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Beliefs About Women Held by African American Women and Men Differing in Level of Acculturation

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BELIEFS ABOUT WOMEN HELD BY AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN AND MEN
DIFFERING IN LEVEL OF ACCULTURATION

BY

JEAN M. JACOB

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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Abstract

Sixty-five African American women and 63 African American men completed research questionnaires examining beliefs about women of different ethnicities and income levels. Data were analyzed to determine if beliefs varied as a function of: participant gender, level of acculturation, and stage of racial identity; and on the basis of the target woman's ethnicity and income level. Data revealed that participants attributed more favorable descriptors to higher income targets regardless of ethnicity. Also, this study found that participants rarely used descriptors contained on inventories such as the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI). Overall, the results suggest that prior research examining beliefs about ethnic groups is too simplistic because it fails to capture the multidimensionality of stereotypes. Similarly, much of the research literature may have little validity because researchers often fail to use empirically derived inventories, or when researching ethnic minorities, inventories developed and normed for members of these groups.

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Beliefs about Women Held by African American
Women and Men Differing in Level of Acculturation

Statement of the Problem

Stereotypes about women are, "widely shared, socially validated general beliefs which reinforce, complement, or justify . . . prejudice" (Lott & Maluso, 1993, p. 108). Research shows that stereotypes can focus our perceptions (Hirt, 1990), influence our attributions for others' behavior (Bridges & Steen, 1998), and direct our behavior so as to elicit confirmatory evidence for our beliefs (Dougherty, Turban, & Callender, 1994). Stereotypes can operate to produce self-fulfilling prophecies and contribute to change in individuals' self-perceptions (Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990). These beliefs can have a powerful influence on women's lives by their impact on women's career aspirations (Cejka & Eagly, 1999), people's perceptions of women's competence (Lee, Castella, & McCluney, 1997), and others' perceptions of women's mental health (Landrine, 1991). On a societal level, the holding and maintaining of stereotypic images of women have political consequences for individuals and social institutions, the most obvious being the perpetuation of the status quo and power inequities (Lott, 1997).

Clearly, research on gender stereotypes is important

for psychologists. Yet, much of this research, even within a feminist theoretical framework, has failed to examine gender stereotypes across ethnicities and social classes. Typically, researchers use European American middle class participants and interpret the results without regard for ethnicity and social class (Espin, 1991).

This phenomenon was demonstrated by an analysis of papers published from 1989 to 1991 in the Psychology of Women Quarterly, the research journal of Division 35 (the Psychology of Women Division) of the American Psychological Association. This review (Reid & Kelly, 1994) revealed that 80% of the published studies focused on European American participants, and that most researchers failed to even acknowledge how the consistent use of a single sample limited the validity and generalizability of their results. The trends of focusing research on European Americans and failing to take into account ethnicity continue, as is apparent from perusing more recent issues of Psychology of Women Quarterly. One such recently published study states, "Although ethnicity was not explicitly measured, the student population of the university was largely Caucasian" (Madison, 2000, p. 149). In the same issue of this journal, other researchers assert, "We did not ask participants for race and ethnicity information, and therefore we can only assume that our sample generally reflected the racial composition of the undergraduate population: 81% Caucasian,

9% African American, 7% Asian American, 2% Hispanic American, and less than 1% Native American" (Diekman, McDonald, & Gardner, 2000, pp. 181-182).

That most studies are performed almost exclusively with European American samples suggests that there is a serious limitation in the psychological research literature. Examining gender stereotypes about African Americans is critical since, as Collins notes (cf. Sparks, 1996), European American society uses stereotypes of African American women to justify their discrimination against them. Furthermore, M.C. King (1973) asserts that stereotypes of African American women are "indispensable to the maintenance of the racially stratified order in America" (p. 12). She argues that stereotypic images encourage the exploitation of African American women in the job market, insure that proscriptions against inter-group marriage remain strong, and threaten African American women's self-esteem. Therefore, a clear understanding of how gender stereotypes operate in the lives of all women is necessary if we are ever to dismantle the system of sexism and racism embedded in our society.

We know that women and men of various ethnic groups and socioeconomic classes historically have not had, nor do they presently have, the same life experiences as European American middle class individuals. The disparate realities in the lives of African American and European American women

is captured in Sojourner Truth's 1851 "Ain't I a woman?" speech (Flexner, 1959). From the beginning of slavery in the United States, African American women have had to fulfill work responsibilities while also caring for family members and performing domestic tasks (Malson, 1983). European American middle class women, on the other hand, for much of the 20th century were expected to commit themselves full-time to their responsibilities in the home. Although this expectation sharply conflicted with reality toward the end of the 20th century, the expectation did not entirely disappear especially for mothers of young children.

African American women's history of labor force participation and experience combining home and family roles are among the unique cultural patterns that have been identified for African Americans (Harris, S. M., 1993). Furthermore, African American men historically have supported African American women's successful performance of these roles. Social learning theory would argue that these factors (e.g., necessity of performing "non-traditional" roles and positive consequences resulting from their behavior) have contributed to African American women's creation of their own definition of womanhood which departs from that held by mainstream European American culture. The conceptualization of African American womanhood also has its roots in African culture; the African American community's emphasis on unity and synthesis rather than duality helps

define gender roles that are not as dichotomized as in the European American community (e.g., Lewis, 1975).

It is likely that African American and European American women experience sexism differently. Women of Color are typically isolated from those who are most in control of resources (i.e., European American men), whereas European American middle class women live with the "dominant" group. Both groups of women may find unity in the experience of oppression. However, one should not overlook the different consequences of "subordination by seduction" experienced by European American women versus African American women's "subordination by rejection" by European American men and "subordination by seduction" by African American men (Hurtado, 1989). When we acknowledge that sexism manifests itself differently across ethnicities, we can no longer claim that the experience of European American women is representative of that of women of Color (just as there are likely to be important differences among women of Color and among European American women related to social class and other social categories). For example, we know many attributes which are perceived as positive for African American women in general, are not similarly valued in the European American community; while African American women are often respected because of their strength and assertiveness, European American woman who express strength and assertiveness may be viewed more negatively (Reid,

1985).

The recognition that African Americans may define womanhood differently from European Americans demonstrates the limitations of research based on the experiences of European American women which assumes the findings generalize across ethnicity. Clearly, we must reject the simplistic view that African American women's oppression is the same as European American women's, only worse because of the additional burden of racial discrimination. Dugger (1988) argues that the "double disadvantage" belief is dangerous for it inhibits the exploration of the unique experiences and conceptions of African American women and suggests that the experiences of European American women are universal. D. K. King (1995) reminds us that African American women contend with marginalization of "multiple jeopardy" which includes racism, sexism, and classism. The "multiple jeopardy" which they experience shapes their lives in completely different ways from the realities of European American women's lives. Reid (1993) argues that many European American middle class feminists have difficulty acknowledging that their experience of oppression is qualitatively different from that of women of Color and women of other socioeconomic classes. Reid cautions us to recognize that the "egocentricity of this belief has allowed us to accept a psychology of women that treats the middle-class [European American] experience as totally

representative, if not the totality, of women's worlds" (p. 135). As Smith and Stewart (1983) note, sexism is typically studied with European American women participants, and the experiences of African American men are typically studied to understand racism. Such conceptually biased research practices prevent genuine insight into the way that gender, ethnicity, and social class dynamically interact to shape the images and lives of all women.

Literature Review

This review is focused on three constructs which are commonly examined when conducting research on women: gender role orientation, gender role attitudes, and gender stereotypes. The literature on racial identity and acculturation will also be discussed.

Gender Role Orientation

Gender role orientation, as measured by instruments such as the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) or the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ), has been a popular topic of research with European American women. Much less work has been done using African American women as study participants. The lack of research using African American women is problematic because women's gender role orientations appear to be a function of need and history. When we consider the different life experiences of African American and European American women in terms of employment and family responsibilities, it is not surprising that these

groups of women score differently on self-report measures of gender roles.

Hershey (1978) found that, although African American women college students scored higher than European American women on the so-called "masculine" scale of the BSRI, they also scored higher on the so-called "feminine" scale.

Binion (1990) also found that low-income inner city African American women were more likely to score higher on the so-called "masculinity" (i.e. instrumental) and "femininity" (i.e. expressive) scales of the PAQ than European American women. It should be noted that while Spence, one of the originators of the PAQ, initially conceptualized it as measuring "masculinity" and "femininity," she now maintains the two dimensions actually measured are instrumentality and expressiveness, and she cautions others not to over-generalize beyond these two dimensions. (Spence, 1983).

Similarly, Bem (1993) came to see the limitations of the BSRI and has acknowledged that labeling behavior "masculine" or "feminine" perpetuates gender polarization. Hershey's and Binion's findings correspond to recent findings by S. M. Harris (1993) who examined the achievement needs of European American and African American women and found the latter to be more likely to score higher on the "masculinity" and the "masculinity-femininity" scales of the PAQ. Studies of African American women's gender role orientations suggest that cultural context is important when drawing conclusions

about gender roles, and that a research literature which focuses primarily on the European American experience is limited and may not represent the experiences of African Americans.

Gender Role Attitudes

The results of studies comparing African Americans with European Americans on gender role attitudes seem to be largely equivocal and dependent on how attitudes are measured. Studies have typically been performed to determine if African Americans or European Americans have more traditional gender attitudes. Swim and Cohen (1997) asserted that traditional gender attitudes embody the belief of male supremacy, whereas more liberal attitudes are characterized by a belief in gender equality. An individual holding more traditional gender role attitudes would be more likely to emphasize differences between women and men and to believe that certain activities are more appropriate for members of one gender. On the other hand, an individual with more liberal gender role attitudes would be more likely to believe that most activities are equally appropriate for both women and men.

Some studies have found that African Americans have more liberal gender role attitudes, while others have found that European Americans have more liberal gender role attitudes. Ransford and Miller (1983) found no differences between African American women and European American women

when examining attitudes toward women in politics, women working outside the home, and women remaining in the home. However, African American men were found to be more traditional than European American men in endorsing more strongly the beliefs that "women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men" and that men are "better suited emotionally for politics than are most women." However, African American men in this study were not more likely to disapprove of married women working outside of the home, even if their husbands were capable of supporting them.

Kane (1992), on the other hand, found that European American men were more traditional than African American men when looking at work related gender attitudes, home related gender attitudes, and gender related social action attitudes. African American men were more likely than European American men to endorse items stating that women should have equal opportunities in the work force, that women are limited from achieving more because society discriminates against them, that women and men should share child care responsibilities, that women should work collectively to change their status, and that the government should do more to ensure women have the same job opportunities as men.

The seemingly different results from the studies by Ransford and Miller (1983) and by Kane (1992) appear to be

related to what aspect of life the attitude inventories measure. For example, although African American men may not be as supportive of women in politics as European American men, they do support women working outside of the home and engaging in social action more than European American men do. Ransford and Miller suggested that African American men's greater traditionalism with regard to women in politics may reflect the philosophies of the Black Power and Black Nationalist movements which emphasize the importance of men in leadership positions. Similarly, support of social movements to attack racial inequality may explain African American men's encouragement of women organizing collectively. Also, the economic necessity for many African American women to be employed, both historically and today, may be why African American men are supportive of women working outside of the home.

Although Kane (1992) found that ethnicity was an important variable in shaping participants' gender role attitudes, the findings of Rao and Rao (1985) suggest the greater importance of gender among their sample of college students. African American and European American women students both reported significantly more liberal attitudes with respect to the "Traditional Wife Role," "Traditional Mother Role," and "Traditional Father Role" than men from either ethnic group. The only significant interaction for ethnicity and gender was that European American women had

more traditional attitudes toward the role of father than did African American women. The difference between the findings of Rao and Rao and of Kane may again have resulted from the fact that Kane found that African American men were much more supportive of women organizing collectively for social action than were European American men, while Rao and Rao did not measure this aspect of gender role attitudes.

In contrast to previously cited research which found that African American women have more liberal attitudes toward the role of father, Binion (1990) has reported that European American women have more liberal attitudes toward women's roles in the household and in the workforce than do African Americans. Items measuring attitudes included: "The only way for women to survive is to have men protect them;" "When a man works hard all day, he should not have to help with the housework;" "Raising children should be more a mother's job than a father's;" and "Men make better bosses than women." Binion interpreted this difference in attitudes as reflecting the fact that European American women possess greater freedom to endorse nontraditional roles while African American women suffer worse consequences for such beliefs. Binion suggested that perhaps African American women who express liberal attitudes toward women's roles face greater rejection by men than do European American women. This speculation was supported by the finding that more African American women than European

American women endorsed the belief that men are not very nice to women.

Lyson (1986), too, found that African Americans of both genders were traditional in their attitudes toward women's role as mothers; they endorsed items that suggest that women derive more satisfaction from their role as mothers than from the other roles which they hold. Interestingly, the importance attributed to motherhood did not lead to the belief that women with children should remain in the home. Consistent with this fact, more African Americans than European Americans agreed that women with school age children should work outside of the home.

Gump (1975) had reported earlier that African American women were more likely than European American women to endorse the belief that women derive their identity through their roles as wife and mother, although women of both ethnic groups generally disagreed with the statement. Furthermore, unlike Lyson (1986) and Ransford and Miller (1983), Gump found that African American women were more likely to agree with statements such as, "A woman who works cannot be as good a mother as the one who stays at home." Similar results were obtained by Uzzell (1986) a decade later. Contrary to his hypothesis, he found that African Americans were more traditional than European Americans in terms of asserting that husbands are primarily responsible for financially supporting the family while wives are

primarily responsible for housekeeping and child care. The findings from these studies of gender role attitudes among African Americans and European Americans demonstrate that the traditionality of a group's gender role attitudes may change considerably over time and vary depending on how and what specific gender role attitudes are measured.

Stereotypes About African American Women

European Americans' construction of images of, and assumptions about, African American women are significantly different from their images and assumptions about European American women. M. C. King (1973) described the following three images of African American women held by European Americans in our society: the "non-feminist," the "depreciated sex object," and the "loser." Other common images of African American women are "mammies," sexually loose, matriarchs, and welfare mothers (Weitz & Gordon, 1993). Sparks (1996) notes that Patricia Hill Collins identifies the stereotypes of "Mammy," "Jezebel," and "Matriarch" as images of African American women from the time of slavery until the Civil Rights era, while "Welfare Mother," "Superwoman," and "Super/Essence Woman" are the current stereotypes held within the European American community and internalized by some African American women themselves.

Research confirms that European American women's stereotypes of African American women differ from their

images of "American women in general." Weitz and Gordon (1993) found that European American college women use descriptors such as intelligent, sensitive, attractive, sophisticated, and independent significantly more to describe "American women in general" than to describe African American women. In contrast, European American women describe African American women as loud, aggressive, argumentative, and stubborn much more than "American women in general." The results of this study corroborate Landrine's (1985) findings that European American female respondents rate the adjectives dependent, emotional, competent, intelligent, passive, suggestible, talkative, and warm as representative of society's stereotype of European American women, while they endorse dirty, hostile, and superstitious as society's stereotype of African American women.

Clearly, European Americans describe European American and African American women differently. Also, Weitz and Gordon (1993) found that whether a trait was perceived to be a positive, neutral, or negative characteristic depended on the ethnicity of the woman being described. In their study, participants rated adjective descriptors as being positive, neutral, or negative when describing American women in general and African American women. The traits selected by European American female and male participants as most positive for American women in general (attractive,

assertive, independent, and meditative) were rated as significantly less positive when applied to African American women. Interestingly, the traits considered most negative for American women in general (very religious, loud, asexual, having too many children, and weak) were rated as significantly less negative for African American women. Smedley and Bayton (1978) also found that European American and African American participants differed on whether certain traits were considered favorable or unfavorable descriptors of African Americans. Traits such as "rebellious" and "aggressive" were rated as positive by African Americans and as negative by European Americans when used to describe "lower class" African Americans.

These findings suggest that African Americans and European Americans may attach different meanings to the same trait descriptors or hold different norms and expectations for the behavior of different ethnic and social class groups. For example, while African Americans may interpret "rebellious" and "aggressive" as implying that one stands up for one's self and fights against injustice, European Americans may interpret those traits as characterizing an individual who creates unprovoked conflict. The connotations of these terms when applied to a member of a particular ethnic or social class group must be examined in the context of the existing stereotypic images of that group.

Stereotypes of Women by Ethnicity and Social Class

An important limitation of research on women is the failure to examine socioeconomic status. Social class interacts with ethnicity to determine women's experiences and the stereotypes about them. Landrine (1985) illustrated the importance of social class when she asked a sample of predominantly European American women to assign adjectives to the following four target women: middle-class Black women, middle-class White women, lower-class Black women, and lower-class White women. Her findings showed differences in ratings for African American and European American target women and for "lower-class" and "middle-class" women. "Lower-class" women were judged to be less ambitious, less competent, less happy, less intelligent, less self-confident, less vain, and less warm than "middle-class" women. "Lower-class" women were also seen as more confused, more dirty, more hostile, more illogical, more impulsive, more incoherent, more inconsiderate, more irresponsible, and more superstitious than "middle-class" women. These findings were obtained from a sample of mostly female European American middle class participants.

Other research suggests that the relative importance of ethnicity and class may not be the same for African Americans and European Americans. For example, Smedley and Bayton (1978) found that European Americans use social class more than ethnicity in assigning traits to members of an

ethnic/social class group. When social class was held constant, no significant differences were found in the favorability of the traits European American participants assigned to African Americans and European Americans. However, "lower class" persons of both ethnicities were described with less favorable traits than were "middle class" persons. African Americans, however, relied on ethnicity more than social class in the assignment of traits to different groups and rated both "middle class" and "lower class" European Americans less favorably than African Americans from the same classes. This finding is not surprising given that African Americans are more likely to experience negative interactions with, and suffer discrimination by, European Americans rather than by members of their own ethnic group, regardless of social class. On the other hand, European Americans are privileged by their "Whiteness" and often are blind to the advantages given to their ethnic group, so may not recognize the importance of ethnicity. For them, then, social class may seem like a more relevant variable. Or conversely, this phenomenon may reflect self-presentation behavior whereby European Americans may try not to appear biased when participating in research on perceptions of different ethnic groups.

The previously cited literature demonstrates that there are complex interactions in the stereotypes associated with gender, ethnicity, and class. Thus, it is naive to assume

that asking middle class European American participants to characterize women will provide us with insight into the images held by women and men of Color. Findings from Landrine (1985) suggest that when European American participants are simply asked to characterize women, with no class or ethnic group indicated, they will more likely offer characterizations of middle class European American women.

Measurement Issues

The way in which gender stereotypes have traditionally been studied is inadequate, particularly for ethnic minority participants and individuals who are not from middle class backgrounds. One weakness of this research is the use of pre-existing checklists with items arbitrarily selected by researchers rather than the use of self-generated descriptions or scales with items derived empirically from participants in the sample (Smith & Midlarsky, 1985).

For example, in constructing the BSRI, as "a preliminary to item selection . . . a list was compiled . . . that seemed to the author and several students to be . . . either masculine or feminine in tone" (Bem, 1974, p. 156). While Bem does not identify the ethnicity of the students who helped generate items, it is likely that most, if not all, of them were European Americans. It is problematic for members of just one ethnic group to generate potential items because these items may prove to be specific to that ethnic group and may fail to capture different

aspects of sex role orientation which may be more salient for members of other ethnic groups. For example, a study conducted in Mexico found important traits that were not captured by the BSRI items (Lara-Cantu & Navarro-Arias, 1987).

Also, the BSRI may be particularly suspect when used with individuals who are not highly acculturated to mainstream American society. When items were selected for inclusion, undergraduate judges were asked to rate how desirable "in American society" it was for a member of each gender to possess each specific characteristic. Those items which best differentiated women and men were retained. It may well be that African Americans' ratings of these items would not have been the same as ratings by European Americans. For example, the traits "passive" and "expressive of emotions" are items on scales measuring gender role orientation or identity, yet Smith and Midlarsky (1985) found that in describing women, these traits were generated significantly more frequently by female and male European American participants than by African American participants. In fact, not a single African American participant characterized women as passive, though this was a common attribute of women offered by European Americans of both genders.

When A. C. Harris (1994) evaluated the validity of the BSRI for African Americans, the findings suggested that

African Americans and European Americans have different conceptions of what they consider to be desirable male and female behavior. In assigning desirability ratings for African Americans to items on the BSRI, neither women nor men rated the so called "masculine" items as being more appropriate for a man than for a woman. Of the so called "feminine" items, only two were rated by respondents of both genders as more appropriate for a woman than a man. These results are similar to those previously reported by Millham and Smith (1981) who found that, among African Americans, women and men agreed that only four of Bem's (1974) initial 218 traits were more desirable for one gender than the other. These results indicate that the BSRI may not be a valid measure of African Americans' gender role orientation.

Landrine, Klonoff, and Brown-Collins (1992) provide further support for the inadequacy of gender role orientation checklist questionnaires. Significant differences in usage of terms between women of Color and European American women were found when participants were asked to define common gender stereotype terms such as passive, assertive, feminine, and sensitive. These results suggest strongly that researchers cannot assume that their definitions of descriptors are shared by participants.

Although research has focused on European Americans' perceptions of African American women, and African American women's perceptions of themselves, few studies have examined

how African American women are perceived by African American men. Most of the work published on this issue is theoretical and deals with the historical images that African American men have held of African American women (Burrow, 1992). Other work has focused on images found in popular culture (e.g., Elise & Umoja, 1992; hooks, 1994). African American men's images of African American women are important to explore empirically because we know that individuals alter their self-presentation behaviors as well as their self-concepts to match the expectations of those with whom they interact, particularly if the latter are believed to be attractive and to control desirable resources (Von Baeyer, Sherk, & Zanna, 1981; Zanna & Pack, 1975). We can assume that in our highly segregated society, men who are the brothers, fathers, husbands, and friends of African American women, predominantly African American men, would be among the individuals who occupy such a position. Similarly, little is known about how African American men view European American women and if the beliefs about them depart significantly from their beliefs about African American women. Learning more about African American men's perceptions of European American women of different income levels is important in understanding how beliefs about women vary as a function of the woman's ethnicity and social class.

The gender ideologies held by African American women of

themselves and of European American women also need to be more closely examined along with an analysis of how gender stereotypes vary with social class. For too long African American women have been either ignored in the research literature or have been studied only through the eyes of middle class European Americans. Research practices that exclude or distort the experiences of African American women and poor women threaten the integrity of psychology as a science, including feminist psychology. As noted by Espin (1991), "feminist psychology does not exist yet, and will continue to be non-existent . . . as long as a small group of women are the only ones represented and considered in . . . theory and practice" (p. 4).

Racial Identity Attitudes

Since the 1960s there has been a considerable amount of research on the "process of becoming Black" for African Americans. Cross (1971) proposed a five stage process of African American identity development. In the first stage (Pre-encounter) individuals are said to hold Eurocentric views and to often express a preference for Western culture and art forms and European features. Individuals in this stage may hold anti-Black views, or views which undermine the importance of ethnicity in their own lives. The second stage (Encounter) is said to result from an experience or series of experiences that force individuals to re-evaluate their previously held values and beliefs. Cross (1991)

proposed that this stage involves the two steps of: 1) having an experience which challenges one's world view as it relates to ethnicity, and 2) personalizing the experience. In (Immersion-Emersion) the third stage, individuals are said to try to forge their new racial identity. In the Immersion portion of this stage Blackness is glorified while Whiteness is vilified. An individual may embrace African culture, art, and dress. However, once the Emersion part of the stage is achieved, the complexities involved in a racial analysis are recognized and individuals start to think in less dichotomous terms about race. Internalization, the fourth stage, is characterized by a sense of security in one's own Black identity. Individuals derive a sense of confidence and peace of mind from their connection with the African American community. Ultimately, in the Commitment stage individuals will demonstrate their commitment to their new identity and to the African American community through political and social action.

Parham and Helms (1981) constructed a racial identity attitudes scale based on Cross' (1971) model. This inventory is now widely used (Pyant & Yanico, 1991). Research with this scale has found relationships between racial identity and mental health, self actualization, and body image (e.g., Harris, S. M., 1994; Parham & Helms, 1985; Pyant & Yanico, 1991). Carter and Helms (1988) found evidence that one's stage of racial identity could not be

predicted on the basis of socioeconomic status. Overall, the empirical research with racial identity has demonstrated that it is an important variable to include in research with African Americans because of its apparent relationship with other psychological processes/variables.

There has been little interest thus far, however, in examining the relationship between racial identity and stereotyping, and the few studies which have examined this relationship have not found a correlation. Martin and Hall (1992) found no relationship between support for the feminist movement and stage of racial identity. Similarly, Pyant and Yanico (1991) found no relationship between attitudes toward women and stage of racial identity. However, stage of racial identity should be related to one's beliefs about women of various ethnicities, if Cross' model is valid.

Acculturation

Landrine and Klonoff (1994) defined acculturation as "the extent to (and the process through) which ethnic-cultural minorities participate in the cultural traditions, values, beliefs, assumptions, and practices of the dominant White society (acculturated), or, remain immersed in their own cultural traditions, values, practices, and beliefs (traditional), or participate in the traditions of their own and of the dominant White society (bicultural)" (p. 104). Berry (1990) distinguishes between population acculturation

and psychological acculturation. Whereas the former addresses the concept from the population level, dealing with social structure, economics, and politics, the latter focuses on an individual's behavior, identity, values and attitudes.

Acculturation is a variable that has been found to differ among members of some ethnic groups (e.g., Atkinson & Gim, 1989). Level of individual acculturation on the part of ethnic minority individuals has been shown to be related to such other variables as incidence of coronary heart disease, alcohol abuse, stress, and psychiatric disorders (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994). Cuellar, Harris and Jasso (1980) found acculturation to be related to counseling outcomes for Mexican-Americans, and Tharp, Meadow, Lennhoff, and Satterfield (1968) concluded that Mexican-American women who were more acculturated had more egalitarian marital attitudes than did those women who were less acculturated. Hispanic women who were highly acculturated have been found to hold more liberal attitudes toward women and to engage in less stereotypically feminine activities than those less acculturated but to be just as likely to describe themselves in sex-typed ways on the BSRI (Kranau, Green, & Valencia-Weber, 1982).

Research has shown acculturation to be a meaningful variable for Latin and Asian Americans, and more recently for African Americans. Landrine and Klonoff (1994) argue

that acculturation is conceptually distinct from racial identity which has been examined more frequently in research with African Americans. Consequently, it should be fruitful to explore whether level of acculturation among African Americans is related to their beliefs about women.

The Present Study

Overall, the current study is seeking to broaden the existing research literature on beliefs about women so that the theories and empirical findings in feminist psychology have validity across ethnicity. Specifically, this study seeks to explore the interaction of gender, ethnicity, and social class in the construction of images about women. Currently, the theories are limited by a research literature based largely on a European American middle class perspective. Therefore, research is needed which focuses on African Americans' beliefs. Included in this research will be an examination of participants' generation of terms contained on the BSRI. Because the BSRI is commonly used in research with European American, and to a lesser extent African American women, it is important to determine if participants spontaneously use such terms on their own. This is particularly interesting for African Americans because, as with most other inventories, African Americans were largely excluded in the development of the BSRI. The failure to find that BSRI terms are used with great frequency, will call into question the external validity of

much of the research performed with it.

Recognizing that there is great variability in African Americans' beliefs about women, this study will use the concept of acculturation to examine that variability. For too long African Americans have been treated as a racial group rather than recognizing how their unique cultural beliefs and practices define them as a cultural group. Including the variable of acculturation will be a step toward replacing the existing race comparison and race deficit models.

This investigation examined beliefs about women held by a sample of African American women and men. Because beliefs about women may vary with the woman's social class and ethnicity, this study examined beliefs about African American women and White women who were described as earning \$48,000/year or \$12,000/year. Additionally, because women and men, and individuals of different levels of acculturation and stages of racial identity may hold different beliefs, the influence of these variables was also analyzed. In this study, beliefs about women were assessed by having participants describe target women in terms of personal qualities, activities, and jobs. Participants also indicated how favorable these descriptors were. The personal qualities generated by the participants were compared to items on a commonly used measure that scores respondents on "femininity," the BSRI, to determine how well

they were related.

Hypotheses

In this study beliefs about women (qualities, activities, and jobs) and favorability of ratings of these descriptors were dependent variables, while the independent variables were target women's ethnicity and income, and the participants' gender, level of acculturation, and stage of racial identity.

The specific hypotheses tested were as follows:

- 1) Beliefs about women (qualities, activities, and jobs) will vary with the ethnicity and income of the target woman and vary with the gender, level of acculturation, and stage of racial identity of the respondent. Because there is insufficient data and theory on which to base a specific prediction about how beliefs will vary, this was tested as a non-directional hypothesis.
- 2) The favorability ratings of the descriptors will vary with the ethnicity and income of the target woman and with the gender, level of acculturation, and stage of racial identity of the respondent. No specific predictions were made.
- 3) The qualities which participants generate for African American women will not correspond closely to the "femininity" descriptors in the BSRI, a popular research instrument.

Method

Participants

Taking part in this study were 128 adult African Americans (65 women and 63 men). Approximately three quarters of the participants were students, faculty, or staff at community colleges in northern California, with the remainder being participants in Alcoholics Anonymous/Narcotics Anonymous groups from the same area. Ten of the 128 participants were paid \$3 for their participation in order to facilitate the cooperation of persons with economic need. Also, to help facilitate data collection, a research assistant was paid \$3 for every completed survey she returned. Prior to data collection, the investigator piloted all research measures on 21 women and 6 men in one of the community colleges where final data were collected.

Participants ranged in age from young adults (18-21 years old) to 38 years old and up. The age composition of the sample is as follows: ages 18-21, 6.3%; 22-25, 7.0%; 26-29, 9.4%; 30-33, 14.1%; 34-37, 10.9%; and 38 and over, 52.3%. Thus, 77.3% of participants were 30 years old and over. Most participants were heterosexual, 88.2%, had at least one child, 82.8%, and were currently or had previously been married, 68%. Almost half, 46.0%, of the participants grew up in the Northwest and 58.4% described the area where

they had spent most of their lives as urban. However, there was a great diversity in geographical background. A fairly large percentage of participants' mothers and fathers had come from the South, 32.0% and 24.0%, respectively. Participants also had a variety of social class backgrounds. Almost 30% of the sample were of the upper social status, over 25% were in the social class associated with business, professional, or technical work, approximately 26% were in the class associated with clerical or sales work, 13% were in the class associated with semi skilled work, and just over 6% were in the class associated with unskilled labor.

All participants were recruited from Alameda County. Data from the 1990 Census general population characteristics (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990) show that in Alameda County, African Americans comprise 17.9% of the population. An analysis of the social and economic characteristics census report (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990) suggests that institutional racism may be strongly operating in this area since the per capita income of African Americans in Alameda County (\$11,661) is substantially less than that of European Americans (\$21,015). Also, unemployment rates are much higher for African Americans than for European Americans, with 14.1% of African Americans in Alameda County unemployed versus 4.2% of European Americans. Likewise, while a large percentage of African Americans in Alameda County are high school graduates, only 15.7% have a college

or higher degree compared with over a third of European Americans.

Procedure

Before taking part in this research project, participants signed a consent form (see Appendix A) that included a written explanation of the study and noted whom they could approach with questions following their participation. The participants were given two consent forms, one for their own records, and one which was returned to the research assistant. In order to ensure confidentiality, consent forms were kept separate from the packet of other measures.

The investigator, a European American woman, solicited the help of African American instructors at community colleges to distribute questionnaires to their classes. Data were also collected at Alcoholics Anonymous/Narcotics Anonymous groups and community colleges by a female African American Research Assistant, who was paid \$3 for each completed questionnaire returned.

Participants were approached by professors or the research assistant in classes or at recovery meetings and asked to participate in the study. They were informed that the purpose of the study was to examine African Americans' beliefs about women of different ethnicities and social classes. Participants were generally given a week to complete the survey and were informed that they could

complete it at their homes during their free time. One exception was a group of participants who were asked by their professor to complete the survey during a 50 minute class period. All participants were informed that they should complete the survey independently and were asked not to discuss their responses with others until they had returned their survey. The survey solicited demographic information, social status information, stage of racial identity, and level of acculturation. The survey also asked participants to describe four different target women, varying in ethnicity (African American or White) and income (\$12,000/year or \$48,000/year), in terms of qualities, activities and jobs. Participants then indicated on a seven point likert scale how favorable each of these descriptors was.

Instruments

Demographic information. The first page of the survey packet solicited information about participant gender and age and their own and their parents' geographical background (see Appendix B). In addition, the Hollingshead Four Factor Index of Social Status (Hollingshead, 1975) asked for participants' number of years of education and income.

Hollingshead Four Factor Index of Social Status (Hollingshead, 1975). Participants provided information about their families' social status on the Hollingshead Four Factor Index of Social Status (see Appendix C) by noting the

type of occupation and the amount of schooling of the wage earners in their household. If there was more than one wage earner per household, the data for those individuals was averaged to derive just one score. The Hollingshead has been demonstrated to be a reliable and valid measure of social class (Gottfried, 1985).

This index was selected because it has the advantage of taking into account occupation as well as education. Also, it can estimate social status for one- or two- person wage earner households by noting the type of occupation and the amount of schooling of the wage earners in the household. Occupations are assigned a score of 1 to 9, with 9 indicating occupations that typically require more formal education and are considered more prestigious than occupations with lower assigned scores. Educational levels are given scores from 1 to 7 (1=less than 7th grade and 7=graduate professional training). Scores for level of education are then multiplied by 3 and occupation scores are multiplied by 5, and then these scores are summed to derive an overall social status score. If there is more than one wage earner per household, the data for those individuals are averaged to derive just one score. Based on their responses, participants are assigned to one of the following five different social classes: 1) major business and professional; 2) medium business, minor professional, technical; 3) skilled crafts, clerical, sales workers;

4) machine operators, semiskilled workers; and 5) unskilled laborers, menial service workers.

Self-Generated Beliefs about Women Form. This measure (see Appendix D) was developed for this study based on the M-F Rating Form (Smith & Midlarsky, 1985). The M-F Rating Form is a two page form in which one page is identified as the "male list" and the other as the "female list," and respondents are instructed to identify 12 traits and behaviors which they believe to be characteristic of each gender. The Self-Generated Beliefs about Women Form developed for the present study asks respondents to characterize a target woman in terms of three qualities she is likely to display, three activities in which she is likely to enjoy participating, and three jobs which she is likely to have or to have had. Participants are also asked to rate how favorable each descriptor (quality, activity, and job) is on a scale from 1 (very unfavorable) to 7 (very favorable).

In this study, four versions of the form varied the income and ethnicity of the target woman to be rated. The four versions of the form are as follows: 1) list three qualities, activities, and jobs held by an African American woman earning \$4000/month (\$48,000/yr); 2) list three qualities, activities, and jobs held by an African American woman earning \$1000/month (\$12,000/yr); 3) list three qualities, activities, and jobs held by a White woman

earning \$4000/month (\$48,000/yr); and 4) list three qualities, activities, and jobs held by a White woman earning \$1000/month (\$12,000/yr). Each participant was asked to respond to all four target women, and the order in which the target women were presented to respondents was counterbalanced across participants so as to control for order effects.

African-American Acculturation Scale (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994). This scale (see Appendix E) was selected from numerous other acculturation scales [Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, & Perez-Stable (1987), Olmedo, Martinez, & Martinez (1978), Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew, & Vigil (1987), Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, & Aranalde (1978)] because it is the only scale designed specifically for African Americans.

The African-American Acculturation Scale is comprised of the following eight subscales: 1) traditional African American religious beliefs and practices; 2) traditional African American family structure and practices; 3) traditional African American socialization; 4) preparation and consumption of traditional foods; 5) preference for African American things; 6) interracial attitudes; 7) superstitions; and 8) traditional African American health beliefs and practices. The internal reliability of the scales range from .71 to .90. All scales have been demonstrated to have criterion validity in distinguishing

African Americans from non African Americans. Scores on the scale have not been shown to be significantly related to education, geographical background, or social class of the respondents.

On this measure, acculturation is determined by self-report responses to 74 questions. The questions are 7-point Likert scale items, ranging from 1 (I totally disagree/not true at all) to 7 (I strongly agree/absolutely true). Lower scores reflect a greater degree of acculturation to the majority culture and higher scores indicate a greater degree of traditionalism or adherence to minority ethnic beliefs and practices.

On the basis of their overall scores, participants in this study were divided into low acculturated, high acculturated, and bicultural groups. Participants with mean scores of 1-3 were coded as highly acculturated, those receiving mean scores of 4 were scored as bicultural, and those with mean scores of 5-7 were coded as low in acculturation. This method of grouping participants into categories differs from Landrine and Klonoff's method of treating scores on the acculturation scale as a continuous variable. This modification to the scoring was done so that stage of acculturation could more easily be compared with scores on the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale.

Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS) (Parham & Helms, 1981). Participants completed this 30 item self-report

inventory which measures stage of racial identity (see Appendix F). The RIAS consists of questions representing one of the following four subscales: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization. The alpha coefficients for the subscales range from .66 to .72. Validity of the scales has been demonstrated by the fact that African Americans scoring in the pre-encounter stage prefer a European American counselor whereas those in the encounter and immersion/emersion stage prefer an African American counselor, and those in the internalization stage exhibit no preference (Parham & Helms, 1981).

The extent of agreement with items assessing stage of racial identity is made on a 5-point scale which ranges from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Scores are obtained by adding participants' responses (which range from 1 to 5) and dividing by the number of items for each subscale. Participants were then assigned to the stage in which they had the highest mean rating.

Results

Tables 1, 2, and 3 list the five most frequent qualities, activities, and jobs generated by women, men, and both genders combined for each of the four target women differing in ethnicity and income. Descriptors are listed by frequency, with the most frequent descriptors listed at the top of the column. When the descriptors are used with the same frequency, this is indicated in the table by asterisks.

Where fewer than five descriptors are listed, it is because more descriptors were not listed by more than one participant. Tables 4 through 9 present these data separately for women and for men, by level of acculturation. Tables 10 through 12 present the most common qualities, activities, and jobs (respectively) for women, men, and both genders combined, by gender and stage of racial identity. Data are shown only for participants in the internalization stage of racial identity because a low number of participants scored in other stages of racial identity, precluding analysis.

Overall, the results partially support the hypothesis that beliefs about women will vary with the ethnicity and income level of the target woman and vary with the level of acculturation, stage of racial identity, and gender of the respondent. For the most part, descriptions varied by the target woman's income, not ethnicity, and level of acculturation, stage of racial identity, and gender were not related to descriptions.

Summary for Qualities. Most participants described all the target women as hardworking. All targets were also commonly described as dependable and honest. Higher income women, regardless of ethnicity, were more likely than lower income women to be described as well educated and intelligent, whereas lower income targets were more commonly described as having a low educational level. Lower income

targets were more likely than higher income targets to be described as having low self-esteem, particularly the White target. The White target woman earning \$12,000/year was also commonly described as lazy and ugly while the African American target earning \$12,000/year was commonly described as frustrated, determined, and stressed.

On the other hand, lower income targets were more likely than higher income targets to be described as good parents. The higher income targets of both ethnicities were not described as good parents by any group of participants but were described as parents by some groups of participants. The higher income targets were also described as aggressive and assertive.

Summary for Activities. Most respondents described all the target women except for the White target earning \$48,000/year as enjoying watching movies. Also, all target women except for the African American target who earns \$12,000/year were described by most groups of participants as enjoying reading. Highly acculturated women and low acculturated men did list reading as among the most enjoyed activities for this target.

African American targets were more likely than White targets to be described as attending church as among their favorite activities, but the lower income White target woman was described by low acculturated men as most enjoying church, and the higher income White target woman was

described by high acculturated men and men in the internalization stage of racial identity as enjoying church.

Lower income targets were more likely than higher income targets to be described as enjoying watching TV. In fact, whereas the lower income targets were described by most all groups of participants as enjoying TV, no groups of participants said that watching TV was a favorite activity of higher income targets. The lower income targets were also more likely to be described as enjoying dancing and music, particularly by participants in the internalization stage of racial identity. Lower income targets were also more likely than higher income targets to be described as enjoying spending time with their children. Men commonly described the lower income targets as enjoying going to school. Interestingly, high acculturated men described the African American lower income target as not having any activities in which she enjoyed engaging. Overall, the higher income targets were more likely than the lower income targets to be described as enjoying traveling, shopping, the theater, and PTA activities.

Summary for Jobs. Overall, participants described target women of similar income levels as having similar jobs. Higher income targets were generally described as having jobs such as teacher, nurse, manager, business owner, police officer, administrative assistant, and paralegal, while lower income women were described as having jobs such

as cashier, waitress, housekeeper, fast food worker, home care provider and childcare provider. For the higher income targets, the African American target was more likely to be described as a business owner whereas the White target was more likely to be described as a police officer.

The one job that most groups of participants generally attributed to women of both income levels was secretary. Interestingly, the lower income targets were also commonly described as being students or not having jobs. For example, high acculturated women and low acculturated men described the lower income White target woman as being on AFDC or having no job. Similarly, high acculturated men described the lower income African American target woman as not having a job.

Overall, the participants attributed target women of different ethnicities but similar income levels with similar jobs, while women of different income levels were said to have different jobs.

Quantitative Hypothesis Testing

The hypothesis that ratings of the descriptors will vary on the basis of the ethnicity and income of the target woman and with the gender, level of acculturation, and stage of racial identity of the respondent was tested quantitatively.

Because data were collected using slightly different procedures across participants (e.g., some participants were

paid so as to encourage participation by lower income individuals, participants were recruited from both community colleges and recovery groups, and different investigators handed out and recruited participants), before other analyses were performed, tests were conducted to determine if the nine samples had any statistically significant differences that would prevent combining the findings. For all analyses conducted in this study, unless otherwise noted, a probability level of .05 was used, and missing data were replaced with series means. Three separate repeated measures ANOVAs were performed for favorability ratings of qualities, activities, and jobs. The results showed that the different samples of participants did not rate qualities, activities, or jobs differently [$F(8, 118) = .36, p = .939$, $F(8, 118) = 1.42, p = .197$, and $F(8, 118) = .70, p = .691$, respectively]. Therefore, data from the different samples were combined into one data set.

Once the data from the different samples were combined, six separate repeated measures ANOVAs were conducted. The dependent variables were the favorability ratings given to qualities, activities, and jobs. The independent variables were participant's gender, participant's level of acculturation (or participant's level of racial identity), and the ethnicity and income of the target person. For three of the repeated measures ANOVAs, an independent variable was level of acculturation of participants; for the

other three repeated measures ANOVAs, stage of racial identity was an independent variable. However, because most all participants scored in the Internalization stage of racial identity, the results of the analyses conducted using stage of racial identity are not meaningful and, thus, will not be presented in the body of this paper. A Spearman Correlation Coefficient was derived to determine the correlation between overall level of acculturation and stage of RIAS. The correlation was not statistically significant ($r(124) = .136, p = .132$).

Favorability of Qualities Using Acculturation as an Independent Variable. The mean favorability ratings of each target's qualities by participant level of acculturation and gender are displayed in Table 13. Participants rated the favorability of the four target women's qualities significantly differently ($F(3, 354) = 28.09, p = .000$). Follow up paired t -tests using a Bonferroni correction to control for Type 1 error ($p = .008$) revealed that while there was no difference in the favorability of the qualities ascribed to the two higher income women [$t(133) = .41, p = .681$], there was a difference between how participants rated the lower income target women of different ethnicities. Participants rated the qualities of the African American target woman higher than the qualities of the White target woman [$t(133) = 3.95, p = .000$]. For both the White targets and the African American targets, participants rated

the qualities of the higher income targets higher than the qualities of the lower income targets [$t(133) = -8.45, p = .000$ and $t(133) = 5.18, p = .000$, respectively]. The African American higher income target's qualities were rated more positively than the White lower income target's qualities [$t(133) = 7.99, p = .000$]. The higher income White target woman's qualities were rated more positively than the lower income African American's qualities [$t(133) = 4.87, p = .000$]. Neither participants' level of acculturation nor the interaction of the participants' level of acculturation with the target they rated was significantly related to the favorability ratings of qualities [$F(2, 118) = .02, p = .982, F(6, 354) = .74, p = .618$, respectively]. Similarly, neither participants' gender nor the interaction of participants' gender with the targets they rated was significantly related to the favorability ratings of qualities [$F(1, 118) = .56, p = .454, F(3, 354) = .39, p = .759$, respectively].

Favorability of Activities Using Acculturation as an Independent Variable. Participants rated the favorability of the target women's activities differently across targets [$F(3, 354) = 36.18, p = .000$]. Table 14 shows the mean favorability ratings for each target's activities by level of participant acculturation and gender. Participants did not rate the higher income women's activities differently [$t(133) = -1.05, p = .297$] for African American and White

targets. However, the lower income African American target woman's activities were rated less favorably than the activities of the lower income White woman [$t(133) = 3.64$, $p = .000$]. The higher income White target's activities were rated more favorably than the lower income White's [$t(133) = -8.37$, $p = .000$], and the higher income African American target's activities were rated higher than the lower income African American's [$t(133) = 6.01$, $p = .000$]. Also, the higher income African American's activities were rated higher than the lower income White's, and the higher income White's activities were rated higher than the lower income African American's [$t(133) = 8.09$, $p = .000$ and $t(133) = -6.14$, $p = .000$, respectively]. Neither participants' level of acculturation, nor the interaction of their level of acculturation with the target they rated was significantly related to ratings of activities [$F(2, 118) = .57$, $p = .567$, $F(6, 354) = .66$, $p = .685$, respectively]. Similarly, neither participants' gender, nor the interaction of participants' gender with the target they rated was significantly related to ratings of activities [$F(1, 118) = .09$, $p = .759$, $F(3, 354) = .20$, $p = .895$, respectively].

Favorability of Jobs Using Acculturation as an Independent Variable. Table 15 shows the mean favorability ratings of each target's jobs by participant level of acculturation and gender. Participants rated the favorability of the target women's jobs differently across

target women [$F(3, 354) = 35.73, p = .000$]. Paired t -tests revealed that participants did not rate the jobs held by higher income Black and White targets differently [$t(133) = -1.39, p = .167$]. Likewise, participants did not rate the jobs held by lower income African American and White targets differently [$t(133) = 1.38, p = .170$]. Participants rated the jobs held by the higher income African American target higher than the jobs of the lower income African American target and the jobs held by the higher income White target higher than the jobs held by the lower income White target [$t(133) = 5.87, p = .000$ and $t(133) = -.928, p = .000$, respectively]. The African American higher income target's jobs were rated higher than the White lower income target's jobs [$t(133) = 7.47, p = .000$], and the White higher income target's jobs were rated higher than the African American lower income target's jobs [$t(133) = -7.76, p = .000$].

Neither participants' level of acculturation, nor the interaction of level of acculturation with target rated was significantly related to favorability ratings of jobs [$F(2, 118) = .50, p = .609, F(6, 354) = .94, p = .468$, respectively]. While participants' gender was not related to favorability ratings of jobs [$F(1, 118) = .17, p = .678$], the interaction of participants' gender with the target being rated was related to favorability ratings of jobs [$F(3, 354) = 3.35, p = .019$]. Examining this interaction, it was found that while both women and men

rated the jobs associated with the target women earning \$48,000/year more favorably than the jobs associated with the target women earning \$12,000/year, women and men rated the African American and White targets differently. Women rated the jobs of the White targets higher than those of the African American targets with the same income, while men rated the jobs of the African American targets higher than those of the White targets with the same income.

Comparisons with BSRI "Femininity" Items

Table 16 presents the eleven BSRI "femininity" traits that were used by participants and the pattern of use of these terms (or good synonyms). The table separates the data by target, and participant gender. Frequency of use is indicated in the table by the number of participants who used the term and the number of participants who did not use the term. Nine of the "femininity" traits from the BSRI (out of 20) were not used by any participants to describe any of the four target women. As Table 16 reveals, and as was hypothesized, participants did not use the BSRI "femininity" traits frequently. The term "affectionate" was used to describe only two of the target women and in both cases just one participant used that term. The BSRI term "compassionate" was used a total of nine times in describing the four target women. It was used more frequently when describing the lower income targets than when describing the higher income targets. The term "conventional" was used to

describe only two of the target women, and in both cases it was used by only one participant. Participants used the BSRI terms "helpful" seven times. "Loves children" was used 18 times in describing the four target women, and it was mainly used to describe the lower income target women. The term "shy" was used three times to describe the targets, but it was used only to describe White targets. "Sensitive to the needs of others" was used 12 times in describing the targets and 58% of the time it was used when describing the lower income White target. "Sensitive to the needs of others" was never used to describe the higher income White target. Participants used "soft-spoken" five times to describe the targets but never used this term to describe the higher income African American target. "Understanding" was used eight times to describe the target women. The BSRI term "warm" was used only once to describe the target women and that was for the lower income African American target. The term "yielding" was used only three times and used only when describing the lower income targets.

As table 17 shows, for the four target women combined, women and men participants ascribed BSRI "femininity" qualities 70 times and did not do so 1466 times. In terms of percentages, only 4.56% of qualities listed were "femininity" items from the BSRI. Of the qualities listed by women, 3.31% were "femininity" items and for men, 5.95% were. When women and men described the higher income

African American target, 2.86% of the qualities were BSRI "femininity" items, when they described the lower income African American target, 5.99% were "femininity" items, when describing the higher income White target, 2.60% were "femininity" items, and when describing the lower income White target, 6.77% were "femininity" items.

Discussion

This study examined African Americans' beliefs about women of different ethnicities and income levels, and how those beliefs were related to participants' gender, level of acculturation, and stage of racial identity. The hypothesis that beliefs about women will vary with the gender and level of acculturation of the participant and the ethnicity and income level of the target was partially supported. While the respondent characteristics of gender and level of acculturation were not related to their beliefs about the target women, the target characteristics of income and ethnicity were related to these beliefs, primarily income level.

Analyses conducted to determine if stage of racial identity was related to beliefs about women are not reported because most all participants scored as being in the internalization stage, thus preventing meaningful analysis. Only 12 of the 126 participants who completed the RIAS scored as being in other stages of racial identity. It is curious that over 90% of participants scored as being in the

internalization stage. While there is no clear explanation for why this occurred, perhaps the fact that most of the participants in this study were older than the typical college population who had previously been administered the scale, helps account for this finding. It is possible that being older, they had already gone through some of the earlier stages and were now in the internalization stage. Also, the area where participants resided should be taken into account. While Alameda County is segregated in many ways and plagued by institutional racism, this area is multicultural and over years of interacting with people of all different cultures the participants seemed able to celebrate and experience pride in their cultural background while simultaneously appreciating and accepting aspects of other cultures.

Targets of the same income level were described using many of the same qualities, activities, and jobs. In terms of qualities, higher income women, regardless of ethnicity, were more likely than lower income women to be described as intelligent and well educated. In describing the higher income women as well educated, the participants may have been influenced by the reality that overall higher educational levels are associated with higher income (Education in the United States, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). However, we also know that the National Commission on Pay Equity determined that differentials in pay between

genders and ethnic groups are not purely a result of differences in education (as cited in Hyde, Wyche, Dabul, & Russo, 1995). Racial and gender discrimination and occupational segregation also affect income level.

While the higher income target woman was described as intelligent and well educated, the lower income woman was more likely to be described as having low self-esteem. This perception is at odds with research findings that have not shown a strong correlation between income and self-esteem. For example, Gecas and Seff (1990) found the correlation between self-esteem and income to be only .08, and Johnson (1990) found that unemployment and underemployment were not associated with low self-esteem in a study using a sample of African American men.

There were no clear ethnicity effects, regardless of income. Women of the same income often were described as possessing the same qualities. Some traits, though, were only applied to women of a certain ethnicity and income level. For example, the lower income African American target was described as determined; the lower income White target was described as caring and, by men, as ugly and tired; the higher income African American target was described as honest; and the White higher income target was described as a parent. With respect to personal qualities, lower and higher income women were generally described differently, but all target women were described as

hardworking and most were also commonly described as honest and dependable.

Just as income seemed to matter in qualities ascribed to the target women, so too did it matter for activities. Lower income women were more likely to be described as enjoying watching TV than were higher income women who were more commonly described as enjoying shopping and traveling. Some research does suggest that lower income women may indeed watch more television than women in higher income households (McCarty & Shrum, 1993). That study, however, was conducted only with European American participants; little research has been done with African American participants.

Ethnicity of the target women also made a difference with respect to ascribed activities. The African American target women of both income levels were more likely than the White target women to be described as going to church. It is the case that African Americans are more likely to attend church services than European Americans (Hargrove & Stempel, 1997). While Shinen, Floyd, McGuire, & Noe (1996) found that African American women with less education (12 years or less) were more likely to report participating in church activities than were African American women with more education, in the current study, the African American target woman to whom participants attributed having more education (higher income African American target) was just as likely

to be described as enjoying attending church as the African American target woman to whom participants attributed having less education (African American lower income target).

In assigning jobs to the target women, participants were heavily influenced by targets' income levels. Higher income targets were generally described as having jobs such as teacher, nurse, manager, business owner, police officer, administrative assistant, and paralegal, while lower income women were described as having jobs such as cashier, waitress, housekeeper, fast food worker, home care provider and childcare provider. All target women were frequently described as secretaries.

Overall, the participants in this study made greater distinctions in their descriptions of targets based on income level than on ethnicity. These results are similar to those reported two decades ago by Bayton, McAlister and Hamer (cf. Smedley and Bayton, 1978). Bayton et al. found that when African American and White college students assigned traits to groups who were identified by ethnicity and social class, they did so largely on the basis of social class rather than on ethnicity.

The present data suggest that in studies that have been conducted looking at ethnicity but that fail to include income or social class, participants may make their own assumptions about social class and rate a target according to this assumption. The results may then be misinterpreted

to indicate an effect for ethnicity, when the apparent ethnicity effect simply masks a genuine effect for social class. As Edwards (1992) suggests, participants may be basing their responses on their beliefs about a subgroup of a broader category. Therefore, much of the research on stereotypes and beliefs about ethnic groups or women and men may not be meaningful because participants may have different subtypes in mind when they are asked to categorize groups such as "women," "men," "Blacks," or "Whites" without further descriptive information. The findings from many of these studies may be about beliefs about subgroups, especially social class groups, and not the intended targets.

Turner and Turner (1991) demonstrated the importance of examining multiple target characteristics such as age and ethnicity when studying stereotypes of women and men. Their findings were interpreted as demonstrating the multidimensionality of gender stereotypes and the necessity of defining broad categories such as gender in reference to other characteristics. In assessing social class, looking at one individual's social class and that of their family over time may be more informative than simply using current salary at the time of the study or current educational attainment of the participant (Cazenave, 1984). Likewise, age can be looked at both historically, as beliefs more likely to be held by individuals of a certain generation,

and developmentally based on how people's beliefs change as they take on new and different roles during different times of their lives. Researchers must recognize that unidimensional frameworks fail to capture the complexity of people's beliefs about others.

The hypothesis that the favorability ratings of the target women will vary with the gender and level of acculturation of the participant and the ethnicity and income level of the target was also partially supported. There was no clear relationship between the participants' gender and level of acculturation and favorability ratings, but for qualities, activities, and jobs, participants rated higher income women more favorably than lower income women, with no difference for target woman ethnicity. The failure to find a relationship between favorability ratings and either participants' gender or level of acculturation may have been due to having too low statistical power to detect the effect. Not only were there a lot of variables for a relatively small sample size, but there was a great deal of missing data. Because group means were used to replace missing data, the variability was reduced, thus reducing power. Replication of the study with a much larger sample might allow the effects of level of acculturation and gender to be observed. However, it must be noted that these two participant variables were not related to descriptions of the target women in the present study.

It is important to note the confluence of the qualitative and quantitative data. Both sets of data show the significance of income (or social class) as a variable to which participants respond. The findings may suggest participants' hesitance to make distinctions based on ethnicity. Researchers have documented a trend among European American participants to express anti-Black attitudes in more subtle ways (e.g., Duncan, 1976; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears, Hensler, & Speer, 1979). Perhaps a similar trend has occurred among African Americans, and more subtle measures are required to capture participants' beliefs about individuals from their own and other ethnic groups.

The hypothesis that the personality characteristics used to describe the target women will not closely correspond to items on the BSRI was confirmed. Participants rarely used BSRI terms when describing women. The fact that participants rarely spontaneously used the terms contained on inventories such as the BSRI makes one question the relevance of the voluminous amount of data collected using such inventories. The relevance of data from such inventories seems to be particularly suspect for ethnic minorities who have not participated in the process of developing the items. In-depth qualitative research exploring beliefs about women of different ethnicities and social classes could be used to develop inventories with

items that more accurately reflect people's beliefs. Such research would need to include participants of different cultural backgrounds so as not to perpetuate the limitations of many of our current research instruments.

We need also to look beyond participants' stated beliefs and examine behavior. This is particularly important because we know that racism and sexism have become more subtle (e.g., Dovidio, Mann, & Gaertner, 1989; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995; Wolfe & Spencer, 1996). We no longer expect participants to readily admit to having biased views of out-group members, so examining more subtle aspects of discrimination and prejudice, particularly behavior, will help us obtain more accurate information.

Limitations and Strengths of This Study

One weakness of the present study was that although the targets were defined in terms of gender, ethnicity, income, and age, other attributes were left undefined. So just as other studies have found that, "participants in stereotyping research do not necessarily assign adjectives to status groups on the basis of the status variable the investigator has chosen for study" (Landrine, 1985, p. 66), it is possible that by not using an actual person or providing the participants with more in depth information about the target, participants may have made assumptions about other characteristics about the target (e.g., marital status, sexual orientation, level of education) and described and

rated them accordingly.

Furthermore, it must be emphasized once again that while the current study revealed participants' stated beliefs, it did not examine behavior. Therefore, while participants may not have provided very different descriptions of the target women of different ethnicities, this does not mean that in a naturalistic environment or even in a research laboratory, that the participants would treat women of different ethnicities similarly. We have learned that "attitudes should not be used as an easily measured substitute for behavior measures (Kraus, 1995, p. 71). Therefore, we should not draw any conclusions about discrimination or the behavior of the participants from the results of the current study. This is a real problem since we know that participants may be hesitant to admit to beliefs that distinguish between people on the basis of ethnicity (Wolfe & Spencer, 1996), though they may act in discriminatory ways.

Future researchers interested in examining acculturation also need to be aware that the African-American Acculturation scale has been standardized mainly with female participants, and may not, therefore, be an accurate measure of men's acculturation. Researchers may want to determine the validity of the scale with a male sample or seek an alternative acculturation measure that more accurately reflects the acculturation status of male

participants.

Acculturation was not found to be related to the participants' beliefs in this study, but since acculturation helps us to understand the great within group variability among ethnic groups, research with a larger sample and using a measure of acculturation that is a more reliable measure of men's acculturation, may find it to be related to beliefs about women.

Similarly, although the variable of racial identity did not distinguish among participants in this study, it offers another alternative to the simple "race" comparison models, and so it is important to include this variable in future work while simultaneously seeking new explanatory mechanisms. Stages of racial identity represent different ways of viewing the world, and so, again, perhaps with a larger sample which is more geographically diverse, stage of racial identity may be shown empirically to be related to beliefs about women.

One strength of the present study was the diversity of the sample that was used. Much of the research conducted in social psychology uses strictly college student samples. The current study did not rely solely on college students. In addition to college students, 32 participants were recruited from Alcoholics/Narcotics Anonymous groups in the community. Also, because participants were recruited from community colleges and adult schools, they tended to be

older (over 77% were 30 years old and over) with probably more varied life experiences than the typical student who attends a large research university. The current study thus contributes to the research literature in that its findings can be applied more broadly to members of the community who have rarely been studied in social psychological research.

Knowing who is selected to participate in research, the questions studied, and the conclusions drawn from the results, it is clear that psychology has not yet created an inclusive discipline. Not enough research has been conducted that includes ethnic minorities and much of the research that does simply compares ethnic minorities to Whites (Wyche, 1993). At the start of a new century, the words of W.E.B. Du Bois (1961) still seem relevant. He wrote nearly 40 years ago, "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line" (p. 23). While Du Bois was passing judgement on the state of American society in general, his words are relevant to the current state of the discipline of psychology in the twenty-first century. Institutional racism is so deeply entrenched in our society that much of what we know from psychological research is grossly inadequate and distorted by its failure to use more representative samples in appropriate cultural contexts. In order for psychology to retain its integrity we need to make radical changes in the way we conduct our research. As Espin noted (1991), "this whole issue of inclusion is not

about 'affirmative action' or about generous reaching out to those who are less privileged, out of a duty to help them. It is about the nature of knowledge . . . in the discipline of psychology as a whole. The theories and the research we now have are, for the most part, simply pieces of faulty knowledge, no matter how elegant they may seem to us" (p. 5). What the results of the current study indicate is that we acquire new knowledge when we ask questions of African Americans, and suggests that this will also be true as we include samples of other ethnic groups in our research.

Table 1

Most Frequent Qualities Ascribed to Targets

RESPONDENTS

TARGET	WOMEN n=65	MEN n=63	BOTH GENDERS COMBINED
African American- \$48,000/year	Educated Intelligent Hardworking* Confident* Well Dressed** Dependable**	Educated Hardworking Honest Intelligent* Independent*	Educated Intelligent Hardworking Dependable Honest
African American- \$12,000/year	Strong Hardworking* Dependable* Low Education Honest	Hardworking Good Parent Patient Determined Honest Stressed	Hardworking Good Parent Dependable Determined* Patient* Honest
White- \$48,000/year	Educated Intelligent Hardworking Aggressive Articulate	Hardworking Educated Dependable Intelligent* Parent*	Educated Hardworking Intelligent Dependable Parent
White- \$12,000/year	Hardworking* Low Education* Low Self-Esteem Honest Caring** Dependable** Intelligent**	Hardworking Good Parent Caring Patient* Ugly* Low Self-Esteem*	Hardworking Low Self-Esteem Caring* Low Education* Honest

Note. Asterisks indicate that descriptors are used with the same frequency.

Table 2

Most Frequent Activities Ascribed to Targets**RESPONDENTS**

TARGET	WOMEN n=65	MEN n=63	BOTH GENDERS COMBINED
African American-\$48,000/year	Travel* Shop* Read Church** Movies**	Read Church Shop Travel Movies	Read Shop Travel Church Movies
African American-\$12,000/year	Movies Church TV With Kids* Dancing*	Church With Kids Movies* TV* Dancing	Church Movies TV With Kids Dancing
White-\$48,000/year	Travel Read Shop Swim* Exercise* Bowl*	Travel Read Shop PTA Theater	Read Shop PTA* Theater*
White-\$12,000/year	Movies TV With Kids Read Talk on Phone	TV Movies With Kids Cook Shop* Read*	Movies* TV* With Kids Read Talk on Phone Travel

Note. Asterisks indicate that descriptors are used with the same frequency.

Table 3

Most Frequent Jobs Ascribed to Targets

RESPONDENTS			
TARGET	WOMEN n=65	MEN n=63	BOTH GENDERS COMBINED
African American-\$48,000/year	Teacher Nurse* Manager* Secretary Admin. Assistant	Teacher Nurse Manager Secretary Police	Teacher Nurse Manager Secretary Lawyer
African American-\$12,000/year	Teacher Cashier Housekeeper Waitress Fast Food Worker	Fast Food Worker Housekeeper Secretary Cashier* Student*	Secretary Housekeeper Cashier Fast Food Worker Waitress
White-\$48,000/year	Teacher* Manager* Nurse Secretary Admin. Assistant	Nurse Teacher Secretary* Police* Manager	Teacher* Nurse* Manager Secretary Police
White \$12,000/year	Cashier Secretary Housekeeper Child Care* Waitress*	Fast Food Worker Student Waitress Child Care Housekeeper	Cashier Childcare* Waitress* Housekeeper** Secretary**

Note. Asterisks indicate that descriptors are used with the same frequency.

Table 4

Most Frequent Qualities Ascribed to Targets by Women of Different Levels of Acculturation

RESPONDENTS			
TARGET	WOMEN HIGH ACCULTURATION n=11	WOMEN BICULTURAL n=27	WOMEN LOW ACCULTURATION n=26
African American-\$48,000/year	Intelligent* Friendly* Independent	Educated Intelligent* Confident* Well Dressed** Family Oriented** Hardworking** Disciplined**	Educated Intelligent Hardworking* Dependable* Assertive** Aggressive** Honest** Well Dressed**
African American-\$12,000/year	Strong Survivor* Determined* Tired*	Low Education Hardworking* Dependable* Low Self-Esteem** Patient** Strong Minded** Good Personality** Ignorant**	Honest Hardworking* Dependable* Strong* Intelligent
(table continues)			

RESPONDENTS

TARGET	WOMEN HIGH ACCULTURATION n=11	WOMEN BICULTURAL n=27	WOMEN LOW ACCULTURATION n=26
White-\$48,000/year	Educated* Honest* Hardworking* Intelligent*	Educated Hardworking Intelligent Motivated	Educated Aggressive* Articulate* Intelligent High Self-Esteem
White-\$12,000/year	Strong	Hardworking* Low Education* Lazy** Low Self-Esteem** Patient**	Hardworking* Low Education* Intelligent** Honest** Caring** Dependable** Low Self-Esteem**

Note. Asterisks indicate that descriptors are used with the same frequency.

Table 5

Most Frequent Qualities Ascribed to Targets by Men of

Different Levels of Acculturation

RESPONDENTS			
TARGET	MEN HIGH ACCULTURATION n=14	MEN BICULTURAL n=24	MEN LOW ACCULTURATION n=22
African American- \$48,000/year	Educated Intelligent* Honest* Dependable* Outgoing*	Hardworking Educated* Parent* Independent Intelligent	Educated Hardworking Determined* Honest* Independent** Intelligent** Dependable** Aggressive** Strong** Parent**
African American- \$12,000/year	Hardworking* Stressed* Strong* Determined* Frustrated* Loving*	Hardworking Good Parent Patient	Patient* Determined* Hardworking** Honest** Dependable** Religious** Good Parent** (table continues)

RESPONDENTS

TARGET	MEN HIGH ACCULTURATION n=14	MEN BICULTURAL n=24	MEN LOW ACCULTURATION n=22
White- \$48,000/year	Dependable	Hardworking Intelligent Independent* Parent* Educated* Happy*	Educated Hardworking Determined Honest* Dependable*
White- \$12,000/year	Hardworking* Stressed* Willing* Tired* Caring* Sad* Ugly*	Hardworking Good Parent Independent* Parent* Honest* Patient* Tolerant* Caring* Well Dressed* Good Personality*	Low Self-Esteem* Good Parent* Patient* Dependable** Ugly** Tired** Parent** Lazy** Depressed** Well Groomed** Low Education** Honest** Hardworker**

Note. Asterisks indicate that descriptors are used with the same frequency.

Table 6

Most Frequent Activities Ascribed to Targets by Women of Different Levels
of Acculturation

RESPONDENTS			
TARGET	WOMEN HIGH ACCULTURATION n=11	WOMEN BICULTURAL n=27	WOMEN LOW ACCULTURATION n=26
African	Shop	Read	Travel
African-	Travel	Shop	Church
\$48,000/year	Movies	Travel*	Theater*
	Read	Sports*	Shop*
		Movies**	Read*
		Cook**	With Kids*
		With Kids**	
African	With Kids*	TV	Movies
African-	TV*	Church	Bowling*
\$12,000/year	Read**	Movies*	Church*
	Movies**	With Kids*	With Family**
	Dancing**	Cook**	Bike Riding**
		Music**	Talk on Phone**
			Sing**

(table
continues)

RESPONDENTS

TARGET	WOMEN HIGH ACCULTURATION n=11	WOMEN BICULTURAL n=27	WOMEN LOW ACCULTURATION n=26
White- \$48,000/year	Travel Shop* With Kids* Entertain** Read**	Travel Sports* Shop* Swim* Exercise*	Bowling* Read* Ski Dinner Out** PTA** Tennis** Travel** Exercise** Swim**
White- \$12,000/year	Movies TV Sewing* With Kids*	TV Read Go to Park* Talk on Phone* With Kids*	Movies Bowling TV* Tennis* With Kids*

Note. Asterisks indicate that descriptors are used with the same frequency.

Table 7

Most Frequent Activities Ascribed to Targets by Men

of Different Levels of Acculturation

RESPONDENTS			
TARGET	MEN HIGH ACCULTURATION n=14	MEN BICULTURAL n=24	MEN LOW ACCULTURATION n=22
African	Travel	Shop	Church
American-	Read*	Read*	Read
\$48,000/Year	Shop*	Movies*	Movies
	Church	With Kids*	Jog*
	Cook**	Bowling**	School*
	PTA**	Travel**	
	Music**	PTA**	
	Bowling**	Church**	
African	TV	Movies	Church
American-	Cook*	Church	With Kids
\$12,000/Year	Dancing*	Dancing*	TV*
	Church*	Shop*	Read*
	With Kids**	With Kids*	Movies**
	Music**		Night Clubs**
	Not Much**		School**

(table
continues)

RESPONDENTS

	MEN HIGH ACCULTURATION n=14	MEN BICULTURAL n=24	MEN LOW ACCULTURATION N=22
TARGET			
White- \$48,000/year	Shop Travel Church* PTA* Read	Travel Tennis Shop* Read* PTA	Travel Read With Kids* Theater* Job*
White- \$12,000/year	TV Cook Dancing* With Family* Movies*	Movies Shop* With Kids* Read** TV** Cook**	TV Movies* With Kids* Church Jog** Music**

Note. Asterisks indicate that descriptors are used with the same frequency.

Table 8

Most Frequent Jobs Ascribed to Targets by Women of Different Levels of Acculturation

RESPONDENTS			
TARGET	WOMEN HIGH ACCULTURATION n=11	WOMEN BICULTURAL n=27	WOMEN LOW ACCULTURATION n=26
African American- \$48,000/year	Admin. Assistant* Paralegal* Secretary* Librarian*	Teacher Nurse Manager Secretary Nurse's Aide* Social Worker* Lawyer* Accountant* Admin. Assistant*	Manager Nurse Teacher Business Owner* Paralegal*
African American- \$12,000/year	Secretary Waitress* Child Care* Housekeeper* Cashier*	Cashier Nurse's Aide* Secretary* Housekeeper Waitress	Secretary Housekeeper Cashier Child Care Receptionist* Clerk* Fast Food*

(table
continues)

RESPONDENTS

TARGET	WOMEN HIGH ACCULTURATION n=11	WOMEN BICULTURAL n=27	WOMEN LOW ACCULTURATION n=26
White- \$48,000/year	Teacher* Nurse* Paralegal** Business Owner**	Secretary Teacher* Manager* Nurse* Police** Admin. Assistant**	Manager Teacher* Admin. Assistant* Office Manager** Nurse**
White- \$12,000/year	Child Care* Cashier* Secretary* Housekeeper** Waitress** Student** None/AFDC**	Cashier Housekeeper* Child Care* Waitress* Home Care	Cashier Secretary Receptionist Housekeeper Waitress* Bank Teller* Home Care*

Note. Asterisks indicate that descriptors are used with the same frequency.

Table 9

Most Frequent Jobs Ascribed to Targets by Men of Different Levels of Acculturation

RESPONDENTS			
TARGET	MEN HIGH ACCULTURATION n=14	MEN BICULTURAL n=24	MEN LOW ACCULTURATION n=22
African American- \$48,000/year	Teacher Nurse Office Manager Data Entry* Sales* Manager* Police*	Nurse Teacher Police* Manager* Bus Driver* Secretary* Business Owner* Doctor* Computer Analyst	Teacher Nurse Manager* Secretary* Lawyer** Bus. Admin.** Business Owner**
African American- \$12,000/year	Waitress Child Care* Home Care* None/AFDC** Cook** Fast Food Worker** Laborer** Student** Janitor**	Housekeeper Secretary Fast Food Worker Child Care* Cashier*	Fast Food Student* Waitress* Cashier* Housekeeper** Teacher** Home Care** Secretary** (table continues)

RESPONDENTS

TARGET	MEN HIGH ACCULTURATION n=14	MEN BICULTURAL n=24	MEN LOW ACCULTURATION n=22
White- \$48,000/year	Nurse Teacher Lawyer* Police* Manager* Office Manager*	Secretary* Police* Teacher Nurse Computer Analyst	Teacher* Nurse* Manager Secretary Business Owner** Social Worker** Police** Administrative**
White- \$12,000/year	Waitress* Fast Food Worker* Child Care* Housekeeper Student	Waitress* Fast Food Worker* Student* Cashier* Cook** Secretary**	Cashier* Fast Food Worker* Student* Secretary** Receptionist** None/AFDC**

Note. Asterisks indicate that descriptors are used with the same frequency.

Table 10

Most Frequent Qualities Ascribed to Targets by Participants in the
Internalization Stage of Racial Identity

RESPONDENTS			
TARGET	WOMEN n=61	MEN n=53	BOTH GENDERS COMBINED
African American-\$48,000/year	Educated Intelligent Hardworking Confident Dependable	Educated Hardworking Independent Intelligent* Dependable*	Educated Hardworking Intelligent Dependable* Honest*
African American-\$12,000/year	Dependable* Low Education* Hardworking** Strong** Honest	Hardworking Patient Determined* Honest* Dependable** Compassionate** Frustrated** Good Mother**	Hardworking Dependable* Patient* Honest Determined

(table continues)

RESPONDENTS

TARGET	WOMEN n=61	MEN n=53	BOTH GENDERS COMBINED
White-\$48,000/year	Educated Intelligent Aggressive Hardworking Good Communication Skills* Ambitious* Assertive*	Hardworking Educated* Honest* Dependable Intelligent	Educated Hardworking Intelligent Dependable Honest
White-\$12,000/year	Hardworking Low Self-Esteem* Dependable* Honest* Low Education* Lazy*	Hardworking Low Self-Esteem* Caring* Honest* Patient*	Hardworking Low Self-Esteem* Honest* Lazy** Caring**

Note. Asterisks indicate that descriptors are used with the same frequency.

Table 11

Most Frequent Activities Ascribed to Targets by Participants in the Internalization Stage of Racial Identity

TARGET	RESPONDENTS		
	WOMEN n=61	MEN n=53	BOTH GENDERS COMBINED
African American- \$48,000/year	Read* Travel* Shop Movies Church	Read Church Travel* Shop* Movies	Read Travel Shop Church Movies
African American- \$12,000/year	Movies Church* TV* Dancing Bowling	Church Movies Dancing TV With Kids	Church Movies TV Dancing Bowling
White- \$48,000/year	Travel Tennis* Read* Swim Bowling	Travel Read Shop PTA Church* Tennis*	Travel Read Shop Tennis PTA
White- \$12,000/year	Movies TV With Kids Read* Exercise*	TV Movies Cook Music* With Kids*	TV Movies With Kids Read* Music*

Note. Asterisks indicate that descriptors are used with the same frequency.

Most Frequent Jobs Ascribed to Targets by Participants in the Internalization Stage
of Racial Identity

RESPONDENTS			
TARGET	WOMEN n=61	MEN n=53	BOTH GENDERS COMBINED
African American-\$48,000/year	Teacher Nurse Manager Business Owner* Admin. Assistant*	Teacher Nurse Secretary Police Paralegal* Lawyer*	Teacher Nurse Manager Secretary Self-Employed
African American-\$12,000/year	Cashier Secretary Housekeeper Waitress Fast Food Worker Clerk	Cashier Fast Food Worker Child Care* Student* Waitress** Secretary**	Cashier Secretary Fast Food Worker Waitress Housekeeper
White-\$48,000/year	Teacher Manager Secretary* Nurse* Admin. Assistant*	Teacher Nurse Police Secretary	Teacher Nurse Police Manager* Secretary*
White-\$12,000/year	Cashier Secretary Child Care Receptionist* Waitress*	Fast Food Worker Student Waitress Cook Child Care	Cashier Waitress Secretary Child Care Housekeeper* Receptionist*

Note. Asterisks indicate that descriptors are used with the same frequency.

Table 13

Favorability of Qualities by Level of Acculturation
and Gender of Respondents

TARGET	LEVEL OF ACCULTURATION			
	LOW	BICULTURAL	HIGH	OVERALL
WOMEN				
	(n=26)	(n=27)	(n=11)	
African American- \$48,000/year				
<u>M</u>	6.4	6.25	5.97	6.27
<u>SD</u>	1.19	1.22	1.1	1.18
African American- \$12,000/year				
<u>M</u>	5.33	5.51	5.45	5.43
<u>SD</u>	1.75	1.4	2.33	1.7
White- \$48,000/year				
<u>M</u>	6.18	6.24	6.27	6.22
<u>SD</u>	0.63	0.73	0.99	0.73
White- \$12,000/year				
<u>M</u>	5.06	4.74	5.45	4.99
<u>SD</u>	1.36	1.85	1.8	1.65
MEN				
	(n=22)	(n=24)	(n=14)	
African American- \$48,000/year				
<u>M</u>	6.39	5.96	6.1	6.15
<u>SD</u>	0.83	1.34	1.02	1.1
African American- \$12,000/year				
<u>M</u>	5.7	5.47	5.02	5.45
<u>SD</u>	1.47	1.72	1.7	1.62
White- \$48,000/year				
<u>M</u>	6.02	5.99	6.32	6.08
<u>SD</u>	1.49	1.05	1.04	1.22
White- \$12,000/year				
<u>M</u>	4.42	5.05	4.71	4.74
<u>SD</u>	2.15	1.76	2.26	2.01

Note. Means did not differ significantly for acculturation groups.

Table 14

Favorability of Activities by Level of Acculturation and
Gender of Respondents

TARGET	LEVEL OF ACCULTURATION			
	LOW	BICULTURAL	HIGH	OVERALL
WOMEN				
	(n=26)	(n=27)	(n=11)	
African American- \$48,000/year				
<u>M</u>	5.86	6.14	5.91	5.99
<u>SD</u>	1.06	1.09	0.93	1.04
African American- \$12,000/year				
<u>M</u>	5.11	5.52	4.7	5.21
<u>SD</u>	1.7	1.09	2.01	1.54
White- \$48,000/year				
<u>M</u>	4.93	4.81	4.68	4.84
<u>SD</u>	1.72	1.34	2.24	1.65
White- \$12,000/year				
<u>M</u>	5.99	6.09	6.33	6.09
<u>SD</u>	0.69	1.14	0.76	0.91
MEN				
	(n=22)	(n=24)	(n=14)	
African American- \$48,000/year				
<u>M</u>	6.43	5.9	5.94	6.1
<u>SD</u>	0.84	1.27	1.39	1.17
African American- \$12,000/year				
<u>M</u>	5.49	5.21	5.04	5.27
<u>SD</u>	1.42	1.41	1.19	1.35
White- \$48,000/year				
<u>M</u>	6.44	6.01	6.04	6.18
<u>SD</u>	0.89	1.23	1.19	1.11
White- \$12,000/year				
<u>M</u>	4.53	5.15	4.5	4.77
<u>SD</u>	1.86	1.35	1.78	1.65

Note. Means did not differ significantly for acculturation groups.

Table 15

Favorability of Jobs by Level of Acculturation and Gender
of Respondents

TARGET	LEVEL OF ACCULTURATION			
	LOW	BICULTURAL	HIGH	OVERALL
WOMEN				
	(n=26)	(n=27)	(n=11)	
African American- \$48,000/year				
<u>M</u>	5.94	5.97	5.4	5.86
<u>SD</u>	1.34	1.13	1.85	1.35
African American- \$12,000/year				
<u>M</u>	4.81	4.88	5.57	4.97
<u>SD</u>	1.44	1.56	1.78	1.55
White- \$48,000/year				
<u>M</u>	6.41	5.86	6.09	6.12
<u>SD</u>	0.93	1.56	1.04	1.25
White- \$12,000/year				
<u>M</u>	5.25	4.97	4.97	5.08
<u>SD</u>	1.3	1.28	1.43	1.3
MEN				
	(n=22)	(n=24)	(n=14)	
African American- \$48,000/year				
<u>M</u>	6.24	6.02	6.26	6.16
<u>SD</u>	1.08	1.4	0.91	1.17
African American- \$12,000/year				
<u>M</u>	5.17	5.14	4.83	5.08
<u>SD</u>	1.6	1.54	1.28	1.49
White- \$48,000/year				
<u>M</u>	6.41	5.86	6.09	6.12
<u>SD</u>	0.93	1.56	1.04	1.25
White- \$12,000/year				
<u>M</u>	4.74	4.93	3.71	4.57
<u>SD</u>	1.88	1.49	1.65	1.72

Note. Means did not differ significantly for acculturation groups.

Women's and Men's Use of BSRI "Femininity" Terms

TERM	TARGET	WOMEN (n=65)		MEN (n=61)	
		USE	NOT USE	USE	NOT USE
AFFECTIONATE	African American-\$48,000/year	1	64	0	61
	African American-\$12,000/year	0	65	0	61
	White-\$48,000/year	0	65	1	60
	White-\$12,000/year	0	65	0	61
COMPASSIONATE	African American-\$48,000/year	0	65	1	60
	African American-\$12,000/year	1	64	3	58
	White-\$48,000/year	0	65	1	60
	White-\$12,000/year	1	64	2	59
CONVENTIONAL	African American-\$48,000/year	1	64	0	61
	African American-\$12,000/year	0	65	0	61
	White-\$48,000/year	0	65	0	61
	White-\$12,000/year	1	64	0	61
HELPFUL	African American-\$48,000/year	1	64	1	60
	African American-\$12,000/year	1	64	1	60
	White-\$48,000/year	1	64	0	61
	White-\$12,000/year	1	64	1	60
LOVES CHILDREN	African American-\$48,000/year	0	65	2	59
	African American-\$12,000/year	3	62	4	57
	White-\$48,000/year	0	65	2	59
	White-\$12,000/year	0	65	7	54

(table continues)

TERM	TARGET	WOMEN (n=65)		MEN (n=61)	
		USE	NOT USE	USE	NOT USE
SHY	African American-\$48,000/year	0	65	0	61
	African American-\$12,000/year	0	65	0	61
	White-\$48,000/year	2	63	0	61
	White-\$12,000/year	0	65	1	60
SENSITIVE	African American-\$48,000/year	1	64	1	60
	African American-\$12,000/year	1	64	2	59
	White-\$48,000/year	0	65	0	61
	White-\$12,000/year	3	62	4	57
SOFT SPOKEN	African American-\$48,000/year	0	65	0	61
	African American-\$12,000/year	1	64	0	61
	White-\$48,000/year	1	64	0	61
	White-\$12,000/year	1	64	2	59
UNDERSTANDING	African American-\$48,000/year	0	65	2	59
	African American-\$12,000/year	1	64	2	59
	White-\$48,000/year	1	64	1	60
	White-\$12,000/year	1	64	0	61
WARM	African American-\$48,000/year	0	65	0	61
	African American-\$12,000/year	0	65	1	60
	White-\$48,000/year	0	65	0	61
	White-\$12,000/year	0	65	0	61
YIELDING	African American-\$48,000/year	0	65	0	61
	African American-\$12,000/year	0	65	2	59
	White-\$48,000/year	0	65	0	61
	White-\$12,000/year	0	65	1	60

(table continues)

BSRI terms not used by participants

Sympathetic

Gentle

Tender

Feminine

Gullible

Childlike

No Harsh language

Eager to Soothe Hurt Feelings

Use of BSRI traits

TARGET	RESPONDENTS				
	WOMEN (n=65)		MEN (n=61)		WOMEN AND MEN COMBINED
	USE	NON-USE	USE	NON-USE	
African American-\$48,000/year	4	191	7	182	11 373
African American-\$12,000/year	8	187	15	174	23 361
White-\$48,000/year	5	190	5	184	10 374
White-\$12,000/year	8	187	18	171	26 358

Appendix A
The University of Rhode Island
Department of Psychology
Chafee Building
Kingston, RI 02881

CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH

I have been asked to participate in the research study described below. The researcher will explain the project to me in detail. I am free to ask the researcher any questions about the study. Should I have any questions following participation in this study I can call, Jean Jacob, the person responsible for this study at (510) 526-4259 to discuss them with her.

I have been asked to be a participant in a study investigating beliefs about women of different ethnicities and social classes. The study will involve my filling out questionnaires and will take approximately 45 minutes.

I understand that I can choose not to participate in this study. If I do choose to participate, I realize that I can quit at any time without any penalty.

This study will have no direct benefit to me, but it may

help the researcher learn more about African Americans' beliefs about women. There are no known risks or any discomfort expected from participating in the study.

The researcher has ensured me of confidentiality; my name will not appear on any of the forms which I fill out, nor will it appear on any records kept by the researcher.

If questions arise later, or I am not satisfied with the way this study is performed, I may discuss these issues with Jean Jacob at (510) 526- 4259, anonymously if I chose, or I may contact the office of the Vice Provost for Research, 70 Lower College Road, University of Rhode Island, (401) 874-2635.

I have read the consent form and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. My signature on this form indicates that I understand the information and I agree to participate in this study.

Signature of Participant

Printed Name

Date

Signature of Researcher

Printed Name

Date

Appendix B
Demographic Information

Gender: woman _____ man _____

Ethnicity: (Check all that apply to you):

African American _____

Cape Verdean _____

Bi-racial _____

Hispanic American (Latino/Latina) _____

Asian American _____

American Indian/Alaskan Native _____

European American (Caucasian) _____

Other (please describe) _____

Age: 18-21 _____ 22-25 _____ 26-29 _____

30-33 _____ 34-37 _____ 38 + _____

Sexual Preference: _____ _____ _____
 Homosexual bisexual heterosexual

Marital Status: _____ _____ _____
 never married divorced widowed
 _____ _____ _____
 married separated living with a partner

Number of Children:

 _____ _____ _____ _____
 0 1 2 3 or more

Residence:

In what geographic region did you grow up?

_____ _____ _____
 Northeast Southeast South Central
 _____ _____ _____ _____
 Southwest Midwest Northwest Don't know
 (includes CA)

In what region did your father grow up?

_____ _____ _____
 Northeast Southeast South Central
 _____ _____ _____ _____
 Southwest Midwest Northwest Don't know

In what region did your mother grow up?

_____	_____	_____	
Northeast	Southeast	South Central	
_____	_____	_____	_____
Southwest	Midwest	Northwest	Don't know

How would you describe the area where you have spent most of your life?

_____	_____	_____
Rural	Urban	Suburban

Appendix C

Hollingshead Four Factor Index of Social Status

Please list the occupation of the primary wage earner(s) in your household:

1) _____

2) _____

Please indicate the level of schooling completed by the primary wage earner(s):

1)

_____ Less than 7th grade

_____ Junior high school (9th grade)

_____ Partial high school (10th/11th grade)

_____ High school graduate

_____ Partial college/specialized training (at least 1 yr)

_____ Standard college or university graduation

_____ Graduate Professional training (graduate degree)

2)

_____ Less than 7th grade

_____ Junior high school (9th grade)

_____ Partial high school (10th/11th grade)

_____ High school graduate

_____ Partial college/specialized training (at least 1 yr)

_____ Standard college or university graduation

_____ Graduate Professional training (graduate degree)

Appendix D-1

Perceptions of Women Form

Instructions: Please write down qualities, activities, and jobs that first come to your mind when you think about Alice, a healthy 35 year old **African American woman who earns \$4000/month (\$48,000/yr)**. Alice has lived in California her entire life, and is the mother of two children.

When you are finished with a page, go on to the next page and do not look back or change your responses on previous pages.

In the space provided, please list:

- 1) Three qualities this woman is most likely to display.
- 2) Three activities this woman is most likely to enjoy.
- 3) Three paid jobs this woman is most likely to have or have had.

Beside each word, rate how favorable you believe the word is for the woman on a scale from 1-7, 1=very unfavorable and 7=very favorable.

Favorability:

1=very unfavorable
7=very favorable

Qualities:

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

Activities:

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

Jobs :

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

How much contact have you had with middle class African American women?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No Contact						A Great Deal of Contact

Appendix D-2

Perceptions of Women Form

Instructions: Please write down the qualities, activities, and jobs that first come to your mind when you think about Alice, a healthy 35 year old **African American woman who earns \$1000/month (\$12,000/yr)**. Alice has lived in California her entire life, and is the mother of two children.

When you are finished with a page, go on to the next page and do not look back or change your responses on previous pages.

In the space provided, please list:

- 1) Three qualities this woman is most likely to display.
- 2) Three activities this woman is most likely to enjoy.
- 3) Three paid jobs this woman is most likely to have or have had.

Beside each word, rate how favorable you believe the word is for the woman on a scale from 1-7, 1=very unfavorable and 7=very favorable.

Favorability:

1=very unfavorable
7=very favorable

Qualities:

1) _____	_____
2) _____	_____
3) _____	_____

Activities:

1) _____	_____
2) _____	_____
3) _____	_____

Jobs:

1) _____	_____
2) _____	_____
3) _____	_____

How much contact have you had with poor African American women?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No Contact			A Great Deal of Contact			

Appendix D-3

Perceptions of Women Form

Instructions: Please write down the personality traits, activities, and jobs that first come to your mind when you think about Alice, a healthy 35 year old **White woman who earns \$4000/month (\$48,000/yr)**. Alice has lived in California her entire life, and is the mother of two children.

When you are finished with a page, go on to the next page and do not look back or change your responses on previous pages.

In the space provided, please list:

- 1) Three qualities this woman is most likely to display.
- 2) Three activities this woman is most likely to enjoy.
- 3) Three paid jobs this woman is most likely to have or have had.

Beside each word, rate how favorable you believe the word is for the woman on a scale from 1-7, 1=very unfavorable and 7=very favorable.

Favorability:

1=very unfavorable
7=very favorable

Qualities:

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

Activities:

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

Jobs:

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

How much contact have you had with middle class White women?

[illegible]

Appendix D-4

Perceptions of Women Form

Instructions: Please write down the qualities, activities, and jobs that first come to your mind when you think about Alice, a healthy 35 year old **White woman who earns \$1000/month (\$12,000/yr)**. Alice has lived in California her entire life, and is the mother of two children.

When you are finished with a page, go on to the next page and do not look back or change your responses on previous pages.

In the space provided, please list:

- 1) Three qualities this woman is most likely to display.
- 2) Three activities this woman is most likely to enjoy.
- 3) Three paid jobs this woman is most likely to have or have had.

Beside each word, rate how favorable you believe the word is for the woman on a scale from 1-7, 1=very unfavorable and 7=very favorable.

Favorability:

1=very unfavorable
7=very favorable

Qualities:

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

Activities:

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

Jobs :

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

How much contact have you had with poor White women?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
No Contact A Great Deal of Contact

What do you think of this research or the questions which you were asked?

I Totally Disagree
Not True at All

1 2 3

Sort of Agree
Sort of True

4 5

I Strongly Agree
Absolutely True

6 7

5. When I was young, my mother or grandmother was the "real" head of the family. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. When I was young, I took a bath with my sister, brother, or some other relative. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. Old people are wise. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. I often lend money or give other types of support to members of my family. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. It's better to try to move your whole family ahead in this world than it is to be out for yourself. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. A child should not be allowed to call a grown woman by her first name, "Alice". The child should be taught to call her, "Miss Alice". 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. It's best for infants to sleep with their mothers. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I Totally Disagree
Not True at All

1 2 3

Sort of Agree
Sort of True

4 5

I Strongly Agree
Absolutely True

6 7

12. Some members of my family play the numbers. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. I know how to play bid whist. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. Most of my friends are Black. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. I feel more comfortable around Blacks than around Whites. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. I listen to Black radio stations. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. I try to watch all the Black shows on TV. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. I read (or used to read) Essence magazine. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

19. Most of the music I listen to is by Black artists. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

20. I like Black music more than White music. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I Totally Disagree
Not True at All

1 2 3

Sort of Agree
Sort of True

4 5

I Strongly Agree
Absolutely True

6 7

21. The person I admire most is Black. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

22. When I pass a Black person (a stranger) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 on the street, I always say hello or nod at them.

23. I read (or used to read) Jet magazine. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

24. I usually add salt to my food to make it 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 taste better.

25. I know how long you're supposed to cook 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 collard greens.

26. I save grease from cooking to use it 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 again later.

27. I know how to cook chit'lins. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

28. I eat grits once in a while. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

29. I eat a lot of fried food. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I Totally Disagree
Not True at All

1 2 3

Sort of Agree
Sort of True

4 5

I Strongly Agree
Absolutely True

6 7

30. Sometimes, I eat collard greens. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

31. Sometimes, I cook ham hocks. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

32. People say I eat too much salt. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

33. I eat cht'lins once in a while. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

34. Most tests (like the SAT's and tests to
 get a job) are set-up to make sure Blacks
 don't get high scores on them. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

35. Deep in their hearts, most White people
 are racists. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

36. IQ tests were set-up purposefully to
 discriminate against Black people. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

37. Whites don't understand Blacks. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I Totally Disagree
Not True at All

1 2 3

Sort of Agree
Sort of True

4 5

I Strongly Agree
Absolutely True

6 7

38. Some members of my family hate or distrust White people. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

39. I don't trust most White people. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

40. Most Whites are afraid of Blacks. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

41. There are many types of blood, such as "high", "low", "thin" and "bad" blood. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

42. I was taught that you shouldn't take a bath and then go outside. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

43. Illnesses can be classified as natural types, and unnatural types. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

44. I believe that some people may know how to use voodoo. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

45. Some people in my family use epsom salts. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I Totally Disagree
Not True at All
1 2 3

Sort of Agree
Sort of True
4 5

I Strongly Agree
Absolutely True
6 7

46. I know what "falling out" means. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

47. Some old Black women/ladies know how to 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
cure diseases.

48. Some older Black women know a lot about 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
pregnancy and childbirth.

49. Prayer can cure disease. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

50. I have seen people "fall out". 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

51. If doctors can't cure you, you should 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
try going to a root doctor or to your minister.

52. I have "fallen out". 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

53. I believe in heaven and hell. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

54. I like gospel music. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I Totally Disagree
Not True at All
 1 2 3

Sort of Agree
Sort of True
 4 5

I Strongly Agree
Absolutely True
 6 7

55. The church is the heart of the Black community. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

56. I am currently a member of a Black church. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

57. I have seen people "get the spirit" or speak in tongues. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

58. I believe in the Holy Ghost. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

59. I went to a mostly Black elementary school. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

60. When I was young, I was a member of a Black church. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

61. I grew up in a mostly Black neighborhood. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

62. The biggest insult is an insult to your mother. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I Totally Disagree
Not True at All

1 2 3

Sort of Agree
Sort of True

4 5

I Strongly Agree
Absolutely True

6 7

63. I went to (or go to) a mostly Black high school. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

64. Dancing was an important part of my childhood. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

65. I used to sing in the church choir. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

66. When I was a child, I used to play tonk. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

67. When I was young, I used to jump double-dutch. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

68. I currently live in a mostly Black neighborhood. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

69. I used to watch Soul Train. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

70. What goes around, comes around. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I Totally Disagree
Not True at All

1 2 3

Sort of Agree
Sort of True

4 5

I Strongly Agree
Absolutely True

6 7

71. There's some truth to many old
superstitions.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

72. I avoid splitting a pole.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

73. When the palm of your hand itches,
you will receive some money.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

74. I eat black-eyed peas on New Year's
Eve.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Appendix F

Social Attitude Scale

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement. Circle the number that describes how you feel.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. I believe that being Black is a positive experience. 1 2 3 4 5

2. I know through experience what being Black in America means. 1 2 3 4 5

3. I feel unable to involve myself in white experiences, and am increasing my involvement in Black experiences. 1 2 3 4 5

4. I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy. 1 2 3 4 5

5. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people. 1 2 3 4 5

6. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I feel very uncomfortable around Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I often find myself referring to White people as honkies, devils, pigs, etc.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I believe that to be Black is not necessarily good.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I believe that certain aspects of the Black experience apply to me, and others do not.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I frequently confront the system and the man.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I constantly involve myself in Black	1	2	3	4	5

political and social activities (art shows,
political meetings, Black theater, etc.)

15. I involve myself in social action and 1 2 3 4 5
political groups even if there are no other
Blacks involved.

16. The most important thing about me is 1 2 3 4 5
that I am Black.

17. Being Black just feels natural to me. 1 2 3 4 5

18. Other Black people have trouble 1 2 3 4 5
accepting me because my life experiences have
been so different from their experiences.

19. Black people who have any White 1 2 3 4 5
people's blood should feel ashamed of it.

20. Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the 1 2 3 4 5
White race.

21. The people I respect most are White. 1 2 3 4 5

22. A person's race usually is not 1 2 3 4 5
important to me.

23. I feel anxious when White people compare me to other members of my race. 1 2 3 4 5
24. I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people. 1 2 3 4 5
25. A person's race has little to do with whether or not he/she is a good person. 1 2 3 4 5
26. When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy the things they enjoy. 1 2 3 4 5
27. When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed. 1 2 3 4 5
28. I believe that a Black person can be close friends with a White person. 1 2 3 4 5
29. I am satisfied with myself. 1 2 3 4 5
30. I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black. 1 2 3 4 5

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