Black Youth Project: Gender

Marissa Guerrero
May 16, 2005

Introduction

What is gender and how do black youth perceive and experience it? Gender influences every aspect of our lives, so any review of the literature on gender must be limited by some parameters. This particular inquiry focuses on empirical research on gender roles in the black community.[1] Researchers often employ gender as simply an explanatory variable to predict "deviant" behaviors such as teenage pregnancy, violence, and drug use in black populations. The literature needs a study that moves away from this "explaining deviance" framework and instead asks youth for their opinions about and experiences with gender. Our project prompts youth to respond to gender behaviors, roles, and experiences in the contexts of their community and the larger society. Specifically, we seek to understand the gender roles to which black youth subscribe: are they traditional or egalitarian? Does it matter whether we are talking about the domain of home and family or that of work? Furthermore, how do black youth see gender playing out in their community and society? Do they believe men and women are treated relatively equally and given the same opportunities? Or is there still work to be done? We furthermore highlight the specific topic areas of family structure and bodies. What do black youth think about single-parent families? And how do they perceive the attractiveness and power of their own bodies? Answers to these questions will allow us to talk about how black youth think about gender, rather than how researchers think gender influences deviance.

I begin this paper with a discussion of what the word "gender" means. I then discuss popular measures of gender role attitudes, most of which were developed using white

[1] More specifically, I focus in this literature review on survey research, which uses large samples and quantitative analysis. This is admittedly only a slice of the writing on gender in black communities. It is also, however, the slice most salient to the aims of the Black Youth Project. Limiting the review in this manner has its drawbacks: for instance, literature on the very important topic of black masculinity is overwhelmingly qualitative; survey research on it is absent. Not all topics are suited for quantitative measurement, and black masculinity is arguably one of those. Because the literature does not fit in well with this review of large-scale quantitative studies, I do not discuss it here.

respondents and concern white normative gender roles. The findings from these studies are presented as universal, but they in fact only shed light on the gender roles of white people. Gender is often framed as a universal phenomenon, and although dominant gender roles do exist, not all groups subscribe to them. Communities have their own gender codes that may differ from dominant ones. I also, therefore, attend to newer measures that are developed specifically for women of color. I then turn to major empirical studies on gender roles in black communities, perceived gender discrimination and stratification, and how the intersection of race and gender plays out in political opinions and actions. I end with short discussions of single parenting in the black community and the relationship between race and body image. The Black Youth Project focuses on these two special topic areas because of their relevance to politics, sexuality, and culture. In the end, I hope to offer both an assessment of the state of measuring gender in African American populations and suggestions on how to improve it.

What is gender and how does it come into play in our everyday lives?

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, gender is "each of the three (or in some languages two) grammatical 'kinds' corresponding more or less to distinctions of sex (and absence of sex)…a principle of grammatical classification."[2] In modern English, we assign gender according to whether objects are masculine, feminine, or neither. Gender in the grammatical sense thus functions in English basically to determine the proper pronouns that should be used to refer to these words.

Given the technical role of grammatical organization that gender plays, it is particularly interesting how significant a factor gender has become in what we do and who we become. The

[2] Oxford English Dictionary online, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50093521?query_type=word&queryword=gender&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=JEjy-BW9eO2-7391&hilite=50093521, accessed 12/10/2004.

Oxford English Dictionary offers another definition that highlights the aspect of gender in which we are interested: "In modern (esp. feminist) use, a euphemism for the sex of a human being, often intended to emphasize the social and cultural, as opposed to the biological, distinctions between the sexes."[3] Our sex-specific physical characteristics therefore not only determine our *sex*, but they also bring with them a set of "psychological characteristics and social categories" that make up the meanings of maleness and femaleness.[4] The belief that dresses are socially acceptable attire for women only is an example of gender.

The expected social roles based on gender are called gender roles or gender stereotypes. "*Gender roles* are the attitudes, behaviors, rights and responsibilities that a society associates with each sex."[5] More specifically, they concern "the way that family and work roles do and should differ based on sex." These range from "traditional" to "nontraditional"; the latter are characterized by a lack of expectation of difference in roles based on gender.[6] Age, race, and social class further dictate the roles that individuals should play. Regardless of whether individuals choose to subscribe to these roles, the roles influence interaction and expectations.[7] These expectations are gender stereotypes: "organized, widely shared sets of beliefs about the characteristics of males and females."[8]

---

[3] Ibid.
[4] Matlin, Margaret W. 2000. *The Psychology of Women*. Orlando, Fla.: Harcourt College Publishers, 5.
[5] Holt, Cheryl L., and Jon B. Ellis. 1998. Assessing the Current Validity of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. *Sex Roles* 39(11/12):929; quoted in Konrad, Alison M., and Claudia Harris. 2000. Desirability of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory Items for Women and Men: A Comparison Between African Americans and European Americans. *Sex Roles* 47(5/6):260.
[6] Harris, Richard, and Juanita Firestone. 1998. Changes in Predictors of Gender Role Ideologies among Women: A Multivariate Analysis. *Sex Roles* 38(3/4).
[7] Konrad and Harris (2002), 260.
[8] Matlin, 36.

Gender Role Attitudes

As stated above, gender role research originally focused solely on white people's ideas about gender. These white respondents were furthermore most often university students from upper–middle-class backgrounds. The findings from these studies constitute the foundation for inquiries into gender roles.[9] This makes it difficult to study other populations for a few reasons. First and most obviously, the foundational literature is largely inapplicable to studies such as ours. More importantly, however, this literature has contributed to the framing of gender role research that looks beyond white respondents. Inquiries into the gender role attitudes of blacks, for instance, frame their findings in reference to previous findings about whites. Blacks are rarely evaluated on their own terms; instead, they are comparatively analyzed. Differences are likely to be interpreted as deviance from gender norms. This is not solely the fault of the foundational literature, of course; white racial hegemony makes whites a universal referent group.

The gender roles literature is also limited because many of the foundational articles are outdated. Researchers, however, continue to rely on these seminal pieces in their reviews of the literature and theoretical framing of projects. While this is generally the academic standard, it does not work in research on gender. In a review piece in *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, McHugh and Frieze (1997) say that scales measuring gender are meant to function in "a particular socio-historical context; context-specificity is viewed as contributing to the proliferation of scales, and as limiting the usefulness of scales across cultural and temporal

[9] Brogan, D., and N. Kutner. 1976. Measuring Sex-Role Orientation: A Normative Approach. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 38(1):31–40; Bem, S. L. 1974. The Measurement of Psychological Androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 42:155–162. Spence, Janet T., and R. L. Helmreich. 1972. The Attitudes Toward Women Scale: An Objective Instrument to Measure the Attitudes toward the Rights and Roles of Women in Contemporary Society. *JSAS: Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology* (2)66–67.

boundaries."[10] Thus, scales, as well as individual survey items, are relevant only to particular populations and often only to the particular group(s) for whom the researchers developed them. This renders much of the literature on gender roles, which is old and based on white middle-class populations, irrelevant to the project at hand. There is furthermore a body of foundational literature on black gender roles that I do not address in detail in this paper because the studies are so old. As society evolves, so too do gender roles; the findings of twenty years ago cannot speak to the social context of today. For this reason, I do not discuss in detail projects from before 1990. Instead, I limit my review to recent articles that focus specifically on black gender role attitudes. I include older studies in the footnotes, should readers want to reference them, but I do not discuss them at length.

Measures

The earliest scales for measuring sex roles that researchers still use today, such as the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (1975), the Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale (1984), and the Attitudes Toward Woman Scale (1972), were developed for and tested on white middle- and upper-class undergraduate students. Although these scales passed strict tests of reliability and validity, they really proved themselves reliable and valid only for middle-class whites. Once race and ethnic consciousness entered into the picture, however, some psychology researchers made conscious efforts to include minority respondents in their samples. Others tested the applicability of these measures to African Americans specifically. Konrad and Harris, for example, noted that the Bem Sex-Role Inventory had not been tested on this population and therefore evaluated its

[10] McHugh, Maureen C., and Irene Hanson Frieze. 1997. The Measurement of Gender-Role Attitudes: A Review and Commentary. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* (21)1.

psychometric desirability for the group in reference to whites.[11] They found some geographical variation, but their conclusion indicates that this scale may be outdated; much of the variation it used to show has since disappeared. Its validity persists only for those groups that maintain traditional gender beliefs, such as white men from the urban Northeast and black men from the South. Similarly, Melissa R. McGhee et al. tested the applicability to African Americans of the Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale, also developed based on a mostly white sample. The authors found that there were no significant differences between the Sex Role Egalitarianism scores of blacks and whites.[12]

These researchers conclude that these scales work simply if the results for black samples are similar to those obtained in white samples. Black responses are thus evaluated in reference to white ones, which serve as the norm. Any difference between the attitudes and behaviors of these two groups is likely to be interpreted as deviance on the part of blacks. For example, Furstenberg et al. argues that different norms surrounding sexuality may account for earlier coital debut among black adolescents.[13] This leads me to wonder *from what* these norms are different. Black youth's sexual attitudes and behaviors are evaluated against the baseline of white youth and white norms.

Some researchers have developed gender measures specifically for African Americans and other ethnic and racial minorities, but none has (of yet) been widely accepted or employed. Ossana's Womanist Identity Attitudes Scale is one of the instruments meant to measure gender

[11] Konrad and Harris (2002), 260.
[12] McGhee, Melissa, et al. 2001. Assessing Psychometric Properties of the Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES) with African-Americans. *Sex Roles* 45(11/12).
[13] Furstenberg, Frank F., Philip S. Morgan, Kristin A. Moore, and J. L. Peterson. 1987. Race Differences in the Timing of First Intercourse. *American Sociological Review* 52:511–518.

attitudes across race and socioeconomic status.[14] Based on Helms' four-stage model of womanist identity development, Ossana, Helms, and McLeonard develop a scale meant to measure at what stage of the process respondents are. These four stages build on theories of racial identity development, particularly those of Cross (1971) and Helms (1984). Womanist identity development occurs in four stages, according to Helms. The scale contains items to measure each of these stages. First, women experience preencounter, during which they subscribe to society's views about gender and unconsciously act in ways that devalue women. "Women should learn to think and act like men" is an example of a preencounter item. In encounter, the second stage, women begin to question the social norms and practices surrounding gender. "Maybe I can learn something from women" is one of the items meant to measure encounter. At the beginning of immersion-emersion, the third stage, women idealize their own gender group and actively reject male supremacist understandings of gender. "My most important goal in life is to fight the oppression of women" is part of the set of items meant to measure immersion-emersion. From immersion-emersion, women move to positive, self-affirming understandings of gender and development of close relationships with other women. In internalization, the final stage, women adopt a positive definition of womanhood, maintain strong connections with other women, highly value female experiences, and do not accept external definitions of womanhood. "I do not

---

[14] The Oxford English Dictionary defines *womanism* as "that of a kind advocated by some writers, esp. Black woman writers, and characterized by an emphasis on celebrating the contribution of women to society as a whole; Black feminism." Alice Walker coined this term because she felt it was more relevant to the gender consciousness of Black women than *feminism*. Oxford English Dictionary Online, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50286743?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=womanism&first=1&max_to_show=10; http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50286744?query_type=word&queryword=womanism&first=1&max_to_show=10&single=1&sort_type=alpha, accessed 09/21/2005.

think I should feel positively about people just because they belong to the same sexual group as I do" is an item meant to measure internalization.

Moradi, Yoder, and Berendsen question the reliability of the subscales and capability of the overall scale to capture the developmental process of gender identity.[15] They argue that the subscales of the Womanist Identity Attitudes Scale have questionable internal consistency reliability, which means that the items in each subscale measure more than one thing. This is problematic because then subscale scores do not accurately measure those stages for which they are meant. Moradi et al. furthermore argue that the scale is a poor operationalization of the process (meaning that it does not translate well the components of Helms' theoretical model into measurable entities) because it does not follow its structure. This may be in part because development of womanist identity is not as linear as Ossana (following Helms, who follows Cross) believes. I find it hard to believe that women who develop womanist consciousness go through all of these stages, and that they always go through them in the same order. The scale is furthermore problematic for studies such as this one because it focuses exclusively on women's womanist attitudes; it is inapplicable to men (even womanist men).

Sherman, Gielen, and McDonnell offer another scale, meant to measure low-income, urban, heterosexual women's perceptions of power and attitudes in relationships (PAIR). It assesses the level of women's need to be in romantic relationships and their ideas about household division of labor, sexual assertion, and power in decision-making. "A woman needs to

[15] Moradi, Bonnie, Janice D. Yoder, and Lynne L. Berendsen. 2004. An Evaluation of the Psychometric Properties of the Womanist Identity Attitudes Scale. *Sex Roles* 50(3/4):253–266.

have a man in her life" is an example of a PAIR item.[16] No other researchers have applied this scale in their own work or analyzed its usefulness.

The measures that are developed specifically for minority populations are not well established. They still require substantial testing for validity and reliability. Furthermore, these scales are specific to certain aspects of gender: womanism and relationships, respectively. They are also both necessarily constrained to women, and PAIR to heterosexual ones. Of course, no battery can apply to everyone in a large group. I levy these criticisms in light of our current study; as it stands now, there is no developed and tested measure that we can use to measure the gender role attitudes of young black men and women.

Sex Role Findings

Many sex role researchers have concluded that gender for African Americans is flexible and fluid; children are not socialized to operate within particular gender parameters.[17] Konrad and Harris, for instance, administered the Bem Sex-Role Inventory to black men and women and found that urban Northeast African American women and men scored the same on the masculinity scale; only their femininity scores differed. In the South, African American female respondents rated feminine characteristics as equally desirable for men and women, and masculine ones as more desirable in men.[18] These differing perceptions of desirable gender roles for men and women offer support for the argument that black men and women have fluid ideas

---

[16] Sherman, Susan G., Andrea C. Gielen, and Karen A. McDonnell. 2000. Power and Attitudes in Relationships (PAIR) among a Sample of Low-Income, African-American Women: Implications for HIV/AIDS Prevention. *Sex Roles* 42(3/4):288.

[17] See Ani, M. 1994. *Yurugu: An African-centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior*. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press; Lewis, D. K. 1975. The Black Family: Socialization and Sex Roles. *Phylon* 36(3):221–247; Peters, M. F. 1988. Parenting in Black Families with Young Children: A Historical Perspective. In *Black Families*, edited by H. McAdoo, p. 228–241. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage; Nobles, W. W. 1974. Africanity: Its Role in Black Families. *The Black Scholar* 5(9)10–17; Konrad and Harris.

[18] Konrad and Harris (2002).

of gender. Men are not limited to dominant masculine roles and characteristics, and women are not tied to feminine ones.

Early comparative studies of black and white Americans have shown that black Americans hold less stereotypic views of sex roles,[19] while others show no difference between the two groups.[20] Why the difference in findings? Gender measures often take items from the categories of home and family roles as measuring the same thing. They understand them to have a direct relationship with one another: as a respondent's gender egalitarianism regarding family increases, so too does her egalitarianism about work. This understanding may contribute to some of the confusion about black people's ideas about gender and how they relate to white and national averages. For this population, gender in the family is a very separate issue from gender in the workplace and therefore must be analyzed separately.

Later work moves away from confounding work and home roles to assess them separately. Blee and Tickameyer (1995), for instance, administer two separate scales to respondents in their cross-racial study of men's attitudes about women's gender roles. One concerns women's employment, while the other focuses on their roles in the home. They find that African American men are more conservative about women's roles in the home than white men are, while the reverse occurs in the realm of employment.[21] The study uses data from the National Longitudinal Survey of the Labor Market Experiences. It examines differences in

---

[19] See Millham, J., and L. E. Smith. 1981. Sex Role Differentiation among Black and White Americans: A Comparative Study. *Journal of Black Psychology* 7(2):77–90; and Smith, P. A., and E. Midlarsky. 1985. Empirically Derived Conceptions of Femaleness and Maleness: A Current View. *Sex Roles* 12(3/4):313–328.

[20] Bonner, F. B. 1974. Black Women and White Women: A Comparative Analysis of Perceptions of Sex Roles for Self, Ideal-Self, and the Ideal-Male. *Journal of Afro-American Issues* 2:237–247; Brown, P., L. Perry, and E. Harburg. 1977. Sex Role Attitudes and Psychological Outcomes for Black and White Women Experiencing Marital Dissolution. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 39(3):549–561; Crovitz, E., and A. Steinmann. 1980. A Decade Later: Black-White Attitudes Toward Women's Familial Role. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 52(2):170–176; Bailey, W. T., and N. C. Silver. 1990. Women's Rights and Roles: Attitudes among Black and White Students. *Psychological Reports* 66:1143–1146; Ransford and Miller (1983) find that black and white women do not significantly differ in their sex role attitudes.

[21] Sudarkasa (1999) posits this same relationship. Ransford and Miller (1983) find that black men subscribe to more traditional gender roles than white men do.

gender role attitudes of black and white men, which the researchers posit is an important inquiry since traditional roles are white and middle-class. They suggest that roles are more complicated and variant beyond white middle-class respondents and find indeed that they are. Blee and Tickameyer suggest that black men's egalitarianism regarding women working may stem from economic necessity: supporting a family requires two providers, and lived experience influences gender ideals. They also, however, find that there is less variance by socioeconomic status for black men than for white men. This indicates that a mere economic explanation cannot suffice because black men support black women working even when it is not financially necessary.[22]

This might be explained, however, by their childhood lived experiences, if not their current ones. Blee and Tickameyer also find that black men were more likely to have grown up with a mother in the workforce. Maternal employment has consistently proven to have a liberalizing effect on respondents' gender role attitudes regarding work. Harris and Firestone, for instance, include the variable of maternal employment in their study of predictors of gender role ideologies. Their data set is the sample of female respondents who answered gender role questions on the General Social Survey between 1974 and 1994. Growing up with a mother in the workforce proved a significant predictor of egalitarian gender roles for women, as did higher education and youth.[23] Harris and Firestone furthermore posit that while women remain a diverse group with a range of views on gender, white, black, and Hispanic women's ideas about gender have been converging over time and increasing in egalitarianism.

---

[22] Others have found no racial differences at all between black and white men's gender role attitudes; see Hershey (1978), Welch and Sigelman (1989), and Wilkie (1993). Cazenave (1983), alternatively, argues that black men are more liberal than white men in all realms.

[23] Harris, Richard J., and Juanita M. Firestone. 1998. Changes in Predictors of Gender Role Ideologies among Women: A Multivariate Analysis. *Sex Roles* 38(3/4):239–252. Kiecolt and Acock find that maternal employment does not liberalize men's gender role attitudes; it only does so for women's.

Interestingly, however, other research has suggested that women vary by race in their perceptions of what women get from maternal employment. Bridges and Etaugh conducted survey research on black and white female college students' perceptions of costs and benefits of early maternal employment (defined as labor force participation during the first year of a child's life). Since the first year is the most critical time for the mother to be present, women are likely to be most critical of mothers' employment during this stage. Respondents were asked to evaluate the costs and benefits for a fictional journalist who was described as either black or white. The researchers find that black women expect the fictional stimulus person to experience more role-related emotional rewards than unemployed women would.[24] White women, on the other hand, expected the fictional stimulus person to experience more role-related costs than an unemployed mother. There are two weaknesses of this study that the reader should take into account: first, the sample is small—89 black women and 121 white women. Second, and more important, the researchers do not include a variable for the respondents' personal experiences with maternal employment. The race differential could be a spurious correlation; perhaps a significantly larger portion of black respondents than of white ones grew up with mothers in the workforce, and this difference is what truly explains the difference in responses.

The studies discussed up to this point have focused solely on women. So how do women and men measure up to one another? Kane (1992) examines black and white men and women's attitudes toward gender stratification,[25], which refers to the power inequalities between men and women. Kane asks: To what degree do men and women within racial groups agree about gender stratification? She looks at black and white men and women, although it should be noted that her

[24] Bridges, Judith S., and Claire Etaugh. 1994. Black and White Women's Perceptions of Early Maternal Employment. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* (18):427–431.
[25] Kane, Emily W. 1992. Race, Gender, and Attitudes Toward Gender Stratification. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 55(3):311–320.

sample of black men and women (140) was rather small. She tested attitudes about gender stratification using ten items that fell under four categories: satisfaction with influence (satisfaction with the level of influence of one's gender group), origins of gender stratification (beliefs about the source of gender inequality), collective action (opinions as to whether people of the same gender should work together to improve their status), and policy orientations (ideas about what role policy should play in addressing gender inequality). She finds that blacks are more critical of gender stratification and agree more with each other.[26] Black men and women's more liberal gender attitudes might result from any the following, according to Kane: resistance to racial inequality, levels of exposure to gender inequality, and degree of interdependence between sexes among blacks. This interdependence is evident in black women's greater labor force participation, economic independence, and decision-making power within the family, compared to white women. She finds, rather unsurprisingly, that black women are the most critical, followed by black men, white women, and white men. She notes that this reflects gender and race hierarchies. In more specific analyses, she finds that white women are more critical of women's traditional roles in the home. Black men and women thus agree to a large extent about the existence and degree of gender stratification. But other studies (some of which are mentioned above) argue that black men have conservative gender role attitudes. Why does the literature offer such conflicting results? Kane suggests that the confusion about racial differences in gender attitudes may stem from the use of different measures. She argues that black respondents are more likely to rank as liberal when beliefs about the need for collective action to rectify gender stratification are tested. Support for collective action is better predicted by race than gender: black men and women support it to a greater degree than whites do—although when literature focuses on roles, as it often does, black respondents register as more conservative.

[26] White men and women, however, do not largely disagree either.

Kane echoes Clyde Wilcox (1990), who offers the same explanation for the past confusion about black gender role attitudes.[27] In his study of black and white women's gender role attitudes and support for feminism, he finds that black women are markedly more liberal than white women on two axes of gender role attitudes: feminism and support for the Equal Rights Amendment. In all other arenas, such as measures of women's roles in politics, the home, and the workplace, results for black and white women were not significantly different. He suggests that what sets the former elements apart from the latter ones is not gender egalitarianism. Rather, the difference lies in black respondents' stronger support for collective action as a means to rectify social injustice. Previous studies, such as Ransford and Miller's oft-cited article on feminist gender role attitudes (1983), do not include measures of collective action and thus do not find racial differences.

Kane and Wilcox believe that stronger support for collective action in the name of gender equality sets blacks apart from whites and explains the previous confusion about black gender role attitudes. Others ascribe this confusion to a failure to disaggregate work roles from home ones. Shirley A. Hill concurs with the latter explanation but suggests that the contradictory findings of gender role research may also arise from inattention to class. She found that all of the parents she interviewed (n = 35) expressed some support of gender egalitarianism. Social class (measured in terms of education) predicted the degree to which parents subscribed to gender egalitarian beliefs. "Securely middle-class" parents expressed the most egalitarian beliefs. "Transitional middle-class parents," on the other hand, expressed more traditional gender ideologies. Hill suggests that this is due to class anxiety; in an effort to be accepted into the middle class, these families embrace the dominant marital and gender conventions. These

[27] Wilcox, Clyde. 1990. Race, Gender Role Attitudes, and Support for Feminism. *The Western Political Quarterly* 43(1):113–121.

families also respond more punitively to teenage pregnancy and exhibit high religiosity and homophobia. The less-educated parents support gender egalitarianism in the workplace but traditional family gender roles. Hill notes, however, that because of economic constraints these families cannot live out their traditional gender ideology; the members end up playing more flexible gender roles despite their beliefs.[28]

A note on "gender egalitarianism," discrimination, and politics

Gender egalitarianism is often understood as interchangeable with feminism.[29] Some, however, feel that the "feminist" agenda speaks only for economically privileged white women, and minimizes differences among women such as class, race and sexuality. They thus do not identify with it, even if critical of gender stratification.[30] Some black people believe that talking about gender is an anti-black activity, and that black women should privilege their race over their gender.[31] Earlier literature posits that when women foreground racial justice, it eclipses concerns about gender.[32] Others posit that gender consciousness is irrelevant to black women's lived experiences, since their homes are purportedly much more gender-egalitarian than those of white families. Recent work, however, finds that black women are equally, if not more, "feminist" than white women. Cole and Guy-Sheftall argue that "everyday feminism" is alive in black

[28] Hill, Shirley A. 2002. Teaching and Doing Gender in African American Families. *Sex Roles* 47(11/12):493–506.
[29] This is not to say that feminism universally aims for gender equality. Different feminist camps hold different ideas about equality. Difference feminists, for instance, argue that striving for equality is undesirable because women are different and valuable in their own right; they do not need to become like men.
[30] See, for example, hooks, bell. 1995. Black Women: Shaping Feminist Theory. *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African American Feminist Thought*. Ed. Beverly Guy-Sheftall. The New Press, New York: 270-282. *Words of Fire* is a thorough resource on black feminist thought, offering excerpts from important black feminist writings, 1830-1995. Should the reader want a better understanding of black feminism, womanism, and their relationship to white feminism, this book offers a good introduction.
[31] Cole, Johnnetta Betsch, and Beverly Guy-Sheftall. 2003. *Gender Talk: The Struggle for Women's Equality in African American Communities*. New York: Ballantine Books, 31.
[32] Rosen, R. 1978. Sex Role Attitudes of Black and White Women. *International Journal of Women's Studies* 1(6):544–554; King, M. C. 1975. Oppression and Power: The Unique Status of Black Women in the American Political System. *Social Science Quarterly* 56:116–128.

communities; women are aware of gender oppression in their lives and know to look for it.[33] They are also more likely to identify as feminists, according to Baxter and Lansing (1983), as well as Klein (1984) and Mansbridge and Tate (1992). Clyde Wilcox (1990) finds that black women have higher feminist consciousness than white women do. These stronger feminist tendencies may stem in part from racial consciousness; Wilcox (1990) and Robinson (1987) find that gender and race consciousness facilitate each other. Both are associated with a broad awareness of discrimination, which has both racial and gendered permutations.[34] Some note that black respondents are more sensitive to gender inequality because they are accustomed to banding together in the face of inequality, as well as primed to be aware of it, by virtue of their race.[35]

How do black women negotiate race- and gender-related political interests, especially when they conflict? Gay and Tate (1998) empirically examine the salience of race and gender for black women's politics.[36] Their study questions the assumption that gender is less politically salient for black women than race. Instead, Gay and Tate see gender functioning as a "double bind" for black women: they must decide between their dual identities. This is especially difficult given that race and gender are often both salient to lived experience and politics. Using data from the National Black Election Studies from 1984 and 1996, the researchers test for level of race and gender identification, as well as the influence these have on political attitudes. They find that, overall, race impacts political attitudes more than gender; specifically, race consciousness comes with increased political liberalism.

---

[33] Cole and Guy-Sheftall, 33.
[34] Cited in Gay, Claudine, and Katherine Tate. 1998. Doubly Bound: The Impact of Gender and Race on the Politics of Black Women. *Political Psychology* 18(1):169–184.
[35] Kane, Emily W. 2000. Racial and Ethnic Variations in Gender-Related Attitudes. *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:419–439.
[36] Gay and Tate (1998).

The authors caution against viewing the relationship between race and gender as a simple one in which race comes out on top. With complicated issues and events, gender remains politically relevant in the face of pressure to privilege race. Feminism does reduce support for black causes among strongly race-conscious women if these issues are framed as harmful to the advancement of women. Such a situation, however, is rare. Gay and Tate explain that their findings reflect higher perceived racial discrimination than gender discrimination. They furthermore explain that race is more divisive than sex, so it makes sense that black women (when forced to choose) privilege race over gender.

Burns and Kinder (2004) take on a question similar to Gay and Tate's.[37] Their study compares race and gender group attachment and their influence on political action and opinion.[38] They approach gender and race as distinct identities for which we can see distinct political effects. Essentially, they compare all black respondents to all white ones, all women to all men. It seems they completely miss the possibility of race and gender intersecting for these groups until the data prompt them to consider this possibility. They indicate that their purpose is to "offer a systematic comparison between gender (women) and race (African Americans)," and then they do not mention "African American women" for the first half of the article. Burns and Kinder find that strong group identification is the most important contributor to political action and opinion. Furthermore, this identification plays a bigger role for race than for gender; strong racial identification is more influential on political action and opinion than strong gender identification is. They also find that racial identity is more important to the political behavior and

[37] Burns, Nancy, and Donald Kinder. 2004. Social Identity and Political Opposition. Paper presented at conference of American Political Science Association, September.

[38] They measure group attachment through measures of group identification, strength of identification, and consciousness. For half of the sample, they operationalized identification as a feeling of closeness to the group. For the other half, they used linked fate. The researchers operationalized consciousness as perceived level of discrimination. They interpreted perception of discrimination as subscription to a structural critique. All of these measures are part of a survey developed by the researchers.

attitudes of black women than to black men. According to the authors, those who perceive discrimination against their racial group subscribe to a "structural account" of race.[39] This view encourages political action, and rejection of essentialism does the same for gender. Overall, Burns and Kinder hold that identity influences peoples' actions more than their opinions.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, my discussion of gender role research leaves out studies that focus on white populations (as well as those that do not disaggregate by race in their analysis, despite having racially diverse samples) and outdated findings. This leaves a spotty body of recent literature that focuses solely on black gender roles. Most of these studies, furthermore, use adult samples. There is important work to be done on the gender role attitudes of black youth. This project provides the data that needed in order to assess to what gender norms young black men and women subscribe, as well as how much gender discrimination they perceive.

Sexual Orientation and Gender

Most of the literature does not attend to sexual orientation. Gender research must take sexuality into consideration because it otherwise risks irrelevance to the LGBT community; items in many of the existing batteries really apply only to heterosexual populations. Questions about marriage, for instance, have fundamentally different implications for gays and lesbians than the question intends. These questions are, to a large extent, irrelevant because the law in many states bars homosexuals from getting married. Even though many gays and lesbians have strong ideas about marriage as a life option for themselves as well as others, these questions do

[39] Those who see racism and sexism as structural understand these prejudices to be embedded in society. Structural processes do not need to have actors perpetuating them; racism and sexism perpetuate themselves, according to this view. Thus racism is not something that people do, it is something that operates within the systems of society, such as the law, the economy, and political institutions. It is furthermore more expansive than the aggregation of individuals' racist actions and beliefs. Structural prejudice has a life of its own.

not get at the heart of their gender experience. This signals a need for gender questions that either specially attend to homosexuality or are applicable to the lives of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender individuals. Most individuals, regardless of sexual orientation, identify as either men or women and are treated as men and women. Questions about equality between the sexes, for instance, may read the same for lesbian women and heterosexual women. We capture any perceived discrimination or inequality due to sexuality by asking respondents specifically about the level of discrimination against gay and lesbian people both in this country and in their communities. We furthermore probe opinions about gay marriage and the morality of homosexuality.

Special Topic: Parenting

Studies of gender in racial minority communities often tie it to family structure, and they focus particularly heavily on single-parent families. Early research blamed black single mothers for failing to adequately gender-socialize their sons, and thus for causing the problems of poor, black, urban neighborhoods.[40] More recent literature, however, offers many reasons why theories positing deficiency of single-parent black families are deficient themselves. First, children who grow up in single-parent families do not participate in delinquency at any higher rates than those from other types of households.[41] Furthermore, early literature operated on the faulty assumption that if the biological father is not in the house, children have no male role models. This neglects both nonresident involved fathers and non-biological father figures, which are

[40] In *Young, Black and Male in America: An Endangered Species* (1988), Jewelle Taylor Gibbs discusses (and contests) the early literature that looks to absent fathers as the source of urban problems.

[41] Zimmerman, Marc A., Deborah A. Salem, and Kenneth I. Maton. 1995. Family Structure and Psychosocial Correlates among Urban African-American Adolescent Males. *Child Development* 66:1598–1613; see also Thomas, George, Michael P. Farrell, and Grace N. Barnes. 1996. The Effects of Single-Mother Families and Nonresident Fathers on Delinquency and Substance Abuse in Black and White Adolescents. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 58(4):884–894.

prevalent arrangements in African American families.[42] In addition, black male adolescents have been found to be less affected by the absence of a father than white adolescents.[43] I believe this is largely due to the circumstances surrounding the absent father, especially *why* the father is absent. White women are most often single mothers because of divorce or separation, events that researchers argue can have a lasting detrimental effect on children's psychological well being. Black women, on the other hand, are often single mothers because they never married. "Absent father" effects could be therefore in some part "divorce effects"; delinquency would thus stem from reaction to the painful experience of divorce rather than the absence of a male figure.

Last, and perhaps most important, single-parent families are hypothesized to be less detrimental in the black community because they are normatively accepted and thus willingly supported by their extended kin networks.[44] Children are often raised within lineages, or extended families, and many African Americans define family in terms of consanguinity rather than official ties such as marriage, just as their African ancestors did (Mullings 1997; Sudarska 1996; Staples 1991; Hill 1993). African American families continue to predominantly define family as extended kin networks. McAdoo finds that members of kin groups lived in proximity to each other; and more central to my inquiry, 86% of single mothers had relatives living within 30 miles (McAdoo 1983). She furthermore reports that the involvement of these relatives went beyond their physical closeness; they supplied emotional help, childcare, and financial help. Whether they are rooted in African approaches to family or are a newer adaptation, extended kin networks provide necessary support to single parents (as well as attached ones). Again, this tight-

---

[42] For further information about "absent" father involvement, see Danziger, Sandra K., and Norma Radin. 1990. Absent Does Not Equal Uninvolved: Predictors of Fathering in Teen Mother Families. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 52(3):636–642; and Sullivan, Mercer L. 1989. Absent Fathers in the Inner City. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 501, *The Ghetto Underclass: Social Science Perspectives*, 48–58.
[43] Thomas et al.
[44] Zimmerman et al. and Thomas et al. both hypothesize normalization of single-mother families in black communities.

knit safety net, when present, may account for the findings that sons in black single-mother families fare no worse than blacks and whites in other family structures.

These findings, however, tell us nothing about what black men and women think about family structure. Can a single mother bring up her child as well as a married couple? The General Social Survey asked respondents this question during the 1988–1991 period. A frequency distribution of the data makes clear that black respondents overwhelmingly (to a statistically significant degree) believe the single mother to be at no disadvantage. A majority of white respondents, on the other hand, disagree with the statement that a single mother can bring up her child as well as a married couple.[45] The data suggest that black respondents should view single mothers as equally adequate at raising their children as married couples are. There is little public opinion work done on this topic, however, and the literature will benefit from its further investigation.

Special Topic: Bodies

Gender informs all of our life experiences, so it is difficult to delineate those matters that are central to one's gender experience. For young people, experiences with gender are tightly bound to one's body. The body is a major part of our physical appearance, an integral element of sexual attraction and practice, and a site of power. Body esteem and image are central to our experiences as women and men, especially in the arena of sexual and romantic relationships. For these reasons, the Black Youth Project is interested in how young black people perceive their bodies. We aim to answer the following questions: How do young black men and women

[45] Only 34% of white respondents agreed with the statement, compared to 61.5% of black respondents. White respondents' "strongly agree" and "agree" responses were low and statistically significant at the $p<0.05$ level. Their "disagree" response was high and statistically significant at the $p<0.05$ level. For blacks, the opposite was true: "strongly agree" and "agree" yielded a high frequency of responses, statistically significant at $p<0.05$. "Disagree" yielded a low frequency of responses and the same statistical significance.

perceive their sexual and social attractiveness, absolutely rather than relatively? How does body image interact with gender identities and sexual decision-making?

Young adults face many situations in which they have little agency; they are subject to the rules of their caregivers, their school, and the law. One thing adolescents may feel they *can* control is their own bodies, as well as their decisions about how to use them. Laura Fingerson argues that children draw on their bodies as sources of agency.[46] Our perceived attractiveness influences how we interact with others, including potential and actual romantic and sexual partners. The literature tells us that body image plays a role in the larger concept of self-image and that it is directly correlated with quantity and quality of sexual experience. That is, those who have more positive body and self-images have more and better sexual experiences. It furthermore informs us that poor body image contributes to social and romantic anxiety. It is therefore highly important to find out how respondents perceive their bodies.

Cash, Theriault, and Annis find that body image and interpersonal functioning are correlated.[47] Specifically, they find that negative body image is directly related to social anxiety for both sexes and romantic anxiety (fear of intimacy) for women.[48] Similarly, Cash and Fleming find that negative body image is associated with lower social –self-esteem and increased social anxiety.[49] McKinley finds that body esteem is connected with "women's autonomy, environmental mastery, positive relations with others, and self-acceptance."[50] MacCorquadale

---

[46] Fingerson, Laura. 1998. Agency and the Body. *Childhood: A Global Journal of Child Research*, forthcoming.
[47] Cash,Thomas F., Jocelyne Thériault, Natasha Milkewicz Annis. 2004. Body Image in an Interpersonal Context: Adult Attachment, Fear of Intimacy, and Social Anxiety. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 23(1):89–103.
[48] While this study had a very diverse sample (30% black), the researchers did not do separate analyses by racial groups. These results are therefore representative of the overall sample but cannot tell us how black respondents may differ from the others.
[49] Cash, Thomas F., and Emily C. Fleming. 2002. Body Image and Social Relations. In *Body Image: A Handbook of Theory, Research, and Clinical Practice*. New York: Guilford Press.
[50] McKinley, Nita Mary. 1999. Woman and Objectified Body Consciousness: Mothers' and Daughters' Body Experience in Cultural, Developmental, and Familial Context. *Developmental Psychology* 35(3):760–769. It is important to note that this sample was 92% white.

and DeLamater find that there is a direct correlation between men's and women's evaluation of their social characteristics and their sexual experience; those who see themselves as more attractive report more intimate sexual experiences.[51] They also find a significant, although not substantive, correlation between self-esteem and amount of sexual experience. Cash, Beskin, and Yamamiya (2003) also show that in addition to playing a role in how much sexual experience individuals have, it also influences how well those experiences play out. Body image, therefore, may be an important explanatory variable for differences in quality and quantity of sexual experience.

Concerning bodies, as well as beauty, researchers consistently find black women to have higher self-esteem than white women.[52] Early research posited that black women would have low self-esteem as a result of internalizing negative messages about themselves and measuring themselves against a white beauty standard. Consistently, however, researchers find that black women do not subscribe to the white beauty standard and take other blacks as their reference point. Black women have more flexible and fluid understandings of beauty than white women do.[53] They furthermore have more realistic expectations of their bodies and do not internalize the "waif body" ideal that the media promotes.

Molloy and Herzberger suggest that this is a reflection of what black and white men desire. This surely plays a role for heterosexual women, but there are other hypothesized factors

---

[51] MacCorquadale, Patricia, and John DeLamater. 1979. Self-Image and Premarital Sexuality. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 41(2):327–339.

[52] See Molloy, Beth L., and Sharon D. Herzberger. 1998. Body Image and Self-Esteem: A Comparison of African-American and Caucasian Women. *Sex Roles* 38(7/8):631–643; and Poran, Maya A. 2002. Denying Diversity: Perceptions of Beauty and Social Comparison Processes Among Latina, Black and White Women. *Sex Roles* 47(1/2):65–81.

[53] See Allan, J., et al. 1993. Body Size Values of White and Black Women. *Research in Nursing and Health* 16:323–333; Kumanyika, S., et al. 1993. Weight-related Attitudes and Behaviors of Black Women. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 93:416–422; and Parker, S., et al. 1995. Body Image and Weight Concerns among African-American and White Adolescent Females: Differences that Make a Difference. *Human Organization* 54:103–114.

that influence body image:[54] overall self-esteem, racial self-esteem, and low identification with the dominant culture. Racial identification has shown a positive relationship with body image. Racial esteem and identification with dominant culture have not shown significant effects. Parker et al. assert that the flexible beauty standard arises out of the community and its support networks, which validate girls' style, fuller bodies, and appearance.[55] Molloy and Herzberger agree; they assert that different standards operate in the community and shield black girls from the dominant white standards—which are impossible for most everyone to reach, regardless of race.

There are three aspects of body image: evaluation, investment, and affect. Researchers mostly focus on evaluation—one's level of satisfaction with one's body. Investment has to do with individual beliefs about how important looks are and how much individuals buy into cultural ideals of beauty. Affect concerns emotions regarding body image that arise in particular situations.[56] The findings regarding sexuality and dating are based on evaluative measures of body image; this study thus uses measures from this realm.

Conclusion

Research on gender roles in the black community has produced conflicting findings, and inquiries into young black people's ideas about these roles are essentially nonexistent. Empirical research on young black people has too long and too often talked *about* them instead of talking *to* them. The Black Youth Project breaks this trend, asking young people about their gender norms and how they see gender operating in their community. We furthermore inquire into the level of discrimination that they believe women and gay men and lesbians face, both in their

[54] Molloy and Herzberger, 632.
[55] Parker et al.
[56] Cash, Theriault, and Annis, 89–90.

communities and in this country at large. We seek to learn as well how black youth view single parenting; the literature suggests that it does not disadvantage children and that it is widely accepted in black communities. Last, we inquire about the relationships that black youth have with their bodies: do they feel sexually attractive to others? Do they like their bodies? Overall, our survey prompts youth to respond to gender behaviors, roles, and experiences in the contexts of their community and the larger society. Furthermore, this study takes the important step of recognizing that gender norms in black communities may and probably do differ from white gender norms. In the end, this study will enhance understanding of black youth's gender roles that operate on the personal, community, and societal levels.

Appendix A—Scales

Power and Attitudes in Relationships

1. A woman and not "her man" should do the cooking and house cleaning.
2. A woman needs to have a man in her life.
3. A woman should confront her partner if she finds out he is having an affair.
4. Men's opinions are more important than women's in making important decisions in a relationship.
5. A man's happiness is more important than a woman's in a relationship.
6. If a man and a woman are arguing, it is important for her to "give in" so they will stop arguing.
7. Women don't need to have sex as much as men do.
8. If a man wants to have sex and a woman doesn't she should have sex to please him.

From Sherman, S., A. Gielen, and K. McDonnell, K. 2000. Power and Attitudes in Relationships (PAIR) Among a Sample of Low-Income, African American Women: Implications for HIV/AIDS Prevention. *Sex Roles* 42(3/4):288.

Modern and Old-Fashioned Sexism

1. Women are generally not as smart as men.
2. I would be equally comfortable having a woman as a boss as a man.
3. It is more important to encourage boys than to encourage girls to participate in athletics.
4. Women are just as capable of thinking logically as men.
5. When both parents are employed and their child gets sick at school, the school should call the mother rather than the father.

Modern Sexism

1. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.
2. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.
3. It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television.
4. On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally.
5. Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.

Antagonism toward women's demands

6. It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in America.
7. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities.

Resentment about special favors for women

8. Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences.

From Swim, J. K., K. J. Aiken, W. S. Hall, and B. A. Hunter. 1995. Sexism and Racism: Old-Fashioned and Modern Prejudices. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 68:199–214.

Attitudes Toward Women Scale

1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.
2. Under modern economic conditions, with women active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing and doing laundry.

3. It is insulting to women to have the “obey” clause still in the marriage service.
4. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.
5. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.
6. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out to dinner.
7. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.
8. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.
9. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.
10. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.
11. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.
12. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.
13. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the idea of femininity, which has been set up by men.
14. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.
15. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.

In Spence, Janet T., and Eugene D. Hahn. 1997. The Attitudes Toward Women Scale and Attitude Change in College Students. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 21:17–34.

Womanist Identity Attitudes Scale

1. I limit myself to male activities. (Pre)
2. Sometimes I am embarrassed to be the sex I am. (Pre)
3. I feel like I am betraying my sex when I take advantage of the opportunities available to me in the male world. (Im-Em)
4. Sometimes I am proud of belonging to the female sex and sometimes I am ashamed of it. (Enc)
5. Both sexual groups have some good people and some bad people. (Int)
6. In general, women have not contributed much to American society. (Pre)
7. I feel unable to involve myself in men’s activities, and I am increasing my involvement in activities involving women. (Enc)
8. Being a member of the female sex is a source of pride to me. (Int)
9. I limit myself to activities involving women. (Im-Em)
10. I’m not sure how I feel about myself. (Im-Em)
11. I feel anxious about some of the things I feel about women. (Im-Em)
12. Women should learn to think and act like men. (Pre)
13. Women and men have much to learn from each other. (Int)
14. People, regardless of their sex, have strengths and limitations. (Int)
15. I enjoy being around people regardless of their sex. (Int)
16. In general, I believe that men are superior to women. (Pre)
17. Maybe I can learn something from women. (Enc)

18. The burden of living up to society's expectations of women is sometimes more than I can bear. (Im-Em)
19. Sometimes I wonder how much of myself I should give up for the sake of helping minorities. (Im-Em)
20. I don't know whether being a woman is an asset or a deficit. (Enc)
21. I would have accomplished more in this life if I had been born a man. (Im-Em)
22. Sometimes I think men are superior and sometimes I think they're inferior to women. (Enc)
23. I do not think I should feel positively about people just because they belong to the same sexual group as I do. (Int)
24. Men are more attractive than women. (Pre)
25. I am comfortable wherever I am. (Int)
26. I feel more comfortable being around men than I do being around women. (Pre)
27. I want to know more about the female culture. (Enc)
28. I am determined to find out more about the female sex. (Enc)
29. My most important goal in life is to fight the oppression of women. (Im-Em)
30. I wonder if I should feel a kinship with all minority people. (Im-Em)
31. I find myself replacing old friends with new ones who share my beliefs about women. (Im-Em)
32. I believe that being a woman has caused me to have many strengths. (Int)
33. I find that I function better when I am able to view men as individuals. (Int)
34. Thinking about my values and beliefs takes up a lot of my time. (Im-Em)
35. Most men are untrustworthy. (Im-Em)
36. American society would be better off if it were based on the cultural values of women. (Im-Em)
37. I reject all male values. (Im-Em)
38. Most men are insensitive. (Im-Em)
39. Men have some customs I enjoy. (Int)
40. I think women and men differ from each other in some ways, but neither group is superior. (Int)
41. Men are difficult to understand. (Enc)
42. When I think about how men have treated women, I feel an overwhelming anger. (Im-Em)
43. Women should not blame men for all their social problems. (Pre)

From Ossana, S. M., J. E. Helms, and M. Leonard. 1992. Do "Womanist" Identity Attitudes Influence College Women's Self Esteem and Perceptions of Environmental Bias? *Journal of Counseling and Development* 141:402–408.

Bem Sex-Role Inventory

Masculine Items

Acts as a leader	Ambitious	Assertive
Aggressive	Analytical	Athletic

Competitive	Independent	Strong personality
Defends his/her own beliefs	Individualistic	Willing to take a stand
Dominant	Makes decisions easily	Willing to take risks
Forceful	Masculine	
Has leadership abilities	Self-reliant	
	Self-sufficient	

Feminine Items

Affectionate	Easily flattered	Soft spoken
Cheerful	Feminine	Sympathetic
Childlike	Gentle	Tender
Compassionate	Gullible	Understanding
Does not use harsh language	Loves children	Warm
Eager to soothe hurt feelings	Loyal	Yielding
	Sensitive to the needs of others	
	Shy	

Items listed in:
Holt, C., and J. Ellis, J. 1989. Assessing the Current Validity of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. *Sex Roles* 39(11/12):929–941.

Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale

The Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale is not available to the public. Researchers are required to pay at least $35 for access to the battery. In one of their later articles, authors King and King offer sample items, which are reproduced below:

Marital domain:

- The husband should be the head of the family
- Things work out best in a marriage if a husband stays away from housekeeping tasks.

Parental domain:

- It is more appropriate for a mother, rather than a father, to change their baby's diapers.
- Keeping track of a child's activities should be mostly the mother's task.

Employment domain:

- It is wrong for a man to enter a traditionally female career.
- Women can handle job pressures as well as men can.

Social-interpersonal-heterosexual domain:

- A woman should be careful not to appear smarter than the man she is dating.
- A person should be more polite to a woman than to a man,

Educational domain:

- Home economics courses should be as acceptable for male students as for female students.
- Choice of college is not as important for women as for men.

King, L., and D. King. 1997. Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale: Development, Psychometric Properties, and Recommendations for Future Research. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 21:71–87.

Black Youth Project: Gender Bibliography

Allan, J., Mayo K., Michel, Y. (1993) Body size values of white and black women. *Research in Nursing and Health, 16*, 323-333.

Anderson, E. (1995) Sex Codes and Family Life of Inner-City Youth. In Ronald L. Taylor (Ed.), *African-American Youth: Their Social and Economic Status in the United States* (pp. 179-200). Westport, CT: Praeger

Ani, M. (1994) *Yurugu: An African-centered critique of European cultural thought and behavior*.Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press

Aronson, R., Whitehead, T., & Baber, W. (1995) Challenges to Masculine Transformation Among Urban Low-Income African American Males. *Public Health Matters, 93(5)*, 732-741.

Bailey, W.T., Silver, N.C. (1990) Women's rights and roles: Attitudes among Black and White students. *Psychological Reports, 66*, 1143-1146.

Belton, D. (1995) *Speak My Name: Black Men on Masculinity and the American Dream*, Boston: Beacon

Bem, S. L. (1974) The Measurement of Psychological Androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 42*, 155–162

Bonner, F.B. (1974) Black women and white women: a comparative analysis of perceptions of sex roles for self, ideal-self, and the ideal-male. *Journal of Afro-American Issues, 2*, 237-247.

Bridges, J., Etaugh, C., (1994) Black and White Women's Perceptions of Early Maternal Employment. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, (18)*, 427-431.

Brogan, D., Kutner, N. (1976) Measuring Sex-Role Orientation: A Normative Approach. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 38(1)*, 31-40.

Brown, P., Perry, L., Harburg, E. (1977) Sex role attitudes and psychological outcomes for black and white women experiencing marital dissolution. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 39(3)*, 549-561.

Brown, T., Cash, T., Mikulka, P. (1990) Attitudinal Body-Image Assessment: Factor Analysis of the Body Self-Relations Questionnaire. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 55(1/2)*, 135-144.

Burke, T., Tilly, J. (1977) The Measurement of Role Identity. *Social Forces, 55(4)*, 881-897.

Burns, N., Kinder, D. (2004) Social Identity and Political Opposition. Paper presented at the conference of American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

Burns, N., Scholzman, K., Verba, S. (2001) *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Campbell, B., Schellenberg, G., Senn, C. (1997) Evaluating Measures of Contemporary Sexism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21,* 89-102.

Carroll, R. (1997) *Sugar in the Raw: Voices of Young Black Girls in America,* New York: Crown paperbacks

Cash, T., Fleming, E. (2002) Body Image and Social Relations. In T. Cash and T. Pruzinsky (Eds.), *Body Image: A Handbook of Theory, Research, and Clinical Practice.* New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Cash, T., Theriault, J., Annis, N. (2004) Body Image in an Interpersonal Context: Adult Attachment, Fear of Intimacy, and Social Anxiety. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 23(1),* 89-103.

Cazenave, N. (1983) Black male-Black female relationships: The perceptions of 155 middle-class Black men. *Family Relations, 32,* 341-350.

Christmon, K. (1990) Parental responsibility of African-American unwed adolescent fathers. *Adolescence, 25,* 645-653.

Cole, J.B., Guy-Sheftall, B. *Gender Talk: The Struggle for Women's Equality in African American Communities,* New York, NY; Ballantine Books

Coley, R. (2001) (In)visible Men: Emerging Research on Low Income, Unmarried, and Minority Fathers. *American Psychologist, 59(9),* 743-753

Crovitz, E. and Steinmann, A. (1980) A decade later: Black-white attitudes toward women's familial role. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 52(2),* 170-176.

Dade, L., Sloan, L. (2000) An Investigation of Sex-Role Stereotypes in African Americans. *Journal of Black Studies, 30(5),* 676-690.

Danziger, S., Radin, N. (1990) Absent Does Not Equal Uninvolved: Predictors of Fathering in Teen Mother Families. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 52(3),* 636-642.

DeParle, J. (2004, September 5). Raising Kevion. *New York Times,* Retrieved September 20, 2004 from http://www.nytimes.com

Dominus, S. (2004, October 24). Growing Up With Mom and Mom. Retrieved October 24, 2004 from http://www.nytimes.com

Fingerson, Laura. Agency and the Body. *Childhood: A Global Journal of Child Research,* forthcoming.

Fullilove, M., Fullilove, R., Haynes, K., & Gross, S. (1990) Black Women and AIDS Prevention: A View Towards Understanding the Gender Rules. *The Journal of Sex Research, 27(1)*, 47-64.

Furstenberg, F., Morgan, P., Moore, K. Peterson, J.L. (1987) Race Differences in the Timing of First Intercourse. *American Sociological Review, 52*, 511-518.

Ferguson, A.A. (2000) *Bad Boys: Public Schools in the Making of Black Masculinity*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press

Frazier-Kouassi, S. Race and Gender at the Crossroads: African American Females in School.

Furstenberg, F., et al., (1987) Race Differences in the Timing of First Intercourse. *American Sociological Review, 52*, 511-518.

Gay, C., Tate, K., Doubly Bound: The Impact of Gender and Race on the Politics of Black Women. *Political Psychology, 18(1)*, 169-184.

Gibbs, J.T. (1988) *Young, Black and Male in America: An Endangered Species*, NY: Auburn House

Glick, P., & Fiske, S.T. (1996) The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70*, 491-512.

Grady, W., et al. (1999) Contraceptive Characteristics: The Perceptions And Priorities of Men and Women. *Family Planning Perspectives, 31(4)*, 168-175.

Harris, R., Firestone, J. (1998) Changes in Predictors of Gender Role Ideologies among Women: A Multivariate Analysis. *Sex Roles, 38(3/4)*, 239-252.

Hershey, M. (1978) Racial differences in sex-role identities and sex stereotyping: Evidence against a common assumption. *Social Science Quarterly, 58*, 583-596.

Hill, S. (2002) Teaching and Doing Gender in African American Families. *Sex Roles, 47(11/12)*, 493-506.

Holt, C., Ellis, J. (1989) Assessing the Current Validity of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. *Sex Roles, 39(11/12)*, 929-941.

hooks, b. (1995) Black Women: Shaping Feminist Theory. *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African American Feminist Thought*. Ed. Beverly Guy-Sheftall. The New Press, New York: 270-282.

Huddy, L., Neely, F., Lafay, M. The Polls-Trends: Support for the Women's Movement. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 2000;64:309-350.

Hunter, A., Davis, J. (1992) Constructing Gender: An Exploration of Afro-American Men's Conceptualization. *Gender and Society, 6,* 464-479.

Hunter, A., Sellers, S. (1998) Feminist Attitudes among African American Women And Men. *Gender and Society, 12(1),* 81-99.

Jackson, J. Neighbors, H. National Survey of Black Americans, waves 3 and 4, accessed through ICPSR.

Johnson, W. (1995) Paternal Identity Among Urban Adolescent Males, http://rcgd.isr.umich.edu/prba/perspectives/spring1995/wjohnson.pdf

Kane, E. (1992) Race, Gender, and Attitudes Toward Gender Stratification. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 55(3),* 311-320.

Kane, E. (2000) Racial and Ethnic Variations in Gender-Related Attitudes. *Annual Review of Sociology, 26,* 419-439.

Kaplan, E. (1996) Black Teenage Mothers and Their Mothers: The Impact of Adolescent Childbearing on Daughters' Relations with Mothers. *Social Problems, 43(4),* 427-443.

Kaufman, L. (2004, September 15) Finding a Future for a Troubled Girl With a Past. *New York Times.* Retrieved September 15, 2004, from http://www.nytimes.com

Kiecolt, K., Acock, A. (1988) The long-term effects of family structure on gender-role attitudes. *Journal of*
Marriage and the Family, 50, 709-717.

King, L., King, D. (1997) Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale: Development, Psychometric Properties, and Recommendations for Future Research. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21,* 71-87.

King, M.C. (1975) Oppression and power: the unique status of Black women in the American political system. *Social Science Quarterly, 56,* 116-128.

Klepinger, D., Lundberg, S., Plotnick, R. (1995) Adolescent Fertility and the Educational Attainment of Young Women. *Family Planning Perspectives, 27(1),* 23-28.

Konrad, A., Harris, C. (2002) Desirability of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory Items for Women and Men: A Comparison Between African Americans and European Americans. *Sex Roles, 47(5/6),* 259-271.

Kumanyika, S., Wilson, J.F., Guilford-Davenport, M. (1993) Weight-related attitudes and behaviors of black women. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association, 93,* 416-422.

Lauritsen, J. (1994) Explaining Race and Gender Differences in Adolescent Sexual Behavior. *University of North Carolina Press, 72(3),* 859-884.

Lefkowitz, E., Boone, T. Sigman, M., Kit-fong Au, T. (2002) He Said, She Said: Gender Differences in Mother-Adolescent Conversations about Sexuality. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 12,* 217-242.

Lefkowitz, E. (2004) Religiosity, sexual behaviors, and sexual attitudes during emerging adulthood. *Journal of Sex Research, 41(2),* 150-159.

Leve, L., Fagot, B. (1997) Gender-Role Socialization and Discipline Processes in One- and Two-Parent Families. *Sex Roles, 36,* 1-21.

Lewis, D.K. (1975) The Black Family: Socialization and Sex Roles. *Phylon, 36(3),* 221-247.

Lewis, Linwood J. Contesting the Dangerous Sexuality of Black Male Youth. *American Sexuality Magazine, 2(2).*

Lewis, L., Kertzner, R. (2003) Toward Improved Interpretation and Theory Building of African American Male Sexualities. *The Journal of Sex Research, 40(4),* 383-395.

MacCorquadale, P., DeLamater, J. (1979) Self-Image and Premarital Sexuality. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 41(2),* 327-339.

Majors, R., Billson, J.M. (1992) *Cool Pose: The Dilemmas of Black Manhood in America,* NY: Touchstone

Matlin, Margaret W. (2000) *The Psychology of Women,* Orlando, FL: Harcourt College Publishers

Mays, V., Chatters, L., Cochran, S., & Mackness, J. (1998) African American Families in Diversity: Gay Men and Lesbians as Participants in Family Networks. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 29,* 79-87.

McGhee, M., NeSonya, J., Liverpool, J. (2001) Assessing Psychometric Properties of the Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES) With African-Americans. *Sex Roles, 45(11/12),* 859-866.

McHugh, M., Frieze, I. (1997) The Measurement of Gender-Role Attitudes: A Review and Commentary. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21,* 1-16.

McKinley, N.M. (1999) Woman and Objectified Body Consciousness: Mothers' and Daughters' Body Experience in Cultural, Developmental, and Familial Context. *Developmental Psychology, 35(3),* 760-769.

Millham, J., Smith, L.E. (1981) Sex Role Differentiation among Black and White Americans: A Comparative Study. *Journal of Black Psychology, 7(2),* 77-90.

Molloy, B., Herzberger, S. (1998) Body Image and Self-Esteem: A Comparison of African-American and Caucasian Women. *Sex Roles, 38(7/8),* 631-643.

Moradi, B., Yoder, J., Berendsen, L. (2004) An Evaluation of the Psychometric Properties of the Womanist Identity Attitudes Scale. *Sex Roles, 50(3/4),* 253-266.

Navarro, M. (2004, September 19). When Gender Isn't a Given. *New York Times.* Retrieved September 19, 2004, from http://www.nytimes.com

Nezleck, John B. (1999) Body Image and Social Interaction. *Journal of Personality, 67(5),* 793-817.

Nobles, W.W. (1974) Africanity: Its Role in Black Families. *The Black Scholar* 5(9), 10-17.

Oliver, W. (1994) *The Violent Social World of Black Men,* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Ossana, S. M. (1986) *The relationship between women's perceptions of the campus environment and self-esteem as moderated by women's identity attitudes*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland, College Park.

Ossana, S.M., Helms, J.E., & Leonard, M. (1992) Do "Womanist" Identity Attitudes Influence College Women's Self Esteem and Perceptions of Environmental Bias. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 141,* 402-408.

Oxford English Dictionary online, http://oed.com, accessed September 10, 2004

Parker, S., Nichter, M., Nichter, M., Sims, C. (1995) Body image and weight concerns among African-American and white adolescent females: Differences that make a difference. *Human Organization, 54,* 103-114.

Patterson, K. (2004) A Longitudinal Study of African American Women and the Maintenance of a Healthy Self-Esteem. *Journal of Black Psychology, 30(3),* 307-328.

Pearson, J., Hunter, A., Ensminger, M., & Kellam, S. (1990) Black Grandmothers in Multigenerational Households: Diversity in Family Structure and Parenting Involvement in the Woodlawn Community. *Child Development, 61,* 434-442.

Peters, M.F., (1988) Parenting in Black Families with Young Children: A Historical Perspective. In H. McAdoo (Ed.), *Black Families* (pp. 228-241). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Poran, M. (2002) Denying Diversity: Perceptions of Beauty and Social Comparison Processes Among Latina, Black and White Women. *Sex Roles, 47(1/2),* 65-81.

Ransford, H., Miller, J. (1983) Race, Sex and Feminist Outlooks. *American Sociological Review, 48(1),* 46-59.

Richardson, L. (2004, September 23) For Principal, New Boy's School is a Call to Action. *New York Times.* Retrieved September 23, 2004, from http://www.nytimes.com

Rosen, R. (1978) Sex Role Attitudes of Black and White Women. *International Journal of Women's Studies, 1(6)*, 544-554.

Rucker, C., Cash, T. (1992) Body Images, Body Size Perceptions, and Eating Behaviors Among African-American and White College Women. *International Journal of Eating Disorders, 12(3)*, 291-299.

Ryan, C., Rivers, I. (2003) Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender youth: victimization and its correlates in the USA and UK. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 5(2)*, 103-119.

Shelton, J., Chavous, T. (1999) Black and White College Women's Perceptions of Sexual Harassment. *Sex Roles, 40(7/8)*, 593-615.

Sherman, S., Gielen, A., & McDonnell, K. (2000) Power and Attitudes in Relationships (PAIR) Among a Sample of Low-Income, African-American Women: Implications for HIV/AIDS Prevention. *Sex Roles, 42(3/4)*, 288.

Smith, P.A., Midlarsky, E. (1985) Empirically derived conceptions of femaleness and maleness: a current view. *Sex Roles, 12(3/4)*, 313-328.

Spence, Janet T., and R. L. Helmreich. (1972) The Attitudes Toward Women Scale: An Objective Instrument to Measure the Attitudes toward the Rights and Roles of Women in Contemporary Society. *JSAS: Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology, 2*, 66–67.

Spence, J., Hahn, E. (1997) The Attitudes Toward Women Scale and Attitude Change in College Students. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*, 17-34.

Staples, R. (1985) Changes in Black Family Structure: The Conflict between Family Ideology and Structural Conditions. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 47(4)*, 1005-1013.

Stevens, J.W. (1997) African American Female Adolescent Identity Development: A Three-Dimensional Perspective. *Child Welfare, 76(1)*, 145-172.

Stevens, J.W. (2002) *Smart and Sassy: The Strengths of Inner-City Black Girls*, New York: Oxford University Press

Swim, J.K., Aiken, K.J., Hall, W.S., & Hunter, B.A. (1995) Sexism and racism: Old-Fashioned and modern prejudices. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68*, 199-214.

Swim, J.K. & Cohen, L. (1997) Overt, Covert, and Subtle Sexism: A Comparison Between the Attitudes Toward Women and Modern Sexism Scales. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*, 103-118.

Sudarkasa, N. (1999) African American females as primary parents. In H. Pipes McAdoo (Ed.), *Family ethnicity: Strength in diversity,* 2d. ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sullivan, M. (1989) Absent Fathers in the Inner City. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, The Ghetto Underclass: Social Science Perspectives, 501,* 48-58.

Thomas, G., Farrell, M. & Barnes, G. (1996) The Effects of Single-Mother Families and Nonresident Fathers on Delinquency and Substance Abuse in Black and White Adolescents. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 58(4),* 884-894.

Thomas, A., Witherspoon, K., Speight, S. (2004) Toward the Development of Stereotypic Roles for Black Women Scale. *Journal of Black Psychology, 30(3),* 426-442.

Watson, M., Protinsky, H. (1988) Black Adolescent Identity Development: Perceived Family Structure. *Family Relations, 37(3),* 288-292.

Welch, S., Sigelman, L. (1989) A Black gender gap? *Social Science Quarterly, 70,* 120-133.

Wiederman, M., Hurst, S. (1998) Body Size, Physical Attractiveness, and Body Image among Young Adult Women: Relationships to Sexual Experience and Sexual Esteem. *Journal of Sex Research, 35(3),* 272-281.

Wiederman, M., Maynard, C., Fretz, A. (1996) Ethnicity in 25 Years of Published Sexuality Research: 1971-1995. *The Journal of Sex Research, 33(4),* 339-342.

Wilcox, C. (1990) Race, Gender Role Attitudes, and Support for Feminism. *The Western Political Quarterly, 43(1),* 113-121.

Wilkie, J. (1993) Changes in U.S. men's attitudes toward the family provider role, 1972-1989. *Gender and Society, 7,* 261-279.

Winstead, B.A., & Cash, T.F. Reliability and Validity of the Body Self-Relations Questionnaire: A New Measure of Body Image. Paper presented at the meeting of the Southeastern Psychological Association, New Orleans, LA.

Young, A.A., *The Minds of Marginalized Black Men: Making Sense of Mobility, Opportunity, and Future Life Chances,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Zill, N., Ruane, D., & Coiro, M. (1993) Long-Term Effects of Parental Divorce on Parent-Child Relationships, Adjustment, and Achievement in Young Adulthood. *Journal of Family Psychology, 7(1),* 91-103.

Zimmerman, M., Salem, D., Maton, K. Family Structure and Psychosocial Correlates among Urban African-American Adolescent Males. *Child Development, 66,* 1598-1613.