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Exploring the Link Between Stereotypic Images and
Intimate Partner Violence in the African-American
Community

presented by

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of the requirements for

Master of Arts Psychology
degree in

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Craig Sullivan".

Major professor

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EXPLORING THE LINK BETWEEN STEREOTYPIC IMAGES AND INTIMATE
. PARTNER VIOLENCE IN THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

By

Tameka L. Gillum

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

Psychology

2000

ABSTRACT

EXPLORING THE LINK BETWEEN STEREOTYPIC IMAGES AND INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

By

Tameka L. Gillum

This study was an exploratory investigation of the link between stereotypic images of African-American women and intimate partner violence in the African-American community. Researchers have suggested that there may be a link between African-American men's perceptions of African-American women as jezebels and matriarchs and intimate partner violence committed against them. A community-based sample of 221 African-American men was used to first examine whether African-American men actually endorsed these stereotypic images of African-American women and second, to explore whether a belief in these images related to a belief that it is justified to use violence against an intimate partner. The results of this study indicate that a large percent of African-American men did endorse the stereotypic images of African-American women as matriarchs and jezebels and that this endorsement did positively relate to justification of violence against women.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are several people that I wish to thank for their assistance in the completion of this project. First and foremost I would like to thank my Lord and Savior for giving me the strength, discipline, wisdom, and patience to complete this project.

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Cris Sullivan for her wisdom, guidance, and support throughout this process. I thank her for reading numerous drafts of my work in a timely manner, providing constructive feedback towards the completion of this final product and taking the time to meet with me regularly to discuss this process.

I would also like to thank my committee members. Dr. Deborah I. Bybee I thank for her statistical expertise, providing very helpful feedback and suggestions on various parts of this research. I wish to thank Dr. Linda Jackson for her expertise in the area of stereotype research. Dr. Pennie Foster-Fishman, I thank for the special assistance and support she extended. I would also like to extend a special thanks to Dr. Oliver J. Williams from the University of Minnesota for his expertise in the area of intimate partner violence in the African-American community

and taking the time to attend committee meetings both via telephone and in person.

I wish to thank my recruiters, Andre and Sean for all their hard work in recruiting participants for this research. I appreciate the time, effort, patience, and commitment that you put into this process as well as your close adherence to the research procedures.

Last but certainly not least I would like to thank my husband Andre for his never-ending support and encouragement throughout this endeavor. In addition to the many hours he put into recruitment the love, patience, and understanding that he demonstrated were a comfort and source of strength throughout the this highly-demanding process.

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Introduction

Domestic violence is a pervasive problem in our society. According to recent FBI statistics a woman is battered every nine seconds and four women a day are killed by their intimate partners. It is a problem that cuts across all races, cultures and social classes (Coley & Beckett, 1988; Williams, 1993; Williams, 1994). It is an issue that is thousands of years old but it was only in the 1970's that our country began to address this problem (Coley & Beckett, 1988; Taylor & Hammond, 1987). Many researchers have studied different aspects of this issue resulting in numerous published articles and books. But there is one aspect that has been neglected in this literature. The literature on battered women often overlooks the experiences of women of color (Asbury, 1987; Hampton, 1989; Harrison & Esqueda, 1999).

Relatively little empirical community-based research has investigated ethnic differences and similarities in violence against women in U.S. sub-populations (Sorenson, 1996). Researchers have argued that it is important to examine the significance of race and culture in order to understand and respond appropriately to domestic violence and to develop culturally appropriate interventions (Brice-Baker, 1994; Coley & Beckett, 1988; Sorenson, 1996; Uzzell

& Peebles-Wilkins 1989; Williams, 1992; Williams, 1993; Williams, 1994a; Williams, 1994b). With this in mind, any research that contributes to our knowledge of racial and cultural differences and similarities is of great value in helping us to better understand and work more successfully toward eliminating the problem of domestic abuse. The current study was designed to (1) examine African American men's views of African American women, and (2) examine whether acceptance of the use of violence against African American women relates to stereotypic images of them.

The existing literature on spouse abuse in the African American community is sparse (Williams, 1992; Williams, 1993; Harrison & Esqueda, 1999). Many researchers have been critical of the mainstream spouse abuse literature's lack of attention to issues that are unique to African Americans (Asbury, 1987; Coley & Beckett, 1988; Hampton, 1989; Hampton, Gelles & Harrop, 1989; Hampton & Gelles, 1994). Limited publications have identified some of the factors that contribute to domestic violence in African American relationships (Asbury, 1987; Brown, 1985; Cazenave & Straus, 1979; Hampton, 1980; Hampton, 1989; Hine, 1989). A few authors have identified a culturally unique factor that may contribute to violence in interpersonal relationships between African Americans. This factor is the existence of

stereotypic images of African American women (Asbury, 1987; Brice-Baker, 1994; Collins, 1991). The two most prevalent stereotypes of African-American women that have been theoretically linked to negative relationships between African-American men and women are the matriarch and jezebel stereotypes.

The matriarch is defined as a woman who is overly aggressive, unfeminine, and who emasculates black men (West, 1995, Collins, 1991). The media has often depicted the matriarch as a physically large woman of brown or dark brown complexion whose primary role is to emasculate African American men with frequent verbal assaults, which are conducted in a loud, animated, verbose fashion (Jewell, 1993).

The jezebel is defined as a whore, sexually aggressive, sexually promiscuous, and easily sexually aroused (West, 1995, Collins, 1991). This image originated during slavery when white slave owners exercised almost complete control over Black women's sexuality and reproduction (Jewel, 1993). One of the most prevalent images of antebellum America, she was a person governed almost entirely by her libido. She was in every way the counterimage of the mid-nineteenth-century ideal of the Victorian lady (White, 1985). The media has often depicted

the jezebel as a mixed race woman with more European features who has functioned primarily in the role of a seductive, hypersexual, exploiter of men's weaknesses (Jewel, 1993).

Stereotypic images have the potential to negatively impact social relationships. Bethea (1995), Dickson (1993) and Willis (1989) have all identified stereotypes as destructive elements in African American interpersonal relationships, contributing to problems in the African American family. It is important that we examine the degree to which African American men may hold these stereotypes because it may have a great impact on how African American men perceive and interact with African American women, therefore affecting the relationships African American men and women have with each other.

Belief in these stereotypes by African American men may influence domestic abuse against African American women. Men who believe that their partners are trying to emasculate them or who see women as sexually promiscuous may become angered by this. As a result they may inappropriately act out in violent ways in an attempt to control the situation. Even just the perception that the women are behaving in this manner may lead to violence. It may also cause victim blaming by fostering a belief that

these women are at fault, that they provoke their husbands to abuse them (Brice-Baker, 1994).

Acceptance of a stereotype not only influences the way in which information is encoded and interpreted about members of a categorized group, but also influences the behavior of both the perceiver and the stereotyped individual. Stereotypes influence information processing and subsequently affect perceptions and interactions with members of stereotyped groups, having important implications for one's perception of and behavior toward these group members (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994).

Stereotypes also influence power dynamics in personal interactions (West, 1995). This issue of power is a very important one when addressing intimate partner violence. When males feel that they are becoming powerless, violence or the threat of violence have been used by some to maintain power in the family (Campbell, 1981, Shepard & Pence, 1988). Clinically based literature has strongly supported the idea that men's power and control issues underlie the expression and direction of violence towards women (Koss et. al., 1994).

How does this all relate to the African American community? If an African American male perceives African American women to be matriarchs and/or jezebels, if he

believes "his woman" is attempting to emasculate him or is sexually promiscuous, he may feel as though he is powerless and that the only way to regain that power is to be physically abusive. In the case of the matriarch, he may feel as though he does not have control over her aggressiveness, her words and/or her attitude. In the case of the jezebel, he may feel as though he does not have sexual control over his partner. Therefore, the perceptions of African American women that these stereotypes may have fostered, along with feelings of powerlessness, may lead some African-American men to respond with violence against their partners.

Although scholars have theorized about the power of stereotypes in general, until this study there was no research that attempted to assess the extent to which African American men may hold these stereotypic views of African American women, none that empirically examined the impact of these stereotypes on African American relationships, and none that examined a link between African American men's belief in stereotypes and abuse of African American women. There were various (limited) literatures, however, that supported one or more of the following three ideas: 1) these stereotypic images exist, 2) these images influence the way in which African American

women are perceived and treated by society in general, and/or 3) that African American men may hold stereotypes about African American women and that they may negatively impact African American relationships. These literatures are presented below.

Stereotypic Images of African American Women

White (1985) traces the historical development of the stereotypic image of the Jezebel back to the time of slavery when White slave owners used Black slave women for their sexual pleasure.

Patricia Hill Collins (1991) identifies the matriarch and the jezebel as two of the controlling images that cause African American men to objectify African American women. Collins (1991) contends that these images, created by White Americans during the slave era, have served to control and oppress African American women and reflect the dominant group's interest in maintaining Black women's subordination. With this in mind it is not difficult to conceive that a belief in these images by African American men may also prompt a desire to control, oppress, and subordinate African American women in relationships, especially since it is believed that some African American men may wish to become "masters" in their relationships by fulfilling traditional, Eurocentric, white defined

definitions of masculinity. Collins (1991) also argues that if these African American men are blocked from doing this they may become dangerous to those closest to them, which may imply that attitudes formed from a belief in these stereotypes may increase the risk of violence in relationships between African American men and women.

Asbury (1987) used an Afrocentric perspective to examine the experiences of African American women in violent relationships. From a review of the literature the author identified many factors that may be contributing to violence in African American relationships. These factors included 1) flexibility and fluidity with the roles of African American males and females, 2) economic difficulty, which is pervasive in many African American families, 3) early exposure of children to violence in some African American communities, 4) substance abuse, 5) arguments over children and pregnancy, and 6) questions about the wife's fidelity and sexual problems. Asbury also identified factors in an African American woman's decision to seek help which included 1) feelings of social isolation, 2) feelings that they may not be understood or welcomed at shelters, and 3) reluctance to seek help because she has internalized common stereotypes about African American women including that of sexual temptress, ugly mummies,

bridges that hold the family together, and/or emasculating matriarchs. There was reference to both questions of the African American woman's fidelity and the stereotypic images that may be internalized, including the jezebel and the matriarch.

Brice-Baker (1994) examined domestic violence in African American and African Caribbean families. The author began by presenting factors that interfere with researchers being able to get an accurate estimate of the prevalence of domestic violence and then presented some theories that have been proposed to explain family violence. African American women have been stereotyped as 1) unattractive, 2) the glue that holds the family together, 3) matriarchs, and 4) love objects and sexual temptresses. These images suggest that African American women are somehow at fault for the violence they experience which as the author points out is another form of victim blaming.

Through a content analysis of 54 pornographic videos, Cowan & Campbell (1994) found that African American women were portrayed as seductresses, sex objects to be exploited, sexually uncivilized and promiscuous more frequently than white women and were targeted with more acts of aggression. These images are consistent with the

jezebel image. The author suggests that such portrayal of African American women has its roots in the stereotypic images that emerged during slavery.

Ammons (1995) theorized that opinions of Black women have their genesis in slavery. According to her analysis, beliefs about African American women can be traced to the representations of Black women by the dominant culture, in other words, stereotypes. She speaks of the matriarch and the jezebel as two of the images created to keep Black women down. Ammons (1995) uses everything from examples of African's American women experiences in interacting with the justice system to lyrics from popular music to support the idea that stereotypes impact daily aspects of African American women's lives.

How Stereotypes Influence the Perception and Treatment of African American Women in General

While no studies have examined the link between a belief in the jezebel and matriarch images and violence against African American women, a few researchers have addressed the link between these images and how African American women are perceived and treated by others. West (1995) discussed the historical origins of the matriarch and jezebel images, how they impact the psychological functioning of African American women, how they influence

society's treatment of African American women, and how they impact the relationships between psychotherapists and their African American women clients. The matriarch image was linked with chronic anger, psychosomatic conditions, depression, and low self-esteem, masking of vulnerability, relationship problems, and general avoidance or discomfort with displaying strong affect. Belief in this image by psychotherapists may influence their comfort level in their interactions with African American female clients. The jezebel image was connected with sexual exploitation, sexual dysfunction, shame, repression of sexual feelings, promiscuity, and victim blaming. Belief in this image by psychotherapists may influence their perceptions of their client's sexuality.

Helms (1979) argues that Black women have been overlooked and have been treated in a very cursory and denigrating manner by mental health professionals who have come to believe stereotypic images of African American women, particularly that of the matriarch. More recently, Priest (1991) talks about how stereotypes that counselors have about African Americans can negatively affect their interactions with African American clients, which lessens the effectiveness of treatment.

Collins (1991) traces the historical development of the stereotypic images of African American women as matriarchs and jezebels and discusses how each image contributes to Black women's oppression and objectification. The author identifies these images as controlling and reflective of the dominant group's interest in maintaining Black women's subordination. She also identifies them as powerful influences on African American women's relationships with whites, African American men, each other, and themselves.

African American Men's Acceptance of Stereotypes About African American Women

There is a limited literature that directly addresses the question of whether African American men may hold stereotypes of African American women. Staples (1982) suggested that Black families are under greater stress because of a belief held by many Black husbands that their wives will seek sexual satisfaction outside of marriage if they are not satisfied at home. He argued that jealousy in conjunction with community norms that encourage extramarital affairs and regard marriage as a license to physically dominate the woman contribute to violence in African American relationships. The references to the perceived "norm" of extramarital affairs on the part of

African American women and increased incidence of Black female aggression support the images of the jezebel and the matriarch.

Willis (1989) suggested that when the African American male meets the African American female he sees someone whom he has been told is dominant in the family, "a castrating black woman (the matriarch)." He argues that African American males and females have been programmed from an early age, by society, to be destructive of each other, and as a result mate selection in the African American community is predicated on negative stereotypes which increases the likelihood of problems in the relationship.

Plous & Williams (1995) conducted a survey to see whether racial stereotypes that developed during the days of slavery still persist in contemporary American society. The results of this study led the authors to conclude that racial stereotypes from the days of slavery are still present in American society and that what presumably began as White stereotypes of Blacks have now been embraced by the African American community.

The authors found that African American respondents were more likely than others to endorse racial stereotypes. While we must be extremely cautious in generalizing these results to the African American population at large,

considering that only 10% (about 67 respondents) were African American, the data support the idea that African Americans may, to some extent, internalize White stereotypes of African Americans (Plous & Williams, 1995).

Taken together this literature identifies some ways in which stereotypic images have impacted the lives of African American women. If these images are held by African American men they are likely to play a key role in the quality of relationships between African American women and men. An understanding of the extent to which African American men hold these images can help us better understand violence in African American relationships and is important to building stronger, more positive, safer relationships. This would help lead to the betterment of the African American family and community and American society at large.

Current Study

As a result of the above review, the current study addressed the following research hypotheses:

- 1) Some African American men do hold these stereotypic views of African American women.

- 1a) Some African American men's views of African American women support the jezebel stereotype.

1b) Some African American men's views of African American women support the matriarch stereotype.

2) A belief in these stereotypic images by African American men may lead some to condone violence against African American women. In other words, African American men endorsing either one or both of these stereotypes will be more likely to condone male-to-female intimate partner violence when the woman displays behaviors consistent with the stereotypic images the men hold, such that:

2a) Those men with higher scores on the matriarch sub-scale will be more likely to condone male-to-female intimate partner violence when the woman behaves in ways that are consistent with the matriarch stereotype.

2b) Those men with higher scores on the jezebel sub-scale will be more likely to condone male-to-female intimate partner violence when the woman behaves in ways that are consistent with the jezebel stereotype.

2c) Those men with higher scores on both the matriarch and the jezebel sub-scales will be more likely to condone male-to-female intimate partner violence under all circumstances.

2d) Those men with higher scores on the positive perceptions of African American women will be less likely to condone male-to-female intimate partner violence under any circumstances.

Method

Recruitment

Participants were recruited by one of two African American men who were specifically trained to be recruiters for this study. Recruiters were trained about (1) the purpose of the study, (2) what is and is not to be said to men during recruitment, (3) maintaining anonymity, and (4) lottery procedures (see Appendix A). The decision to use African American men as recruiters was part of an attempt to get more truthful answers and lessen the social desirability that may result from an African American woman (the researcher) asking African American men to fill out surveys about African American women.

The recruiters went out individually to various sites for recruitment. The recruiters were told to approach African American men who were alone and who appeared to be within the targeted age range (18 and over). Potential participants were asked to complete a survey about relationships as part of a Michigan State University

graduate student's study. It was explained to them that the survey would take about ten to fifteen minutes to complete, that it was anonymous, and that if they chose to complete the survey they could enter a lottery in which they might win one hundred dollars. The men were recruited from a wide range of locations in five cities in Michigan: Flint, Detroit, Lansing, East Lansing, and Okemos. These locations included Michigan State University's recreation facilities and main library; business locations; public buildings; Wayne State University; and public outdoor areas.

It is important to point out a few things about research participants recruited from the two university campuses. Recreation facilities at Michigan State University are used not just by students but also by faculty and staff also. Therefore, not all men from this site were college students. Wayne State University serves a large population of non-traditional college students. Also, those areas targeted by recruiters at Wayne State were areas frequented by university staff also. Therefore, participants recruited from Wayne State University were not solely traditional undergraduate students, but non-traditional students and university employees as well. See Table 1 for a breakdown of recruitment sites.

A great deal of effort was devoted to obtaining participants from a wide variety of locations, with a broad range of age, incomes, education status, etc. Researchers were trained to approach any and all men eligible in a particular site. This effort was put forth in order to obtain a community-based sample more generalizable to African-American men.

Recruiters went out to various sites at least twice a week and turned in questionnaires on a weekly basis. The researcher met with recruiters on a bi-weekly basis to discuss recruitment. On several occasions the researchers accompanied recruiters to recruitment sites and observed the recruitment process.

During a recruitment period of three and a half months, a total of 255 African American men were recruited for participation in this study. Of the 255 surveys turned in to recruiters, 221 were useable. Thirty-four could not be used for the following reasons: 2 men identified as bisexual, 3 identified as gay/homosexual, 12 of the surveys were incomplete (a page or more), 2 of the participants were relatives of the recruiter, 12 men identified as some race other than African American, and 3 were not properly completed.

Table 1
Recruitment Sites

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
PUBLIC PLACES	94	43
Malls		
Car dealership		
Professional cleaners facility		
Doughnut shop		
Car wash facility		
Fast food restaurant		
City streets		
Merchandise sales site		
Bus station		
UNIVERSITY CAMPUS FACILITIES	56	25
Recreation facilities		
Libraries		
Academic buildings		
Eating facilities		
PUBLIC FACILITIES	47	21
Recreation facility		
State building		
Public library		
Adult high school		
PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT	24	11
Merchandise sales site		
Professional service sales site		
Automotive plant		

Lottery procedure: To assure anonymity of the subjects the lottery information was collected in such a way that this information was unable to be connected to the subject's questionnaire. Postcards, which contained the personal information for the lottery, were kept together by each recruiter in an envelope separate from the questionnaires. At the completion of data collection, the postcards from the two recruiters were combined, a drawing was done and a one hundred dollar money order was mailed to the drawn participant.

Measures

The measure developed for this investigation was a self-constructed two-part questionnaire composed of two scales, the Perceptions of African American Women Scale and the Justification of Violence Scale (see Appendix B). The Perceptions of African American Women Scale was a 27-item scale that was designed to explore whether some African American men hold these stereotypic views of African American women. The scale was designed to include three sub-scales, the Matriarch sub-scale, the Jezebel sub-scale, and a Positive Perceptions sub-scale. The nine items of the Matriarch sub-scale described behaviors that were consistent with the matriarch stereotype (ex. "African

American women are too critical of their men"). The nine items of the Jezebel sub-scale described behaviors that were consistent with the jezebel stereotype (ex. "African American women are likely to sleep around"). The nine items of the Positive Perception sub-scale described behaviors that are positive and more desired characteristics of a mate (ex. "African American women deserve to be respected"). Using a six-point likert scale with responses ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree the participants were asked to respond to each item as they believed them to be characteristic of African American women. The inclusion of the Positive Perception sub-scale on this part of the questionnaire was based on the fact that there are African American men who view African American women in very positive ways and the researcher did not want to force men to only respond to less desirable items.

The Justification of Violence Scale was a 24-item scale designed to explore whether men would condone an act of male-to-female intimate partner violence when the female behaved in a way that was characteristic of the jezebel or matriarch images. This scale was designed to include two sub-scales. The twelve items of the Matriarch sub-scale described behaviors that were consistent with the matriarch

stereotype (ex. "puts down his manhood"). The eight items of the Jezebel sub-scale described behaviors that were consistent with the jezebel stereotype (ex. "is sexually unfaithful"). Using a six-point likert scale with responses ranging from very justified to very unjustified the participants were asked to indicate how justified they believed it was for a man to hit his partner under certain circumstances. Four filler items were included to attempt to screen out those men who may not have even read the items because the socially desirable thing to do is say that it is never all right to hit a woman and to place a "very unjustified" response under all conditions. The filler items included instances where a man might strike out in self-defense (ex. "tries to cut him with a knife"). Upon going through the questionnaires, the researcher decided not to exclude men from analyses, on this basis, for two reasons. First, 38% (83) of the men endorsed "very unjustified for every single item. Second, of those who did, there was adequate variability on the stereotype sub-scales, indicating that they were reading the questionnaire and most likely taking it seriously.

These measures were designed after careful analysis of various psychological, sociological, African American studies, feminist, historical and legal literatures that

addressed and/or defined these stereotypes. Based on these readings, careful thought went into the creation of each item of these scales.

It was the researcher's belief that African American men may hold these stereotypes but are either not consciously aware that they do or deny that they hold these views. Many African American men may perceive African American women as matriarchs and jezebels but have not labeled them as such. In other words, they may believe that African American women possess the characteristics of those traits associated with the matriarch or jezebel image but due to lack of exposure to or familiarity with the terms have not linked the stereotypic label with them. Because of this, items did not use the terms jezebel or matriarch, but rather described behaviors that depict these images.

Included in the questionnaire following the two scales described above were two pages of demographic questions for the respondents to complete. Demographics included race, age, income, education level, occupation level, relationship history, present relationship status, whether the participant had children, dating preference, and past racial dating history (see Appendix C).

Scale Construction

Perceptions of African American Women (PAAW) Scale

The PAAW scale was originally designed with 27 items. Nine items (items # 2, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 24, and, 27) were created to measure the perception of African-American women as matriarchs. Nine items (items # 3, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, and 26) were created to measure the perception of African-American women as jezebels. Nine items were designed to reflect and measure positive perceptions of African-American women (items #1, 4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 19, 22, 25). These sub-scales were created to 1) separately assess the endorsement of each particular stereotype in order to test hypothesis #1 and to 2) assess the relationship of each stereotype to beliefs about justification of violence, testing hypotheses #2a-d. Most items were fairly normally distributed, and the entire 18-item scale (minus the positive items), yielded an alpha of .93 (corrected item-total correlations ranging from .42-.76). The positive perceptions sub-scale yielded an alpha of .87 (corrected item-total correlations ranging from .50-.68).

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was used to assess for internal consistency and separation of each of the two stereotype sub-scales. The model tested the two hypothesized sub-scales, each indicated by nine items, with

the sub-scales allowed to covary freely (see Appendix D). The criteria used to evaluate the results of the CFA were the following goodness of fit statistics: the chi-square (χ^2); the comparative fit index (CFI); the root mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA); and the PCLOSE statistic. The CFI compares the fit of the hypothesized model with a null or baseline model in which all paths are fixed at zero. A CFI > .90 is typically seen as an indicator of good fit. The RMSEA estimates a value for model discrepancy in the population, corrected for model complexity. RMSEA values \leq .05 are typically seen as an indication that the model displays a close fit to the data. The PCLOSE statistic is a "p value" for testing the null hypothesis that the population RMSEA is no greater than .05 (Browne & Cudeck, 1993 & see *Amos User's Guide Version 3.6*). The values were $\chi^2=437$, $df(134)$, .84 (CFI), .10 (RMSEA), and .00 (PCLOSE), which revealed basic problems in fit. Inspection of residuals indicated that lack of fit involved more than low loadings of items on their hypothesized construct. Due to the complexity of the lack of fit between the model and the data, the CFA was not helpful in suggesting modifications that would improve the measure. Because of this, the decision was made to conduct an exploratory

factor analysis (EFA) using all items from the intended stereotype sub-scales.

The exploratory factor analysis method used an oblique rotation along with Kaiser's criterion of rotating eigenvalues greater than one. The analysis revealed three factors. High loadings on the first factor included four items that were part of the intended matriarch sub-scale and two that were part of the intended jezebel sub-scale. High loadings on the second factor included five items that were intended for the jezebel sub-scale. The third factor showed high loadings for four items intended for the matriarch sub-scale as well as four items intended for the jezebel sub-scale (see Tables 2&3). The following criteria were used to extract items into two sub-scales from EFA results: factor loadings greater than .65; substantial loading only on one factor; and conceptually fitting with one or the other sub-scale (matriarch or jezebel). From the above criteria, a 4-item matriarch sub-scale (items 15, 21, 24, and 27) and a 4-item jezebel sub-scale (items 5, 11, 17, and 26) were extracted.

Table 2
Exploratory Factor Analysis

Item	Com mua lit ies	Components		
		1	2	3
PAAW2 expect too much	.59	.41	.42	.76
PAAW3 too flirtatious	.58	.23	.62	.62
PAAW5 likely to cheat**	.64	.48	.78	.36
PAAW6 too dominant	.57	.62	.20	.63
PAAW8 are teases	.57	.39	.58	.68
PAAW9 too aggressive	.66	.37	.33	.81
PAAW11 are not faithful**	.66	.40	.80	.44
PAAW12 are too demanding	.76	.56	.41	.85
PAAW14 use sex to get what they want	.51	.67	.48	.47
PAAW15 often insult their men*	.63	.79	.37	.33
PAAW17 are likely to sleep around**	.69	.55	.80	.43
PAAW18 are too controlling	.69	.68	.40	.74
PAAW20 cannot trust to be faithful	.29	.29	.54	.28
PAAW21 are too critical*	.72	.82	.50	.54
PAAW23 often flirt to make their men jealous	.49	.68	.45	.33
PAAW24 often talk down to their men*	.77	.87	.42	.43
PAAW26 in their nature to cheat**	.52	.38	.71	.25
PAAW27 often attach the manhood of their men*	.65	.80	.43	.40
Percent of variance		46	8	7

*indicates items used in the matriarch sub-scale

**indicates items used in the jezebel sub-scale

Table 3
Component Correlations

Component	1	2	3
1	1.00	.437	.459
2	.437	1.00	.420
3	.459	.420	1.00

Reliabilities were estimated on the smaller sub-scales, which yielded alphas of .85 for the matriarch sub-scale, .83 for the jezebel sub-scale, and .88 for all eight items combined. Corrected item total correlations ranged from .65-.77, .55-.72, and .54-.72, respectively (see Table 4). A correlation matrix was generated that correlated each of the eight items with the total eight-item scale and each of the newly formed sub-scales. This analysis revealed that the matriarch items correlated more highly with their own sub-scale than with the total scale or the jezebel sub-scale, and the jezebel items correlated more highly with their own sub-scale than with the total scale or the matriarch sub-scale(see Table 5). The correlation between the two stereotype sub-scales was .57.

The result of the exploratory factor analysis and the correlation values supported the existence of two distinct sub-scales for use in subsequent analyses.

Reliability was also estimated on the nine items designed to measure positive perceptions of African-American women. This analysis supported the existence of a Positive perceptions sub-scale, with an alpha of .87 and corrected item-total correlations ranging from .50-.68.

Table 4
Psychometric Properties of the Matriarch and Jezebel
Stereotype Sub-scales

Matriarch

Item	Corrected Item- Total Correlation
PAAW 15 often insult their men	.6496
PAAW 21 are too critical	.7040
PAAW 24 often talk down to their men	.7691
PAAW 27 often attack manhood of their men	.6603
Alpha	.8530
Scale mean	3.60*
Scale standard deviation	1.18*

*with responses ranging from 1=strongly disagree to
6=strongly agree

Jezebel

Item	Corrected Item-Total Correlation
PAAW 5 likely to cheat	.6764
PAAW 11 are not faithful	.6991
PAAW 17 are likely to sleep around	.7193
PAAW 26 in their nature to cheat	.5465
Alpha	.8034
Scale mean	2.90*
Scale standard deviation	1.04*

*with responses ranging from 1=strongly disagree to
6=strongly agree

Table 4 (cont.)**Positive Perception Sub-scale**

Item	Corrected Item-Total Correlation
PAAW 1 faithful to their men	.5810
PAAW 4 supportive of their men	.5537
PAAW 7 can trust not to cheat	.4951
PAAW 10 are committed	.6822
PAAW 13 can count on to stand by her man	.6296
PAAW 16 deserve to be respected	.5474
PAAW 19 are beautiful inside and out	.6460
PAAW 22 have a loving nature	.6381
PAAW 25 are caring individuals	.6625
Alpha	.8663
Scale mean	4.54*
Scale standard deviation	.827*

*with responses ranging from 1=strongly disagree to
6=strongly agree

Table 5
Item-Scale Correlations

Items	Total Scale	Matriarch Sub-scale	Jezebel Sub-scale
PAAW15 often insult their men	.62	.65*	.41
PAAW21 are too critical	.72	.70*	.54
PAAW24 often talk down to their men	.72	.77*	.51
PAAW27 often attack the manhood of their men	.63	.66*	.45
PAAW5 are likely to cheat	.62	.47	.68*
PAAW11 are not faithful	.62	.44	.70*
PAAW17 are likely to sleep around	.69	.54	.72*
PAAW26 in their nature to cheat	.54	.42	.55*

*corrected correlations

Justification of Violence Scale

The Justification of Violence scale included 24 items. Twelve items were designed to explore whether men would condone an act of male-to-female intimate partner violence when the female behaved in a way that was characteristic of the matriarch image (items # 2, 4, 7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, & 23). Eight items were designed to explore whether men would condone an act of male-to-female intimate partner violence when the female behaved in a way that was consistent with the jezebel image (items # 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 13, 15, & 17). The third set of items were four social desirability filler items (item # 6, 12, 18, 24). The scale was designed in such a manner, as two distinct subscales, in order to assess the relationship between each stereotype to beliefs about justification of violence, testing hypotheses #2a-d. Most items were negatively skewed. Internal consistency of the total scale was high ($\alpha = .98$), with corrected item-total correlations ranging from .74-.92 (see Table 6).

A correlation matrix was generated that correlated each item with the total scale and the two intended subscales. This analysis revealed that each of the items correlated highly with the total scale ($r = .77-.91$), the

Table 6
Reliabilities for Justification of Violence Items

Item	Corrected Item-Total Correlation
1 flirts with other men	.8004
2 talks down to him	.7674
3 wears revealing clothing against his wishes	.7807
4 insults him	.8731
5 goes to a club or bar without him	.7403
7 constantly reminds him of his weaknesses	.8820
8 cheats on him	.8102
9 puts down his manhood	.8920
10 goes out with another man	.8302
11 constantly starts an argument with him	.8591
13 makes him feel sexually inferior to other men	.8516
14 treats him as if he is a child	.8590
15 makes sexual comments about other men	.8603
16 tries to dominate the relationship	.8709
17 is sexually unfaithful	.7497
19 tells him what to do and what not to do	.9238
20 tries to control him	.8868
21 is critical of him	.8492
22 questions his authority	.8766
23 contradicts him in front of other people	.8909
Alpha	.9805
Scale mean	1.90*
Scale standard deviation	1.13*

*with responses ranging from 1=very unjustified to 6=very justified

intended matriarch sub-scale ($r = .70-.93$), and the intended jezebel sub-scale ($r = .75-.89$). The items were so highly correlated that the decision was made to leave these items as a whole scale, as the data did not support breaking the scale down into two sub-scales. Therefore, subsequent analyses were conducted using all items as one distinct scale.

Results

Demographics of Participants

Completed and useable surveys were obtained from a community sample of 221 African American heterosexual men. Participants were between the ages of 18 - 73, with a mean age of 33 years ($SD = 11$). Incomes in this sample ranged from under \$5,000 to over \$50,000. The majority of the men in the sample reported being employed at least part time (84%). Sixty-two percent reported that they had at least some college education.

Forty-seven percent of the men reported never having been married while another forty-seven percent reported being married at least once. The number of marriages ranged from 0-4, and 30% of the sample reported being married at the time they completed the survey. Sixty-seven percent of the men reported having been in at least one committed relationship that lasted longer than three years.

Sixty percent of the men reported having at least one child. Of these, forty-five percent reported having female children, with the number of female children ranging from 1-6 for any one male. Forty-one percent reported having at least one male child, with the number of male children ranging from 1-5.

Forty-six percent of the men reported that they had only dated African-American women in the past, while thirty-seven percent reported having dated more African Americans than any other race, eleven percent reported having dated more other races than African Americans, and only three percent reported never having dated African American women. See Table 7 for a breakdown of the sample's demographics.

Men's Endorsement of Stereotypes

To address the degree to which participants held stereotypes about African-American women, scale scores were created for each man for the jezebel sub-scale, the matriarch sub-scale, and for the combined Matriarch/Jezebel sub-scale (both the sub-scales combined to address overall endorsement of both stereotypes). Scale scores were then reverse coded (1=strongly disagree to 6=strongly agree), and frequencies were run. A mean score greater than 3 (slightly dis-agree) indicated at least some agreement with the stereotypic image. By this criterion, 48% of the sample endorsed the jezebel stereotype. The sample mean for this subscale was 2.90, while the mean of those showing endorsement of the stereotype was 3.98. 71% of the sample endorsed the matriarch stereotype. The sample mean for this sub-scale was 3.60 and 4.38 was the mean of those endorsing

Table 7
Demographics of Research Participants
N=221

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
AGE		
18-20	14	6
21-29	70	32
30-39	62	28
40-49	32	15
50 & over	19	9
INCOME		
Under \$5000	17	8
\$5000-9999	26	12
\$10000-14999	13	6
\$15000-24999	39	18
\$25000-34999	28	13
\$35000-49999	44	20
\$50000 and over	51	23
EDUCATION		
Less than high school	8	4
High school graduate/GED	65	29
Trade school	10	5
Associate's degree or some college	63	29
Bachelor's degree	38	17
Beyond Bachelor's degree	37	17
OCCUPATION LEVEL		
Student, not working	10	5
Student, working part time	32	15
Student, working full time	26	12
Employed, full time	107	48
Employed, part time	19	9
Retired, disabled, unemployed, self-employed	21	10
PERCENT MARRIED	67	30

Table 7 (cont.)

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
RELATIONSHIP STATUS AT TIME OF SURVEY		
Not presently dating or in a relationship	50	23
Dating more than one person	28	13
Dating one person only	39	18
Involved in a committed relationship, not living together	24	11
Involved in a committed relationship, living together	74	34
missing	6	3
PERCENT WITH CHILDREN	133	60
Girls	99	45
Boys	91	41
DATING HISTORY		
Only African Americans	102	46
More African Americans than other races	85	39
More of other races than African Americans	24	11
Only other races (besides African Americans)	7	3

the stereotype. 33% of the sample showed an endorsement of both stereotypes. Sample mean=3.25, while the mean of those endorsing both stereotypes was 3.93. Thirty percent of the sample endorsed only the matriarch stereotype and not the jezebel stereotype, while four percent endorsed only the jezebel stereotype and not the matriarch. Thirty-four percent of the sample endorsed neither of the two stereotypes. A scale score was also computed for the positive perception sub-scale, and frequencies were run. A scale score greater than 3 (slightly dis-agree) was used to assess which men endorsed positive beliefs about African-American women. By this criterion, 94% of the sample endorsed positive beliefs about African-American women (mean=4.54).

The above results showed support for research study hypothesis 1. Almost half of the sample endorsed the jezebel stereotype, seventy-one percent endorsed the matriarch stereotype, and a third endorsed both stereotypes.

The next step involved exploring the relationships between the demographic variables and men's adherence to stereotypes. Demographics tested included age, income, education level, occupation status, number of marriages, if married, number of committed relationships lasting over

three years, relationship status, having children, having female children, having male children, and past racial dating experience. One-way analysis of variance was used to assess differences on all categorical variables, and correlations were used to assess relationships with all continuous variables. Two significant relationships were found. Men who reported having no committed relationships that lasted more than three years were more likely to endorse the jezebel stereotype ($F=3.34$, $df=176$, $p<.05$). There was also a significant relationship found between college education and endorsement of the jezebel stereotype. Men who reported having no college education exhibited higher scores on the jezebel sub-scale than those men who reported having at least some college education ($F=5.30$, $df=220$, $p<.05$).

Men's Justification of Partner Violence

To examine the degree to which the sample condoned intimate partner violence, scale scores for the Justification of Violence scale were created. These scale scores were then reverse coded (1=very unjustified to 6=very justified) for ease of discussion. The sample mean for this scale 1.90, indicating that the majority of men in the sample did not endorse the idea that a man was justified to use violence against a woman.

Due to the fact that the skewness statistic for the scale was slightly high (1.3) the decision was made to use a reciprocal transformation (Wilkinson et. al., 1996) to bring the skewness statistic down to a more acceptable value (.21). The transformed scale score values were then used for all subsequent analyses.

Relationships were examined between demographic variables and men's justification of violence against women. Two significant relationships were found. There was a significant relationship between having female children and justification of violence ($F=5.00$, $df=214$, $p<.05$) and also between having no college education and justification of violence ($F=12.85$, $df=220$, $p<.05$).

The Relationship Between Stereotypic Beliefs and Justification of Partner Violence

To address the question of whether holding stereotypes of African-American woman related to men's condoning intimate partner violence, hierarchical multiple regression was used. Six models were tested to explore these relationships. Model 1 regressed the justification of violence scores upon the scores for the Matriarch/Jezebel Sub-scale. Variables for this model were entered in two blocks. In the first block the demographic variables of

education status and having girl children were entered as controls, since they were found to be significantly related to justification of violence scores. In the second block the score from the combined Matriarch/Jezebel scale was entered. Results indicated that this model accounted for approximately 15% ($R^2=.152$) of the variance in the justification of violence scores. Beta was .262, indicating a positive direction of influence with a one standard deviation increase in stereotype score associated with a .26 standard deviation increase in justification score. The R-square change due to the addition of the combined stereotype scale was .07, significant at $p<.05$ (see Table 8).

Table 8

Summary of Multiple Regression Results from Model 1

Predictors	Standardized β	t	R^2 Change
Block 1: Controls			
Female children	.150*	2.36*	
College educated	-.214*	-3.34*	.085*
Block 2: Matriarch/Jezebel sub-scale	.262*	4.09*	.067*
Total R-square			.152
Total F			12.59*

* $p < .05$

Model 2 regressed the justification of violence scores upon the jezebel sub-scale. Variables for this model were also entered in two blocks. In the first block the demographic variables of education status and having girl children were entered as controls. In the second block the scores from the jezebel sub-scale were entered. Results indicated that this model accounted for approximately 16% ($R^2=.163$) of the variance in the justification of violence scores. Beta was .285, also indicating a positive direction of influence with a one standard deviation increase in stereotype score associated with a .29 standard deviation increase in justification score. The R-square change due to the addition of the jezebel sub-scale was .08, significant at $p<.05$ (see Table 9).

Table 9

Summary of Multiple Regression Results from Model 2

Predictors	Standard- dized β	T	R^2 Change
Block 1: Controls			
Female children	.151*	2.40*	
College educated	-.200*	-3.13*	.085*
Block 2: Jezebel sub-scale	.285*	4.45*	.079*
Total R-square			.163
Total F			13.71*

* $p < .05$

Model 3 regressed the justification of violence scores upon the matriarch sub-scale. Variables for this model were again entered in two blocks. In the first block the demographic variables of education status and having girl children were again entered as controls. In the second block the scores from the matriarch sub-scale were entered. Results indicated that this model accounted for approximately 12% ($R^2=.120$) of the variance in the justification of violence scores ($\beta = .189$). The R-square change due to the addition of the matriarch sub-scale was .04, significant at $p<.05$ (see Table 10).

Table 10

Summary of Multiple Regression Results from Model 3

Predictors	Standard- dized β	t	R^2 Change
Block 1: Controls Female children College educated	.144* -.236*	2.22* -3.63*	.085*
Block 2: Matriarch sub-scale	.189*	2.91*	.035*
Total R-square			.120
Total F			9.59*

* $p < .05$

Model 4 regressed the justification of violence scores upon both the matriarch and jezebel sub-scales. This model tested whether a belief in the jezebel stereotype related

to endorsing domestic violence, after accounting for men's belief in the matriarch stereotype. Variables for this model were entered in three blocks. In the first block the demographic variables of education status and having girl children were entered as controls. In the second block the scores from the matriarch sub-scale were entered. In the third block of this hierarchical regression scores from the jezebel sub-scale were entered. Results indicated that this model accounted for approximately 16% ($R^2=.164$) of the variance in the justification of violence scores. Beta was .044 for the matriarch sub-scale and the R-square change due to the addition of the matriarch sub-scale was .04, significant at $p<.05$. Beta was .260 for the jezebel sub-scale and the R-square change due to the subsequent addition of the jezebel sub-scale was .04, also significant at $p<.05$ (see Table 11).

Table 11

Summary of Multiple Regression Results from Model 4

Predictors	Standardized β	t	R ² Change
Block 1: Controls Female children College educated	.152* -.201*	2.40* -3.14*	.085*
Block 2: Matriarch sub-scale	.044	.570	.035*
Block 3: Jezebel sub-scale	.260*	3.34*	.044*
Total R-square			.164
Total F			10.33*

*p < .05

Model 5 regressed the justification of violence scores upon the jezebel and matriarch sub-scales. This model tested whether a belief in the matriarch stereotype related to endorsing domestic violence, after accounting for men's belief in the jezebel stereotype. Variables for this model were entered in three blocks as well, but scores for the jezebel sub-scale were entered second and the scores from the matriarch sub-scale were entered third. Results indicated that this model again accounted for approximately 16% ($R^2=.164$) of the variance in the justification of violence scores. Beta was .260 for the jezebel sub-scale and the R-square change due to the addition of the jezebel

sub-scale was .08, significant at $p < .05$. Beta was .044 for the matriarch sub-scale. The R-square change due to the subsequent addition of the matriarch sub-scale was .00, indicating no significant change (see Table 12). Belief in the jezebel stereotype, then, was more strongly related to justifying domestic violence than was a belief in the matriarch stereotype.

Table 12

Summary of Multiple Regression Results from Model 5

Predictors	Standardized β	t	R² Change
Block 1: Controls Female children College educated	.152* -.201*	2.40* -3.14*	.085*
Block 2: Jezebel sub-scale	.260*	3.34*	.079*
Block 3: Matriarch sub-scale	.044	.570	.001
Total R-square			.164
Total F			10.33*

* $p < .05$

Due to the fact that data did not support the existence of sub-scales in the Justification of Violence scale, specific hypotheses 2a-2c were unable to be tested individually. However these results do show that endorsement of one or both of these stereotypes was

significantly related to condoning intimate partner violence.

Model 6 regressed the justification of violence scores upon the positive perceptions sub-scale. Variables for this model were also entered in two blocks. In the first block the demographic variables of education status and having girl children were again entered as controls. In the second block the scores from the scores for the positive perceptions sub-scale were entered. Results indicated that this model accounted for approximately 11% ($R^2=.105$) of the variance in the justification of violence scores. $\beta = -.145$ for the positive perceptions sub-scale, indicating a negative direction of influence with a one standard deviation increase in stereotype score associated with a $-.15$ standard deviation increase in justification score. The R-square change due to the addition of the Positive perceptions sub-scale was .02, significant at $p < .05$ (see Table 13).

Table 13

Summary of Multiple Regression Results from Model 6

Predictors	Standardized β	t	R² Change
Block 1: Controls			
Female children	.144*	2.21*	
College educated	-.235*	-3.58*	.085*
Block 2: Positive perceptions			
Sub-scale	-.145*	-2.22*	.021*
Total R-square			.105
Total F			8.30*

*p < .05

The results of this model supported hypothesis 2d, that endorsing positive perceptions of African American women was significantly negatively related to condoning intimate partner violence.

Discussion

Several interesting findings came out of this research, some encouraging and some disheartening. Hypothesis #1 was supported in that there were men who endorsed one or both of the two stereotypes. The fact that 48% of the sample showed an endorsement of the jezebel stereotype can be, in part, attributed to the fact that this image of African-American women permeates our society via many different avenues, from literature to popular media including movies, magazines, and music videos (Ammons, 1995, Collins, 1991, & Cowan & Campbell 1994). Endorsement of the jezebel stereotype may also be attributed the idea that at least some African-Americans, as well as other minority populations, internalize White society's stereotypes of them (Plous & Williams, 1995).

The fact that 71% of the sample endorsed the matriarch stereotype may be attributed to a number of factors. It can be attributed in part to the same factors explaining the endorsement of the jezebel stereotype. Willis' (1989) argument that African-American men have been raised to believe that African-American women are "castrating matriarchs" may also serve as a partial explanation.

Another explanation for such a strong endorsement of the matriarch stereotype is the contradiction that African-

American men face growing up in African-American communities in this country. On the one hand, African-American families have had a history of being matrifocal, with women at the center of families. It is the work of African-American women that have served to keep African-American families and communities strong, together and unified throughout their presence in the United States. This is why African-American women have also been characterized as "the glue that holds the family together". African-American women have historically had a strong presence and vital role in the existence and maintaining of the African-American family and community (Brice-Baker, 1994; Dill, B.T., 1999; Giddings, 1984; Hine & Thompson, 1998; Jones, J., 1998; Stack, C., 1974). On the other hand, African-Americans live and grow up in a patriarchal society, one which identifies the ideal and desirable family structure as patriarchal. Men are supposed to have the dominant role, a strong presence in the family, in the community and in society at large. This image is in direct contrast to the matrifocal family structure found in the African-American community. Therefore, African-American men highly endorsing these stereotypic images, particularly that of the matriarch, may be a reaction to dealing with these conflicting family ideals. The African-American male

may be reacting in such a way that exhibits an internalization of the patriarchal family ideal, leading to a sub-conscious resentment of the matrifocal family and of African-American women's strong presence in the community.

One of the more positive study findings was that, despite the fact that a large number of African-American men endorsed one or both of the stereotypic images, 94% of the sample endorsed positive characteristics of African-American women. This means that despite the negative images of African-American women so pervasive in our society, many African-American men do respect and see African-American women in a positive light. This is probably due to the fact that most African-American men were raised in African-American communities in which African-American women have historically had a strong and significant presence (Collins, 1991). African-American men have seen first hand the positive characteristics of African-American women. African-American men are also raised to respect African-American women and have seen examples of both African-American men and women exhibiting this respect.

In its examination of whether the men in this study expressed justification of intimate partner violence, this study not only found that a large percent of African-

American men hold negative stereotypes of African-American women, but that a belief in a stereotype was positively related to justifying domestic violence. This finding was in support of hypothesis #2. Thus, holding these stereotypes appears to be a contributing factor to intimate partner violence against African-American women.

It is also important to address the significant relationship found between having female children and justifying violence against women. The finding that men in the sample who had female children were more likely to have higher justification of violence scores was a disturbing one. One would hope that men who had female children would be less likely to condone violence against women. The author can only speculate as to why this may have been the case. One possibility is that men who have adult female children may see them behave in a way toward their male partners that they would not like a female partner to behave. They might then justify hitting them due to their behavior. Further, African-American men who have female children and use corporal punishment may believe that it is justified to physically strike a female. Another possibility is that African-American men who have female children may be more likely to encounter negative behavior from a female on a daily basis, and thus believe that a

female needs to be physically corrected for negative behavior. These are all conjectures, however. Further research is needed to understand this phenomenon more fully.

The finding that men with at least some college education were less likely to endorse violence was not as surprising as the relationship noted above. Men who have had some college education would have been more likely to have encountered a college campus environment in which violence against women was less likely to be publicly displayed or endorsed. Social desirability may have also played in to the men's responses, in that a college education may have exposed these men to the "politically correct" mindset, that it is not alright to physically abuse women. Therefore these men may have been less likely to respond in a way that showed that they condoned of an act of intimate partner violence. These men may also have had more of an opportunity to interact with women in a more positive environment, seeing more of their educational and social competence and thus believing that they are worthy of being respected and not mistreated.

Another finding that needs to be addressed is the fact a belief in the jezebel stereotype was more strongly related to justifying domestic violence than was the

matriarch stereotype. This may mean many things. It may mean that the image of the jezebel is perceived more negatively by African-American men than the image of the matriarch. The stereotypic characteristics of the matriarch stereotype, those of strong will and character, may cause African-American men to feel less inclined to believe it is justified to hit such a woman. In a society where socially accepted sexual freedom is more limited for women than men the jezebel image may be viewed as one for which a man would be justified to use physical force to curtail the "sexual promiscuity" of this type of women. There is also the possibility that the matriarch image produces an element of fear in men that makes them less inclined to feel that they may use physical force against a woman displaying these characteristics. It may also mean that although the image of the matriarch is viewed as a negative one, it may also be an image that commands an element of respect where the jezebel image may not. Again, these are all conjectures and further research is needed to understand this phenomenon more fully.

It is also important to point out other significant findings that were not part of the proposed research questions, such as the fact that some demographics were found to be significantly related to the Perceptions of

African-American Women stereotype sub-scales. The finding that men who reported having no committed relationships that lasted over three years were more likely to endorse the jezebel stereotype, may mean that men who have been in committed relationships for significant periods of time are more likely to believe that African-American women can be faithful in their relationships and are less likely to view African-American women in the sexually provocative way demonstrated by the jezebel stereotype. The simple fact that they have maintained these long term committed relationships with women indicate that they must have had at least some level of trust in them as opposed to men who have chosen not to or have been unable to maintain long-term relationships.

Also, it was found that men who reported having no college education exhibited higher scores on the jezebel sub-scale than those men who reported having at least some college education. Men who are college educated may be less likely to endorse the jezebel stereotype for some of the same reasons that men who are college educated are less likely to condone acts of intimate partner violence. Men who have been on college campuses may have had more of an opportunity to interact with women in ways that show their intelligence as opposed to just their bodies. In this

context men may be more able to see women as more than just sex objects but as intelligent beings. Again, these men may also have had more of an opportunity to interact with women in a more positive environment, seeing more of their educational and social competence.

The results of this study indicate that in order to properly address intimate partner violence in the African-American community one of many things we must incorporate is confronting these stereotypic images of African-American women.

As with any research, this study had limitations. Recruiters targeted men who were out alone and specifically avoided men who were in groups or with women. This was to avoid bias that may have occurred if a man was with a woman or a group of other people. For example, men may have felt the need to be completely positive if a woman was with them. If they were with a group, there may have been discussion of questions and men may have responded in accordance with the others in the group. Therefore, the researcher missed not only those men who were with other men but also those men who were out with women. One may argue that men who were more likely to be out with women, who might be those who are in committed relationships, may have provided different responses. On the other hand, a

large number of men in the sample did report being married or in a committed relationship, and their responses were part of these results.

Not all men who were asked to complete the questionnaires chose to participate. Completing this questionnaire was voluntary and men were stopped in public places. There were those men who expressed that they would have liked to complete the questionnaire but did not have the time. This is likely due to the fact that men were approached in public places and in this present day fast-paced society, many people are entering public places with a distinct purpose and goal and may not have time to take out 10 or 15 minutes to complete an unexpected survey. There was obviously another group of men who were approached to complete the questionnaire and simply did not want to complete a questionnaire at all and/or did not want to complete a questionnaire that was about African-American relationships. One could also argue that these men may have had different responses than those men who willingly completed a questionnaire about African-American male-female relationships.

Another limitation of this study is that it is not a nationally representative sample. All the men in this sample were from the mid-west state of Michigan. One could

argue the generalizability of these results to men from other regions of the United States such as the South, the East or West coast. It is noteworthy, however, that the sample included men from diverse ages, education, and employment levels and relationship status. Still, further research with a larger community sample would be useful to determine the extent of the generalizability of the findings.

Another limitation of this study were the measures used to obtain the information. The measures were developed specifically for this study, and lacked demonstrated validity and reliability. Also, while the instruments were able to determine whether men endorsed stereotypes and whether the stereotypes related to justification of violence, they were unable to explore why men endorsed these stereotypes.

The Justification of Violence measure also had its own limitations in that it did not fall out into the sub-scales in which it was originally designed. This left hypotheses 2a & 2b unable to be addressed specifically. More sensitive measures need to be developed in order to assess whether holding the specific stereotype of jezebel or matriarch relates to men being more likely to condone an

act of intimate partner violence when the woman exhibits behaviors in line with the corresponding stereotypic image.

Holding negative stereotypes is not the only dynamic of abuse in African-American relationships that needs to be addressed. Further exploration of the attitudes and beliefs of African-American men, especially those in batterer treatment, will bring more of these dynamics to light.

This research particularly has implications for interventions with African-American men who batter. The way that African-American men perceive African-American women has shown to impact whether they believe it is justified to use violence toward them. As stated earlier, stereotypes also influence power dynamics in personal interactions (West, 1995). Since such a large number of men are endorsing stereotypic images it is an element that cannot be ignored in treatment. African-American men need to be educated on the origins of these stereotypic images, be made aware of the ways in which they permeate our society, and how they negatively impact their relationships with African-American women. They should discuss why they hold these negative views and be educated on ways to combat them.

This study also has implications for the African-American community. It highlights the need for self-

reflection and education. Men, women and children need to be educated regarding the historical origins of these stereotypes, how they permeate our society today, how the African-American community itself helps to perpetuate them, and how they negatively affect relationships between African-American men and women. Education must also stress the importance of improving relationships between African-American men and women, as well as the importance of learning from, understanding and respecting each other. This education needs to take place in various forums, including schools that educate primarily African-American youth, churches that are attended primarily by African-Americans, television that aims to serve the African-American community, popular magazines that target the African-American community, and through each other. The African-American community itself must work to combat these stereotypic images in the larger society and learn to not perpetuate them itself.

We must not forget the implications that this research has for American society as a whole. There is a need for self-reflection here also. All individuals would benefit from reflecting on the ways in which our society portrays women in general and African-American women in particular. Society at large must stop perpetuating these stereotypes

itself. Popular media needs to evaluate its negative portrayals of African-American women and at the same time go to greater lengths to portray more positive images of African-American women. Our education system must also work to educate our society's youth on the positive images and accomplishments of African-American women. Society as a whole needs to recognize the ways in which it contributes to the perpetuation of negative images of African-American women and also actively work to combat them.

It is important to point out that the findings from this study were specific to the African-American community. These results may not be generalizable to other racial/ethnic minority populations or to the European-American community. Although our society as a whole perpetuates negative images of women, the stereotypes of the matriarch and jezebel were shown historically to have been generated by European-American society and were specific to the African-American community (White, 1985 & Collins 1991). There is also evidence to support the fact that these images are perpetuated by our society in ways that are specific to African-American women (Ammons, 1995 & Collins, 1991). Therefore, it is highly unlikely that these specific stereotypes would generalize to other racial/ethnic populations. It would also be unjustified for

anyone to generalize the idea that stereotypes of women in general contribute to violence in any or all racial/ethnic groups. This is not to say that other racial/ethnic groups do not have negative stereotypic images that exist pertaining to women in their group. This may or may not be the case. One would have to research each specific racial/ethnic group to see what if any stereotypes exist for the women in that group, and then explore, if these images exist, whether they are a factor in intimate partner violence within that community.

What also must be pointed out is that this study is by no means attempting to relay that holding these stereotypes is the only or most salient contributing factor to intimate partner violence in the African-American community. We must view this factor, not in isolation from others, but in addition to other issues of power and control that have been found to be factors in intimate partner violence (Hofeller, 1983; Larkin, J. & Popaleni, K., 1994; Murphy, C.M. & Meyer, S. 1991). This information must also be used in conjunction with past and future studies that explore the dynamics of intimate partner violence in the African-American community. This will help to generate a more comprehensive understanding of these dynamics and educate

us regarding what intervention and prevention efforts that target the African-American community must include.

This research answers some questions about intimate partner violence within the African-American community, but also raises more. For example, the author can only speculate, based on the literature, why some African-American men hold these stereotypic views. In addition to knowing the historical origins and present day prevalence of these stereotypic views we must also ask African-American men why they believe they view African-American women in these negative stereotypic ways. A study that examines why African-American men view African-American women in these negative ways and what they feel would need to happen for these images to be dispelled, would be a significant contribution to both the domestic violence and African-American community and family literatures. This type of study would be of even greater significance if it were to also explore why some African-American men hold these negative images but also hold positive images of African-American women.

Future research needs to look for additional factors, unique to the African-American community, that contribute to the dynamics of intimate partner violence. This research is only the beginning of the research that needs

to follow. In order to adequately serve African-American women who are survivors of intimate partner violence and African-American men who are perpetrators we must address factors that are unique to this community. A color-blind approach will not allow for enough progress.

This research serves as a prompt for research within other racial/ethnic minority groups, to look for factors contributing to the dynamics of intimate partner violence that are unique to those communities as well. We must generate this research in order to adequately serve survivors and perpetrators of all racial/ethnic groups.

Since the domestic violence literature is so lacking in its identification of culturally unique factors that contribute to domestic violence, this type of research has added to our understanding of the dynamics of abuse. With this knowledge we may be better able to improve services for African-American battered women and treatment programs for African-American men who batter.

Appendix A

Appendix A

Recruitment Training

- I. Purpose of Study:** The current study was designed to (1) examine African American men's views of African American women, and (2) examine whether acceptance of the use of violence against African American women relates to stereotypic images of them.
- II. Places for recruiting:** As of now most of the respondents will be from Ingham and Wayne counties. In the Wayne county area, men affiliated with Wayne State University will be recruited in the main dining area of the University. Men will also be recruited from waiting rooms and lobbies of the City County building. Various sites in the Ingham County area that are frequented by African American men will also be targeted, including dining areas of Michigan State University, recreation facilities, and churches. Organizations of African American men in the Detroit area will be approached as well. If you have any particular places that may be good for recruiting a good amount of African men please let me know and we will discuss it.

III. Goal: The goal is to have at least 20 surveys completed a week for thirteen weeks. That is at least 10 questionnaires a week for each of you, if more - great! I am estimating that we will be able to begin the week of Sunday, February 28th and collect until Saturday, May 29th. This will be thirteen weeks and would give us at least 260 surveys.

IV. Reason for choosing African American men to recruit:

The purpose of this is to attempt to get more truthful answers and lessen the social desirability that may result from an African American woman asking African American men to fill out surveys about African American women.

V. What to do

A. Who to approach: African American men who appear to be at least eighteen years of age (do not ask age) and are alone. Make an effort to approach every African American male who is in or enters the location where you are recruiting. Please do not be selective on the basis of appearance.

B. Who not to approach: Pairs or groups of men. Men with females.

C. What to say: "Would you mind taking a few minutes to fill out this questionnaire. It only takes about

ten minutes to complete and then you can put your name in a lottery for a \$100 prize. This is a Michigan State University graduate student study about African American male-female relationships and it is completely anonymous. You do not have to answer any questions you are uncomfortable with and you are free to withdraw at any time."

D. If respondent need reassurance of anonymity: Tell them that they are not asked to put their name on any part of the questionnaire and it is placed by them into an envelope and sealed. The envelopes will then be placed with a bunch of others. Let them know that the lottery information is kept totally separate from the survey. Let them also know that you will not be viewing the responses, only the researcher will.

E. If the man agrees to complete the questionnaire: Give them a questionnaire, an envelope and a postcard. Ask them to put the survey into the envelope when they are finished, seal the envelope, then complete the postcard by addressing it to himself but do not put it in the envelope, and return both the sealed envelope and the post card to you. If the respondent has a problem with giving

you his name and address information to you in light of the fact that he just completed the questionnaire reassure him that the two are kept separate. If he still has a problem then tell him he can mail it in himself, give him an addressed, stamped post card and tell him that he need to put his address on this.

F. What to do while waiting for the respondent to

complete the questionnaire: Go away but not to far. Do something besides watch the respondent fill out the questionnaire (e.g. read a book, eat, approach another male).

G. After the respondent has completed the questionnaire

and postcard: Take the envelope and place it in a bag with other blank envelopes. Let the respondent see you do this. Have the respondent put their post card in the envelope with the other post cards. Let the respondent see you do this and tell the respondent that the lottery will take place in June and if he wins he will be notified by mail and a check sent to him. Thank him for filling out the questionnaire.

H. After you have left the site: Write on each envelope the site where the questionnaire was filled out.

VI. What not to do

A. What not to say: Do not tell the true purpose of the study. Do not tell him what the hypotheses are. Do not tell him anything about the stereotypes under study. If asked, just say that you do not know anything more about the study.

B. Do not...

1. ask the respondent to put his name on the survey
 2. put the envelope and the postcard together
 3. write on the envelope at the site or in the presence of any of the respondents
 4. open the envelopes
 5. attempt to read the respondents' answers
 6. write while the respondent is filling out the questionnaire
 7. talk on a phone while respondent is filling out questionnaire
 8. watch the respondent fill out the questionnaire
 9. leave the area where the respondent is completing the questionnaire
- leave a questionnaire or questionnaires with an individual to be returned to you at a later date

VII. Interaction with me

A. Completed questionnaires are to be returned to me on a weekly basis.

B. On occasion I will go to recruiting sites with you.

C. We will meet bi-weekly to discuss recruiting.

Please contact me at any time between meetings if there are questions, concerns, problems or changes to established agenda.

Appendix B

Appendix B

Measure

You are being asked to participate in a study on African American male-female relationships. Your participation will make a helpful contribution toward understanding relationships between African American men and women. This survey is completely anonymous so please answer truthfully. You indicate your voluntary agreement to participate by completing and returning this questionnaire.

Please respond to the following statements using these responses: 1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = slightly agree; 4 = slightly disagree; 5 = disagree; 6 = strongly disagree.

	strongly agree	agree	slightly agree	slightly disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women are faithful to their men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women expect too much from African American men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women are too flirtatious.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women are supportive of their men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women are likely to cheat on their men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women try to be too dominant in their relationships with men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
You can trust most African American women not to cheat on their men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women are teases.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women are too aggressive when it comes to relationships.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women are committed to their men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Most African American women are not faithful to their men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women are too demanding when it comes to relationships.	1	2	3	4	5	6
You can count on an African American woman to stand by her man.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women often use sex to get what they want from men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women often insult their men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women deserve to be respected.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women are likely to sleep around.	1	2	3	4	5	6

1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = slightly agree; 4 = slightly disagree; 5 = disagree; 6 = strongly disagree

	strongly agree	agree	slightly agree	slightly disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women are too controlling of their men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women are beautiful inside and out.	1	2	3	4	5	6
You cannot trust African American women to be faithful in their relationships.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women are too critical of their men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women have a loving nature.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women often flirt to make their men jealous.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women often talk down to their men.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women are caring individuals.	1	2	3	4	5	6
It is in the African American woman's nature to cheat.	1	2	3	4	5	6
African American women often attack the manhood of their men.	1	2	3	4	5	6

As many of us know relationships do not always flow smoothly. There are problems and disagreements that arise. People respond to these conflicts in different ways. The next set of statements addresses when it is justified to respond physically.

Please respond to the following items using these responses: 1= very justified; 2 = justified; 3 = somewhat justified; 4 = somewhat unjustified; 5 = unjustified; 6 = very unjustified.

How justified do you think it is for a man to hit his woman if she:

	very justified	justified	somewhat justified	somewhat unjustified	unjustified	very unjustified
	1	2	3	4	5	6
flirts with other men	1	2	3	4	5	6
talks down to him	1	2	3	4	5	6
wears revealing clothing against his wishes	1	2	3	4	5	6

1= very justified; 2= justified; 3= somewhat justified; 4= somewhat unjustified; 5= unjustified; 6= very unjustified

	very justified	justified	somewhat justified	somewhat unjustified	unjustified	very unjustified
insults him	1	2	3	4	5	6
goes out to a club or bar without him	1	2	3	4	5	6
threatens him with a weapon	1	2	3	4	5	6
constantly reminds him of his weaknesses	1	2	3	4	5	6
cheats on him	1	2	3	4	5	6
puts down his manhood	1	2	3	4	5	6
goes out with another man	1	2	3	4	5	6
constantly starts arguments with him	1	2	3	4	5	6
pulls a gun on him	1	2	3	4	5	6
makes him feel sexually inferior to other men	1	2	3	4	5	6
treats him as if he is a child	1	2	3	4	5	6
makes sexual comments about other men	1	2	3	4	5	6
tries to dominate the relationship	1	2	3	4	5	6
is sexually unfaithful	1	2	3	4	5	6
tries to cut him with a knife	1	2	3	4	5	6
tells him what to do and what not to do	1	2	3	4	5	6
tries to control him	1	2	3	4	5	6
is critical of him	1	2	3	4	5	6
questions his authority	1	2	3	4	5	6
contradicts him in front of other people	1	2	3	4	5	6
hits him	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix C

Appendix C

Demographic Pages

Please answer the following items either by placing a check mark or an "x" next to the answer that best applies.

Race:

- ☐ African-American
☐ Other (please specify _____)

Age: _____

Approximate yearly household income:

- ☐ under \$5,000
☐ \$5,000 - \$9,999
☐ \$10,000 - \$14,999
☐ \$15,000 - \$24,999
☐ \$25,000 - \$34,999
☐ \$35,000 - \$49,999
☐ \$50,000 and over

How many people does the above income support? _____

Education level:

- ☐ if less than high school please list last grade completed _____
☐ high school graduate/GED
☐ Trade school
☐ Associate's degree or some college
☐ Bachelor's degree
☐ beyond a Bachelor's degree

If you have had some other form of education not listed above please specify what that was: _____

Occupation level:

- ☐ student, not working
☐ student, working part time
☐ student, working full time
☐ employed, full time
☐ employed, part time
☐ retired
☐ disabled
☐ unemployed

If unemployed, how long have you been unemployed?

- ☐ less than six months
☐ six months to one year
☐ more than a year

Relationship History:

How many times have you been married? _____

Are you married now?

_____ yes

_____ no

Have you ever been in a committed relationship, including marriage, for longer than 3 years?

_____ yes

_____ no

If yes, how many of these committed relationships have you had? _____

Present Relationship Status:

_____ Not presently dating or in a relationship

_____ Dating more than one person

_____ Dating one person only

_____ Involved in a committed relationship, not living together

_____ Involved in a committed relationship, living together (whether married or not)

Do you have any children?

_____ yes

_____ no

If yes, how many _____ girls _____ boys

Dating Preference:

_____ date women only

_____ date women more than men

_____ date women and men equally

_____ date men more often than women

_____ date men only

In the past I have dated:

_____ only African Americans

_____ more African Americans than other races

_____ more of other races than African Americans

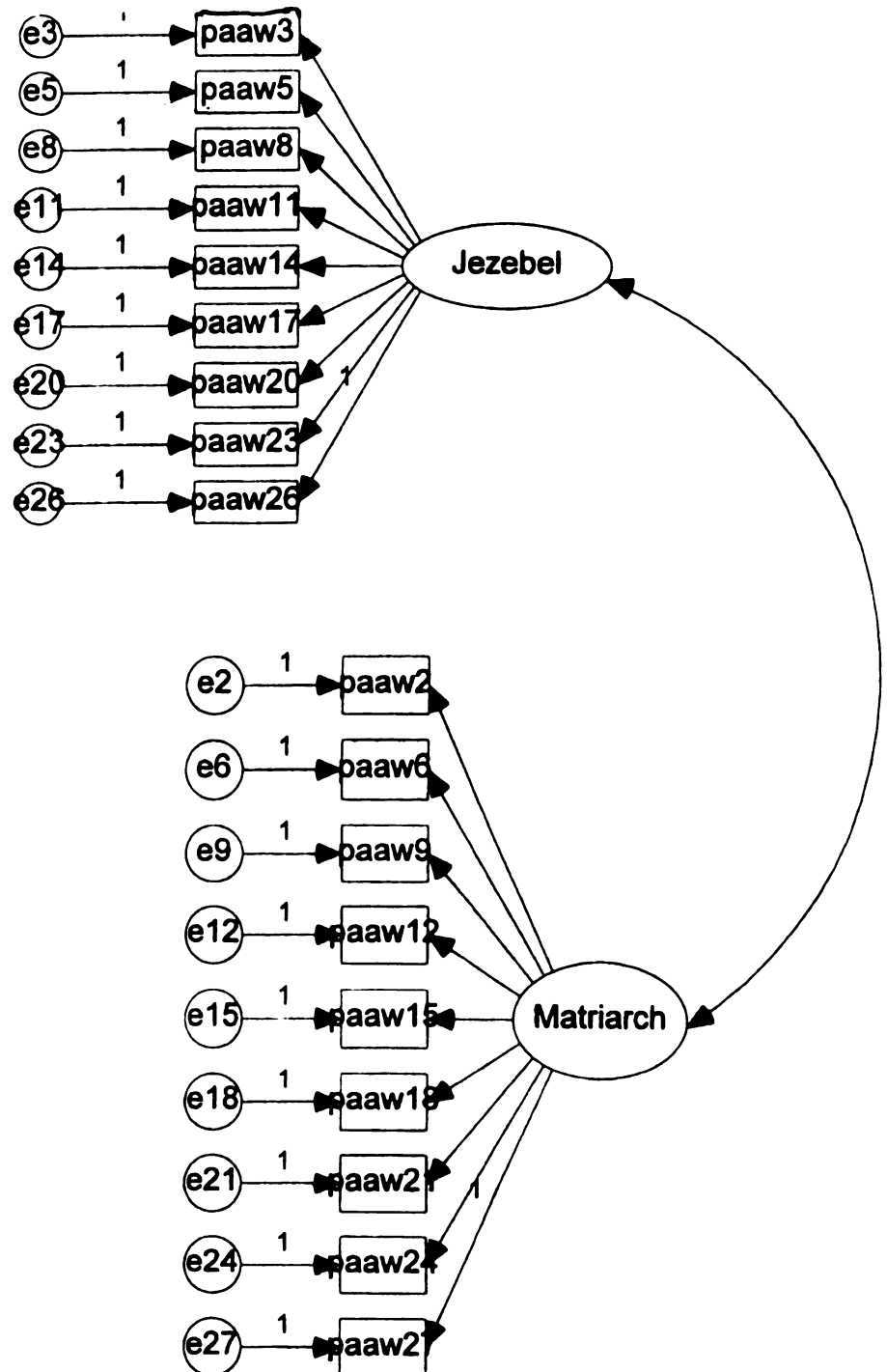
_____ Only other races (besides African Americans)

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Appendix D

Appendix D

Confirmatory Factor Analysis Model



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