the intention of delivering effective care and treatment, psychologists and practitioners need to address the issue of ingroup colourism especially among university students. Research has discussed the positive advantages that college students experience when they have a positive racial identity and a high sense of racial esteem (such as academic performance, and psychological wellbeing) (Dugan et al., 2012; Kodama & Dugan, 2020; Oxendine et al., 2020). Students who have been subjected to ingroup colourism should also be able to experience these advantages despite ingroup prejudice against their skin tone. Therefore, practitioners in university counselling centres should develop practices that effectively work with students who have experienced ingroup colourism and how they may reconcile this

intragroup rejection with access to group level resources. Further research is needed on the development of therapeutic intervention models that address ingroup rejection and restoring intragroup connections.

Study Limitations and Strengths

One of the limitations of this study concerns two of the instruments used in the study, the CERIS-A (2017) and the ECS (2023), which were only recently developed. Although they were created to be used across various cultures and races/ethnicities, they have not yet been widely implemented (especially when compared to the CSE-R) to determine their adaptability and usability in different contexts. By not conducting a pilot test using the instruments with an Afro and Indo Trinidadian sample, the applicability and suitability of these instruments to the main study can be questioned. However, the rigorous factor analyses, reliability, and validity testing performed by the authors who constructed these instruments inspired confidence in the practicality of their use in this study (Craddock et al. 2023b; Worrell et al., 2017).

The instrumentation also presented another limitation, in terms of instigating the possibility of social desirability bias. In covering the phenomenon of social identity threat, Branscombe et al. (1999) elucidated on how members of groups engage in group protecting evaluations and behaviours when the group itself, or one's acceptance into the group, is threatened. Participants may have been susceptible to protecting their racial-ethnic groups based on the implications of the questions asked in the scale measuring ingroup colourism. In order to protect their racial-ethnic group, participants may have been disposed to underreporting negative experiences of ingroup colourism within their racial-ethnic group to a perceived outsider (the researcher).

Another limitation to this study was the absence of a measure that identified participants' skin tone. The ECS does not differentiate between the experiences of dark-

skinned respondents versus medium-skinned respondents. The literature discusses differential experiences of colourism based on degree of skin tone. However, when Craddock et al. (2023b) conducted analyses to explore and establish the factor structure of the ECS and test its internal consistency, as well as, its test-retest stability, they found that self-reported skin shade was significantly correlated with the ingroup colourism ECS scores. They also found that "people with self-reported dark skin reported more frequent experiences of colourism," (p. 2257) which is consistent with the literature. Furthermore, when they confirmed the factor structure of the ECS and the predictive validity of the scale, and included skin shade as a covariate, they found that the ECS worked as a better predictor of racism and health outcomes than skin shade. Thus, evidencing the pertinence of ingroup colourism as a more sufficient independent variable than skin shade for this study.

The ECS does not include the other phenotypically-based discriminations and prejudices that are usually associated with colourism within the Black community such as hair texture and featurism. However, in order to maintain its applicability and transferability across different racial-ethnic groups and cultures, Craddock et al. (2023b) had to exclude phenotypic factors that were narrowly specific to one group over another.

In terms of analytical limitations, a negative overall adjusted R^2 was found when conducting the OLS regression of ingroup colourism on racial esteem which indicates that the regression did not perform well (Chicco et al., 2021). A negative R-squared value indicates that "either the intercept or the slope are constrained so that the "best-fit" line (given the constraint) fits worse than a horizontal line" (Chicco, et al., 2021, p.8).

Other limitations included that although the study tested the predictive value of ingroup colourism, it used a cross-sectional design, therefore, limiting the assumption of causality. Selection bias was introduced to the study through the use of convenience sampling. The limited analytical sample size presents a significant limitation with respect to

the results of the power analysis in determining a suitable sample size. However, in changing the effect size in the power analysis, the appropriate sample size decreases and the sample size of 86 becomes suitable for a moderate effect size. Lastly, there was an overrepresentation of Afro Trinidadians and females in the sample compared to Indo Trinidadians and males respectively which may have affected the statistical significance scores of the different analyses that used these factors as variables. However, since the analytical sample size was less than 100, the data were not weighted since it would have possibly generated inaccurate results (Thomas, 2017).

Despite these limitations, the study featured several strengths. One of its strengths included the innovation of this study by using experiences of perceived ingroup colourism as a predictor variable where the majority of studies have focused on skin tone preferences, skin tone satisfaction, internalized colourism, and internalized colonial mentality as predictors within the context of racial esteem and the relationship between the individual and their racial-ethnic group. This study is also innovative in terms of expanding the literature on colourism in the English-speaking Caribbean, where the study of colourism is considerably sparse. Lastly, this study is also considered as innovative since there is a limited understanding of how intragroup rejection is experienced and dealt with (Sanchez et al., 2012). This study contributes to the literature on Social Identity Theory and Social Identity Threat by examining ingroup colourism as a means of intragroup rejection and coping through assimilation to a nationalistic identity.

This study focused on assimilation to a nationalistic identity as a main variable of interest. Since Trinidad is considered a relatively young country, only gaining its independence in 1962, the different generations existing in Trinidad may have varying perceptions and conceptions of a Trinidadian national identity. To account for this variance, a strength of this study is that it focused exclusively on the experiences of young and emerging

adults, who share a common experience regarding nationhood and nationalistic identity in Trinidad.

Although the experiences of university students may not be generalizable to all young and emerging adults in Trinidad, research has discussed the importance of racial esteem and positive racial identity development among college students and youths (Dugan et al., 2012; Kodama & Dugan, 2020; Oxendine et al., 2020; Umaña-Taylor & Rivas-Drake, 2021; Wakefield & Hudley, 2007; White & Wanless, 2019). Therefore, the implications of this study may benefit Trinidadian students' university experiences by advocating that university counselling centres learn how to intervene in the compromising effect that ingroup colourism has on racial esteem. Resources from university counselling centres can then be distributed to racial-ethnic based campus clubs and organizations to help improve the safe space and welcoming environment that are expected of these groups by the students who seek them. Furthermore, by focusing solely on university students, this study better captures experiences of perceived ingroup colourism, assimilation to a nationalistic identity, and racial esteem in ways that are distinctive of young and emerging adulthood.

Future Research

The findings of this study prompt the need for future research in certain areas. To further understand the experiences of perceived ingroup colourism and how it affects intragroup dynamics as a form of acceptance threat, future research should adopt a social ecological approach to account for the various contexts in which ingroup colourism is experienced. Craddock et al. (2023b), along with qualitative studies such as Wilder and Cain (2011), Haywood (2017), and Leath et al. (2023), noted that ingroup colourism is greatly experienced within a family setting, a school setting, and a community setting which are components of the individual's microsystem. Furthermore, ingroup colourism is also experienced through elements of other systems such as mass media in the exosystem. Social

norms in the macrosystem may shape and precipitate the individual's experience of ingroup colourism. The development of a psychometrically adequate instrument that targets the experiences of perceived ingroup colourism within the different systems, as opposed to a generalised other like in the ECS, may address the issue of underreporting ingroup colourism. The specificity of this instrument, in terms of identifying the various settings and contexts of the systems within the Social Ecological Model, may help quantify what has been reflected in qualitative findings on how ingroup colourism is experienced, which would allow for more accurate reporting of these experiences.

The differences between Afro and Indo Trinidadians were focused upon in this study, however, the Dougla experience of ingroup colourism, racial esteem, and assimilation to a nationalistic identity should be examined in future research. As discussed in the literature, although Douglas more rigidly identify as Dougla, racial identification with one of their racial heritages over another may also occur depending on their presenting phenotype and sense of acceptance, for example a Dougla with more Afrocentric features may identify more with their Afro Trinidadian heritage and consider Afro Trinidadians their racial-ethnic ingroup. Qualitative research should further explore the phenomenological experience of racial identification among Douglas to determine how it affects their conception of what constitutes their racial-ethnic ingroup. By gaining more insight into this phenomenon, a more nuanced understanding of how Douglas experience ingroup colourism, depending on racial context, can be captured. The ECS is insufficient in terms of addressing this layer of complexity for mixed-race individual.

Since this is the first study of its kind in terms of investigating the relationship between experiences of perceived ingroup colourism and racial esteem, and the moderating effect of assimilation to a nationalistic identity in the English-speaking Caribbean, future studies should replicate the current study in other English-speaking Caribbean islands to help

build the empiricism of the subject in the region, which has been widely excluded from the colourism research discourse. The study should also be replicated with other age groups. Assimilation to a nationalistic identity maybe perceived differently depending on generational experiences of nationhood and national identity. This study focused on young and emerging adults. It would be interesting for future studies to compare findings on the moderating effect of assimilation to a nationalistic identity between different generations. Afro Trinidadians and Indo Trinidadians comprise the majority of Trinidad's population, making them co-majority racial ethnic groups. This study should be replicated in countries where racial-ethnic identities are minoritized to examine how minoritization status affects experiences of perceived ingroup colourism, assimilation to a national identity, and racial esteem. Meyer (2003) defined minority stress as the additional stress that a minoritized individual experiences on account of their minority status. The Minority Stress Model posits that group level resources help to ameliorate experiences of minority stress (Meyer, 2003). Therefore, replicating this study among minoritized populations would help determine whether their access to group level resources is compromised due to intragroup rejection experienced as ingroup colourism. Replication of the study, with the inclusion of additional measures such as the Emotional Reactivity to Minority Stress scale (Zvolensky et al., 2024) and The Scale of Ethnic Experience (Malcarne et al., 2006), among racially minoritized groups would also provide insight into how assimilation to a nationalistic identity is affected by minoritization, as well as the impact of minoritization on racial esteem.

One of the assumptions of this study is that a sense of racial esteem had already been established among the participants. The literature points out that the development of a collective identity and a positive racial identity is a process that occurs over time, across different stages (Cross, 1991; Kim, 2012). It would be interesting for future studies to

investigate longitudinally whether experiences of ingroup colourism, as a form of acceptance threat, affects the development of a positive racial identity over time.

Future research should investigate the mediating pathways that are responsible for the differences in racial esteem between Afro and Indo Trinidadians. Furthermore, studies should explore pathways that explain why assimilation to a nationalistic identity strengthens the relationship between ingroup colourism and racial esteem rather than weaken it.

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Appendix A – Demographic Questionnaire

1. What is your age?
2. How do you identify your race/ethnicity?
    a. African descent
    b. Indian descent
    c. Dougla (Mixed African/Indian descent)
    d. European descent
    e. Chinese descent
    f. Amerindian descent
    g. Syrian, Lebanese, or Arab descent
    h. Mixed descent
    i. Other
3. Were you born in Trinidad (Yes/No)
4. In which country do you currently reside?
5. Please indicate your gender.
    a. Male
    b. Female
    c. Other (please specify):
6. In what country was your mother born?
7. In what country was your father born?
8. Please select your religious orientation.
    a. Roman Catholic
    b. Hindu
    c. Pentecostal/Evangelical/Full Gospel
    d. Baptist

e. Anglican

f. Islam

g. Seventh-Day Adventist

h. Presbyterian/Congregational

i. Jehovah's Witness

j. Other (please specify)

k. None

9. How would you describe your socioeconomic class?

a. Poverty level

b. Working class

c. Middle class

d. Upper middle class

e. Upper class

10. Your class standing can be best described as:

a. First Year Undergraduate Student

b. Second Year Undergraduate Student

c. Third Year Undergraduate Student

d. Fourth Year Undergraduate Student

e. Graduate Student

Appendix B – Everyday Colourism Scale

Thinking about how you perceive people of the same racialized/ethnic group treat you based on your skin shade, please respond to the following items using the scale below. For each item, please indicate to what extent you feel the experience is true for you.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always

Ingroup

Subtle Subscale (n = 10 items)

Because of my skin shade I feel….

1. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people treat me with less respect than they do other [insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people who have lighter skin.
2. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people treat me with greater suspicion than they do other [insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people who have lighter skin.
3. I receive poorer service from [insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people compared with other [insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people who have lighter skin.
4. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people avoid me in public spaces (e.g. on public transport or in the street) more than they do other [insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people who have lighter skin.

5. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people view me as more aggressive than they do other [insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people who have lighter skin.
6. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people view me as less trustworthy than they do other [insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people who have lighter skin.
7. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people view me as more threatening than they do other [insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people who have lighter skin.
8. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people view me as less intelligent than they do other [insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people who have lighter skin.
9. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people view me as less affluent than they do other [insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people who have lighter skin.
10. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people mistake me for someone in a service role (e.g. shop attendant, cleaner, nanny) more than they do other [insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people who have lighter skin.

Overt subscale (n = 6 items)

11. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people call me names about my skin shade.
12. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people insult me about my skin shade.
13. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people make fun of my skin shade.

14. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people make negative comments about the skin shade of people who have a similar skin shade to me.
15. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people tell me that I would be more attractive if I had lighter skin.
16. [Insert participant's racialized group/ethnicity] people tell me that it will be harder for me to find a partner.

Appendix C – Race-Specific Collective Self-Esteem Scale

INSTRUCTIONS: We are all members of different social groups or social categories. I would like you to consider your race/ethnicity (e.g., Afro Trinidadian, or Indo Trinidadian) in responding to the following statements. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; I am interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale from 1 to 7:

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I am a worthy member of my race/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I often regret that I belong to my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Overall, my racial/ethnic group is considered good by others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	Overall, my race/ethnicity has very little to do with how I feel about myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I feel I don't have much to offer to my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	In general, I'm glad to be a member of my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7.	Most people consider my racial/ethnic group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	I am a cooperative participant in the activities of my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	Overall, I often feel that my racial/ethnic group is not worthwhile.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	In general, others respect my race/ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	My race/ethnicity is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	I often feel I'm a useless member of my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	I feel good about the race/ethnicity I belong to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	In general, others think that my racial/ethnic group is unworthy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16.	In general, belonging to my race/ethnicity is an important part of my self image.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix D – Cross Ethnic-Racial Identity Scale – Adult (Assimilation Subscale)

Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings with regard to the ethnic/racial group that you identify with, using the 7-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time. To ensure that your answers can be used, please respond to the statements as written, and indicate your response by selecting the circle of your choice.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Life in Trinidad is good for me.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I think of myself primarily as a Trinidadian, and seldom as a member of an ethnic or racial group.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am a Trinidadian.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be “Trinidadian,” and not a specific ethnic/racial group.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

If I had to put myself into categories, first I would say I am a Trinidadian, and second I am a member of a racial or ethnic group.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○