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PRECONCEPTIONS AND THE BLACK MALE-FEMALE RELATIONSHIP

City University of New York

PH.D. 1983

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PRECONCEPTIONS AND THE BLACK MALE-FEMALE RELATIONSHIP

by

Jannifer Eileen Hill

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

December 20, 1983

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

PRECONCEPTIONS AND THE BLACK MALE-FEMALE RELATIONSHIP

by

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This study explores the effects of race and gender on preconceptions of masculinity and femininity, career selection, educational achievement, sexuality, and physical attraction. In Experiment 1, the impact of blacks' and whites' preconceptions was rated using measures of masculinity and femininity with respect to variations in career choice, achievement, and family orientation. Also comparative data by racial group were collected on dating, relationship, and sexual histories. In Experiment 2, black male and female subjects rated an opposite-sex photograph to determine the effect of skin color and salience of black facial features on perceptions of masculinity and femininity. Blacks and whites, regardless of sex, have similar sex-typed preconceptions about opposite-sex members based on their career choice, achievement, and family orientation. Black and white males differ in their preconceptions about black and white females' gender traits. Black and white females significantly differ in their preconceptions of black and white males' career status and perceptions of faithfulness in relationships. Significant differences exist between black and white males' age at first sexual intercourse. No significant differences existed between black and white females' sexual histories. Black women's perceptions of masculinity and

attractiveness are significantly influenced by variations in skin color and salience of black facial features. Black males' perceptions of femininity and physical attraction tended to be influenced by variations in skin color and salience of black facial features.

. . . for faith that sustains,
and all the love and support which eased the way.

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CHAPTER 1

PRECONCEPTIONS AND THE BLACK MALE-FEMALE RELATIONSHIP

Black male-female interpersonal relationships have drawn much attention within the past decade. Both black males and females seem disillusioned with the current state of their relationships with each other. Black women perceive black men as having the advantage in dating and relationships. Yet, black men complain that their choices are limited by the availability of "quality" black women. "An honest black woman is often considered a rare commodity." Quality is a term that is often used to denote opposite-sex members with desirable personality attributes and achievements. Some of the qualities and achievements black women desire in black men are occupational success, educational achievement, considerateness, and awareness of social protocol. Some black men express desires for a family-oriented woman who is willing to play the traditional role in the family structure. Physical beauty, although it is not a woman's most important asset, is a highly desirable characteristic as also is an awareness of etiquette. Clearly, black men and women have definite expectations associated with these qualities within the boundaries of a relationship. Not only are black men and women concerned about the state of their relationships, but social science researchers also have exhibited a particular fascination with this issue. Numerous studies and theoretical explanations have focused on the interpersonal relationship behavior of the black male and female (Hare, 1976; Kilpatrick, 1975; Proshansky & Newton, 1968; Rodgers-Rose, 1980; Staples, 1981; Wilkinson & Taylor, 1968).

Demographic data reflect a change in black singles' lifestyles. Rodgers-Rose (1980) reports that 38% of all black men ages 14 and above were single in 1975 in contrast to only 28% of all white males. An overwhelming 46% of black men were unmarried (single, divorced, or widowed) in comparison to 33% of white males during this same period. A similar increase in the number of single black women was reported. The number of households headed by females has increased from 17.6% in 1950 to 35.3% in 1975. The U.S. Census Bureau in its report, "America's Black Population, 1970 to 1972," reported that in 1982 married couples accounted for only 55% of the black population while 40.6% of black households during this same year were headed by females (Pear, 1983). Only 4.3% had male head of households. The 1982 figures of married households represented a 13.2% decline from 1970. The greatest increase is represented among those within the "single, never married" category. Within this category, there was a 66% increase from 1960 when 12% of black women were "single, never married," to 1973 when 20% of black women comprised the "single, never married" category. The population of separated and divorced black women constituted 49% of all female-headed households in 1973 while widows constituted 28% of the population of black female-headed households in 1973.

Diversified lifestyles among single blacks have become more apparent over the past two decades. More recent statistics indicate that in 1980 48% of all black males and 56% of all black females were single, never married, divorced or widowed (Rodgers-Rose, 1983). Increasing numbers of single black adults seem to prefer alternative

lifestyles such as cohabitation, homosexuality, interracial relationships, single parenthood, and casual relationships. Some, exhausted by the state of black male-female relationships, prefer not to engage in relationships at all.

The shift from traditional monogamous relationships to less traditional ones has meaning in a contemporary society where impermanence permeates all aspects of life. Toffler (1970) vividly describes the changes in lifestyles as phenomena of urbanization. The rapid fluctuations in cultural norms, he contends, have resulted in "culture shock." Culture shock is the profound disorientation experienced by the individual when inadequately prepared for a rapidly changing society and the cultural alienation it creates. Toffler believes that the demands of repeated adaptation to novel conditions is a "form of personality maladjustment which is a reaction to a temporarily unsuccessful attempt to adjust to new surroundings and people." The black male and female seemingly are travellers in this alien culture. Toffler notes the following:

[The culture shocked person] . . . is forced to grapple with unfamiliar and unpredictable events, relationships. . . . His habitual ways of accomplishing things--even simple tasks like placing a phone call--are no longer appropriate. The strange society may itself be changing only very slowly, yet for him it is all new. Signs, sounds and other psychological cues rush past him before he can grasp them. Their every action is shot through with uncertainty. In this setting fatigue arrives more quickly than usual. Along with this, the cross-cultural traveler often experiences . . . "a subjective feeling of loss, and a sense of isolation and loneliness." (p. 347)

Given a revolution in American lifestyles, the after-effects suggest for the black man and woman additional pressures exists, particularly on the black middle-class. The effect has altered lifestyles so that questions are being raised as to whether or not the black middle class will manage to replenish itself. The birth rate among college-educated black women decreases proportionately to their level of education (Brinkley-Carter, 1980). Among women with graduate degrees, the percentage of marriages has decreased (Brinkley-Carter, 1980). The data also suggest that between 1960 and 1978, two-parent families declined from 74.1% to 56.1% in contrast to their white counterparts which also declined, from 89.2% in 1960 to 85.9% in 1978, but not quite as drastically (Gary, 1981).

Braithwaite (1981) also suggests that the changes in black male-female relationships are a function of certain unique realities. She proposes that the scarcity of eligible black males for relationships is a reality that influences opportunities for the formation of black male-female relationships. She cites the following factors as the origins of this shortage: (a) the higher infant mortality rate of black males (Scott, 1976); (b) shorter life expectancy of the black male (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1980); (c) high percentage of accidents and homicides; (d) war casualties; (e) overrepresentation of black men in prisons; and (f) high incidence of drug addiction among black men (Jackson, 1978). Staples (1978) estimated that only one acceptable black male existed for every five black females when married, imprisoned, and homosexual black men are excluded.

Socioeconomic factors have long been implicated as the source of many variations in the plight of the black male-female relationship. Statistical data has revealed that family cohesion is significantly related to economic conditions (Rodgers-Rose, 1980). Rodgers-Rose (1980) notes a perfect correlations between income and family cohesion. Furthermore, the higher the income the greater the percentage of children living with both parents. Among low-socioeconomic black families with gross annual incomes below \$4,000, only 18% of the children lived with both parents in 1974 while 90% of black children in families with gross annual incomes of \$15,000 or over lived with both parents. The median income for black male-headed households in 1974 was \$7,766 while black female-headed households only had a median income of \$3,576 in the same year. With a slight majority of black children living in female-headed households, most black children live in households where the median income is below the poverty level. Only 24.9% of all white female-headed households and 14.2% of all black male-headed households live below poverty level.

In 1982, approximately three times as many blacks lived below the poverty line (35.6%) which was \$9,862 in income for a family of four. The Census Bureau also reported that 70% of poor black families were headed by women in contrast to 56% in 1970 (Pear, 1983). The median income for blacks in 1981 was \$13,270 to \$23,520 for whites.

Many theorists concerned with the black male-female interpersonal relationship (Cleaver, 1968; Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Rodgers-Rose, 1980; Staples, 1981; Wilkinson, 1977) contend that psychological phenomena

have a compelling influence on the development of the black male-female relationship. A dynamic interplay based on mythical notions about gender roles has been noted. Staples (1981) refers to this as "gaming," an increasing level of dishonesty in relationships. Staples also reports that a high incidence of black women believe that black men younger than age 50 want relationships on their own terms and are irresponsible and inconsiderate. Grier & Cobbs (1968) perceive the nature of the relationship between black men and women as one in which a tremendous amount of displaced rage exists. They suggest that aggression is inappropriately directed onto the opposite-sex member as a result of racism's effect on black people's lives. Moreover, they propose that "black rage" is often the disappointment in one's own sense of identity.

Cleaver (1968), Rodgers-Rose (1980) and Wilkinson (1977) believe the current state of the black male-female relationship to be the result of misconceptions. Therefore, they conclude that the response of partners to each other is based on mythical roles and preconceptions, rather than reality-based encounters.

Several theoretical frameworks delineate the mechanisms by which preconceptions operate. Asch (1946), in his classical research on the "primacy effect," studied the phenomenon by which personal perceptions are affected by initial impressions. Overwhelming evidence has been accumulated since in studies (Anderson, 1968; Brigham, 1971; Clark & Clark, 1947, 1980; Katz & Braly, 1935; Kelley, 1950) demonstrating that social interactions are shaped by preconceptions about personality attributes.

Not only do preconceptions influence changes in the perceptions of others, but they also lead to changes in the individuals' perceptions. Because the greatest alterations have arisen from the modification of gender role precepts, gender-roles figure prominently in understanding the relations between black men and women. Bem (1981) asserts that socio-environmental experiences are the mechanisms by which the schema for gender-roles develops. This schema forms the basis of a core gender identity and it prompts a selective inattentiveness to gender traits incongruent with the individual's schema. Contradictions in gender-roles are the essence of the conflict between black males and females, for it is in the perceptions of the domineering black woman and the cowardly black man that many preconceptions have their basis.

It is the author's opinion that the additional tensions that exist in the black male-female relationship are derived from longstanding gender-role conflicts between blacks and the dominant culture. Similar to the current crises in changing gender-roles among whites, blacks have always endured stresses that have related to self, racial, and role identity conflicts. The significance of gender-role perceptions is even more profound for black men and women because racial perceptions encompass gender roles. Wilkinson (1977) and Hemmons (1980) underscore race as the fundamental component of self- and other concepts.

Statement of the Problem

This study addressed the impact race has on preconceptions among blacks and whites. It examined the interpersonal dynamics and dating

patterns exist among middle-class blacks and whites. The study posed the following hypotheses:

- (a) Specific racial-gender preconceptions exist about educational achievement, family-orientation, and career motivation for black males and females. These preconceptions differ from those of whites about gender roles. Preconceptions about gender-related personality attributes are affected by race and thus affect the perception of opposite-sex members.
- (b) Preconceptions about physical appearance exist, and they vary with skin color and the saliency of black facial features.
- (c) Preconceptions effect the formation of self- and other gender concepts in that they negatively alter learned gender roles.
- (d) Black interpersonal relationships comparatively differ from white interpersonal relationships with regards to perceptions of career status and gender traits, as well as dating, relationship, and sexual histories.

The problem this study addresses is important for several reasons. First, although vast theoretical expositions substantiate a unique dynamic between the black male and female on the basis of preconceptions, limited empirical data have been observed to support the existence of this dynamic and/or effect of racial preconceptions have on perceived personality attributes in this relationship. Secondly, this study specifically explored the interplay of racial and gender role's affects on the self-concept of blacks and their relationships. Third, this study investigates how physical attributes changed perceptions of personality among blacks. Finally, the purpose

of the study was to make explicit these biases in order to permit individuals to modify their biases and enhance the quality of their relationships.

Rationale

The objective of the study focused on exploring how racial preconceptions prompt changes in perceptions of personality attributes and traits and thus affect the development of black male and female interpersonal relationships. The topic is addressed from four perspectives:

- (1) The impact of race on perceptions of career, education, and masculinity or femininity in the interpersonal relationships of blacks and whites.
- (2) The assessment of the "primacy effect" in the interaction of the black male-female relationship.
- (3) The assessment of the extent to which personality attributes vary as a function of the saliency of black facial features.
- (4) To implicate the effect racial-gender roles, that are incorporated in the self-concept, have on self-esteem and interpersonal relationship development.

The assumption that racial-gender roles influence personality attributes and physical attraction follows the notion that stereotypes and values modify perceptions of personality and physical attraction.

Despite the fact that an increasing amount of literature has become available suggesting difficulties in the black male-female relationship, there is a dearth of research demonstrating how black

male-female interpersonal relationships are unique. Many studies of the black male-female relationship have made inferences primarily based on demographic data to document the problems encountered.

The premise that preconceptions are correlative to personality and physical assessment is based on studies about interpersonal attraction. Asch (1946) and Anderson (1968) corroborate a phenomenon, the "primacy effect," by which preconceptions about a person's personality form the basis for the information obtained in an encounter. Asch's study also emphasizes the resistance that first impressions have towards change. Abelson and Kanouse (1966) further conclude that negative preconceptions possess more significance in the evaluation of a person than do positive preconceptions.

Physical attractiveness also modifies personality perceptions. Dion, Berscheid, and Walster (1972) document that people who do not exemplify the dominant culture's beauty standards are adversely preconceived. Those who characterize the dominant culture's valuation of beauty are more liked than those who do not exemplify the dominant culture's beauty standards. Furthermore, the latter are also perceived to possess more acceptable personality attributes. Clark & Clark (1947) noted how race effects personality attributes. They studied black children's preferences in dolls and their personality attributions to race. Their findings revealed that race altered personality attributes in that black dolls or descriptions of black people were negatively perceived.

Theoretical conceptualizations of the problems of the black male-female interpersonal relationship tend to implicate racial-gender

roles or myths about racial-gender roles as the source of relationship difficulties. On the other hand, the difference between black racial-gender roles and dominant culture gender roles, or the illusion thereof, is cited as the primary source of relationship tensions. Cleaver (1968), Grier & Cobbs (1968), Moore (1980), Rodgers-Rose (1980), and Staples (1981) essentially enunciate a relationship dynamic that exists between the black male and female that is perpetuated by childrearing practices and originates from racial preconceptions. Rodgers-Rose (1980) emphasizes that black male-female relationships have suffered from the misinterpretations made by white social scientists; these misinterpretations have become real in their consequences.

Alterations in personality assessment based upon the saliency of black facial features and/or gender related personality traits can easily be observed or detected in conversations. Based upon these perceptions, it is hypothesized that racial identification and the saliency of black facial features negatively modify personality attributes.

Definition of Terms

Preconception is a term used in the text to refer to stereotypical notions that form a systematic approach for perceiving others. In particular, preconceptions as used in this text can best be defined in the context of stereotypes as defined by Katz & Braly (1935) as "a fixed impression, which conforms very little to the facts it tends to represent and results from our defining first and observing second." Additionally, Secord (1959) states that stereotypes are a "categorical

response, in essence membership in the category is sufficient to evoke the judgement that the stimulus person possess all the attributes belonging to that category." The preference for the use of preconception over stereotype is to emphasize a conceptual process which encompasses physical and personality traits and the social learning of this conceptual framework (Vinacke, 1957). Although preconceptions are not based completely on fallacies, they can be viewed as faulty in their validity as Brigham (1971) concludes generalizations are. Brigham (1971) indicates that "directionality" is the ascribing of an attribute to a group in the absence of such an attribute or an exaggerated generalization of the possession of an attribute by a group. Brigham also notes that generalizations are based upon the assumption that a valid assessment of the prevalence or existence of the trait exist in reality when in reality no such information exists.

Primacy effect is a phenomenon by which perceptions about a person's personality form the basis for evaluating a person and modify the perception of an individual in an encounter (Asch, 1946).

Personality attributes are any characteristics of an individual that describe their achievements, physical characteristics, and/or emotional qualities.

Self-fulfilling prophecy is a term used to denote that expectations influence the findings.

Dominant culture is a term used to refer to the majority of white middle-class Americans and their values.

Relationship is utilized to designate male-female interactions that exceed casual interactions and involves emotional intimacy.

Dating is a term used to denote male-female interactions that are casual in nature and involve an activity. It does not denote emotional intimacy.

Racial-gender role is a term used to describe a set of behaviors characteristic of a particular male or female of a racial group.

Delimitations of the Study

The scope of this study has been delimited by the author in the following ways. First, the study has been primarily restricted geographically to residents of major metropolitan areas; however, each geographical region in the United States is not equally represented. As a result, caution should be exercised in extrapolating the results of the study to all geographic regions. Second, the survey on relationship behaviors has been delimited to subjects with a minimum educational level of a Bachelor's degree. Similarly, the study on skin color and facial features used only subjects enrolled in Introductory Psychology classes at a predominantly black university in the South. Hence, the results of the study may not be generalizable to the general population of black and white adults. Third, the age range of subjects in the relationship study is delimited to 23 to 33 years of age. Relationship behaviors and preconceptions about opposite-sex members discussed in the study may not be representative of the general population of black and white adults who are not middle-class. Finally, the study focuses primarily on the black male-female relationship. Hence, the portrait task designed to assess

how facial features effect personality attributes was conducted with only black subjects.

Limitations of the Study

The relationship study has been limited by the voluntary participation of subjects who may vary significantly from those choosing not to participate. The relationship study has also been limited by the selection of some subjects through personal contacts, although the majority of the subjects were anonymous to the author, they were contacted by an associate of the author. The relationship study is restricted by differential effects that mailed questionnaires, versus interviews, may have imposed on the subjects. In addition, the skin color and facial features study has been limited to students in Introductory Psychology courses at a predominantly black university in the South. Students received one experiment credit or more for participating in the study.

Summary and Overview of Remaining Chapters

The nature of black male-female interpersonal relationships reflects changing trends in relationship development. Demographic data suggests that lifestyles are varied, and particularly that a disproportionate number of blacks to the overall population are single. Hypotheses purport that the change in relationship behaviors among blacks result from historical conceptions of racial-gender roles and myths. Chapter two will review the literature on (a) the historical influences of racial-gender roles on the black male-female relationship, (b) the effects of racial-gender roles on the

development of a gender concept, (c) an historical overview of preconceptions that exist about racial-gender roles; and (d) the effects of racial-gender roles on the interracial dyad. Chapter three presents the methods used to verify what differences exist in interpersonal relationship behaviors between blacks and whites, demonstrates the existence of a "primary effect" based upon racial-gender preconceptions, and finally to demonstrate how personality attributes vary as a function of the saliency of black facial features. The fourth chapter presents the results of the data analyses. The final chapter reviews the dissertation topic, discusses findings and implications, and concludes what significance the study has to black male-female relationships and psychotherapy.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The impact of preconceptions on the black male-female interpersonal relationship emanates from historical myths and illusions about the black dyad. The importance of a historical perspective becomes obvious when we attempt to understand what happens in the development of the black male-female relationship. In order to better understand the complexity of the black male-female interpersonal relationship, the discussion of the function of existing preconceptions and their effect on the images of black males and females follows. Before the dynamics of the black male and female interpersonal relationship is discussed, it is necessary to acknowledge that some blacks have overcome the effects of negative historical identifications and images in their relationships with insight, empathy and determination.

This chapter (a) takes a historical look at the black male-female relationship and black family structure, (b) examines the effect of race on the self-concept of black males and females, and (c) traces the origins and implications of current predominant preconceptions about gender roles, educational achievement, occupational development, and sexuality, (d) furthermore, examines the historical consequences of more salient black facial features on personality assessment, and (e) assesses the psychological implications of current black

male-female interpersonal relationships on personality. Finally, the chapter addresses the effect historical and current preconceptions have on the interracial dyad.

Historical Perspectives

The beginnings of the black male-female interpersonal relationship spans to its history in West Africa. Most of the Africans enslaved in the 1600s were abducted from West African tribes. West African culture had its foundation in the family. Among the tribes, the family's lineage was traditionally traced through the female, and although polygamy for the rich was common, most poor West Africans practiced monogamy (Bennet, 1964). Patriarchal authority patterns characterized the family structure of the pre-slave era in African civilization (Frazier, 1939). However, the role of the African woman included financial independence as well as primary roles in child-rearing. Slavery threatened the family unit. Slave-owners' fears of insurrections often led to the separation of families and broken tribal affiliations. Often family or tribal members were sold to different plantation owners. The raping of slave women, the selective breeding of male slaves with female slaves, and prohibitions of marriage were also tactics used to destroy black intimate relationships. Despite this, black male-female relationships survive.

Oppression not only requires the suppression of collective efforts through the unity of family and/or tribal affiliation, it also calls attention to the psychological demise of the self. Freire (1970) professes two primary means by which oppression is achieved and

maintained. Dehumanization is essential in a relationship of oppression. He emphasizes that the method by which dehumanization is achieved is violence. Thus, slave protest led to harsh consequences such as mutilation, castration, and lynching. The male slave who refused a passive acceptance of oppression experienced consequences of great severity (Frazier, 1939). Freire also suggests that the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed is based primarily on the "prescriptions" of the oppressor. "Every 'prescription' represents the imposition of one man's choice upon another, transforming the consciousness of the man prescribed to into one that conforms with the prescriber's consciousness. Thus, the behavior, following as it does the guidelines of the oppressor" (p. 31). Freire's concept of prescription is analogous to the process of identity formation and the concept of social role. Hence, it is important to understand the social roles of blacks in the United States and possible influences that they may have on the black male-female interpersonal relationship.

Social Role Identifications

Social role definitions for blacks in the United States have their origins in one of the earliest role of blacks, the role of slave. Self-depreciation is the basis of all strategies of oppression, and the assimilation of the oppressor's values perpetuates oppression. The imagery of slave roles vividly transcend time. They have become the reality, although distorted, embedded in societal notions about black people. Role definitions focus on racial identity which for blacks quickly evokes associations to prior slave roles.

Wilkinson (1977) addresses the issue of role definition by proclaiming that in a society with longstanding racist ideology, color defines the basic role, behavioral expectations, and stratification of people. A "role component or self-other attribute" (Wilkinson, 1977) which seems most conspicuous predominates any other components of the overall role. Preconceptions ascribed to the social roles of blacks by the dominant culture focus on color as the prevailing feature. Since the self-image develops predominantly from the meaning of color as defined by the dominant culture, the characteristic of color functions crucially in how blacks perceive themselves (Wilkinson, 1977). Seward (1956) also emphasizes that color is an inherent part of the self-concept. An awareness of self emerges in a race-conscious social context which assigns values to the perception of color. Clark (1955) states, "The child . . . cannot learn what racial group he belongs to without being involved in a larger pattern of emotions, conflicts, and desires which are part of his growing knowledge of what society thinks about his race" (p. 23). Proshansky and Newton (1968) emphasize:

The Negro child . . . acquires value-laden racial labels and fragments of popular stereotypes to describe his own and other racial and ethnic groups. Both Negro and white children learn to associate Negro with "dirty," "bad," and "ugly," and white with "clean," "nice," and "good" . . . these emotionally charged descriptions and judgements operate to establish the white group as vastly superior to his own racial group. (p. 186)

The influence of the dominant reference group pervades the social context in which blacks live. As a result, an identification with the

values of the dominant culture occurs. The identification with dominant culture values does not allow a selective rejection of negative perceptions of blacks. Rather, Scanzoni (1971) contends that the dominant culture's influence exists so strongly that the majority of blacks embrace educational, occupational, and conjugal expectations like those valued by the dominant culture. Despite blacks' knowledge that they have limited access to such goals, Scanzoni emphasizes that blacks desire change that will facilitate access to the present middle class value system rather than desiring the destruction of a value system in which few equitable opportunities for blacks have existed.

The influence of race as a central characteristic on personal perceptions and social roles can be inferred from numerous studies on person perception and stereotypes. If Wilkinson's (1977) assertion of race as an attribute that forms the basis of a role is accurate, then it can be hypothesized that racial labels may operate in the manner in which central qualities (Asch, 1946) operate. Race would then be a central quality capable of provoking prominent changes in perceptions of personality attributes. Asch studied how central characteristics changed perceptions among 166 college students, with the majority of the students being women in Introductory Psychology courses. Asch primarily focused on how central traits formed expectations for social interactions. Asch presented subjects with a list of character qualities that were identical except for one term, "warm" for group A and "cold" for group B. Subjects were requested to write a brief sketch of their expectations of the person described. Subjects were also requested to complete a check list of opposite adjective pairs.

Asch discovered that the variation of a central quality resulted in prominent changes in perceptions of some personality attributes. Asch found that some qualities are strongly affected by variations of a central quality while other qualities are only slightly affected. Overall, the variation of a central quality shifts the entire perception of a person. Asch (1946) further studied the effects of shifts in peripheral traits. He presented the 20 subjects of Group A and the 26 subjects of Group B with an adjective list and varied the terms "polite" and "blunt" in a series of other adjectives. The resulting effect on the overall impression was significantly weaker than the effect seen when central traits are varied. Asch's study fails to acknowledge that certain personality traits can be ambiguous until clarified by a central characteristic. For instance, intelligence represents a trait that can be transformed into a negative or positive attribute dependent upon associated central traits and voice inflections. A good example of this is in the description of an intelligent woman which, dependent upon other central traits, can be complimentary or disdainful.

Kelley (1950) performed a similar experiment to Asch's (1946) study on the effects of central traits. It is important because of the implications that can be made about the effects which ascribed characteristics have on human interactions. Kelley studied the perceptions of a stimulus person, designated as an Instructor, among 55 male students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He randomly presented students in three economic class sections with two types of pre-information about the visiting instructor. He

substituted the terms "rather cold" for "very warm," in a brief paragraph provided before the students met the new instructor. Kelley's results supported Asch's findings. In addition, Kelly found that the strength or compellingness of various qualities of the stimulus persons had to be reckoned with; however, Kelley also asserts that the pre-information provided limited interactions with the stimulus person such that although the stimulus person's qualities may compel change in actual encounters, subjects' interactions decreased with the stimulus person. Thus, the availability of opportunities to change perceptions decreases. This supports Newcomb's (1947) "autistic hostility hypothesis. Newcomb's hypothesis (1947) asserts that an initially hostile attitude towards another person restricts communication and contact, decreasing the likelihood of a change in attitude. Katz and Braly (1935), in their study of the effects of racial stereotypes on perceptions of ethnic groups, further purport that racial prejudice is a generalized set of stereotypes that are highly consistent and emotionally charged. Stereotypes are easily solicited characteristics associated with racial identifications that differentially affect the interactions of others with the stereotyped group.

Perceptions of social roles have profound impact on person perceptions. Taylor (1966) noted that social role definitions are crystallized during early childhood. Taylor focused on the influence stereotypical black and white social roles had on 229 black first- and third-graders of diverse socio-economic, sex, and intellectual abilities. Subjects received nine photographs picturing a black and a

white person engaged in the same activity. Taylor's rating scale consisted of nine stereotypes adapted from the Goodman (1952) study. Using a four-way analysis of variance, Taylor found that both black and white elementary children possess negative stereotypes of blacks. Black children's level of intelligence has a positive effect on racial attitudes. However, black children in earlier grades have significantly more negative perceptions of blacks. Taylor suggests that one of the limitations of his study may be that older children are more socially astute about monitoring their responses so that they are socially appropriate. Due to the age limitations of the subjects involved, the generalizability of the results is restricted best to six- to ten-year-olds.

A devalued sense of self creates a compelling movement toward assimilation. Often such a movement, is reflected by a desire to be similar to whites in personal interests, political viewpoint, physical appearance and mannerisms with acknowledged desire to be separate from blacks as a reference group. Drake (1965) views this embodiment of dominant culture standards as a means of escape which reflects the rejection prevalent in dominant culture perceptions of blacks and also expresses blacks' self-rejection.

Clark & Clark (1947) studied the origins and development of racial identification as a function of ego development and self-awareness among black children. In their model study, Clark & Clark's "Dolls Test" was used to determine if black children exhibited a preference and specific personality attributes with regards to the race of the doll designated by variations in skin color. Clark &

Clark studied 253 black children, ranging in age from 3 to 7 years, of which 154 subjects came from segregated Southern backgrounds. Their results suggest that black children, even at age 3, are knowledgeable about "racial differences" based upon the discriminating terms of "white" and "colored." Black children were less capable of making accurate self-identifications, and the variance in self-perceptions was a function of whether the child was light-skinned or dark-skinned.

Asher and Allen (1969) replicated the Clarks' 1947 study and also examined the implications that sex and social class had on racial preferences. They studied 186 black children and 155 white children ranging in age from five to eight years, from the Newark, New Jersey metropolitan area. The researchers were particularly interested in how social class affected racial preferences, so they included 167 middle-class and 174 lower-class children in their study. Asher and Allen also substituted puppets for the dolls utilized in the Clarks' study, given boys' apprehension to play with sex-typed toys. Subjects were presented a choice of two puppets, one black and one white. Their findings revealed that the majority of all children preferred the white puppet and rejected the black puppet. Furthermore, in relation to Festinger's (1954) "Social Comparison Theory," middle-class black children had a strong tendency to consistently prefer the white puppet and attribute more positive qualities to it than did lower-class black children. Asher and Allen's data also verified black children's significant preference for white puppets as "nice," "looks good," and "nice color." Asher and Allen's data is significant to the author's study in that it further supports notions

that children negatively perceive blacks. The study demonstrates the profound influence dominant culture perceptions have on middle-class children and specifically black male children. These points are significant in understanding the directional quality of social role identifications and their effects on self- and other perceptions. It also affirms how preconceptions exist at the core of all perceptions.

Clark and Clark (1980), in a more recent study of whether racial attitudes have changed, studied 1,200 black adults utilizing telephone interviews. The subjects represented all major geographic regions of the United States (excluding Alaska and Hawaii). Their findings revealed that the majority of blacks, regardless of geographic region, sex, or educational or income level, have a sense of racial pride and assertiveness. Nearly half (43%) of the blacks surveyed (43%) disagree with the statement that "Blacks with traditional Black features are less attractive than Blacks who look more like Whites." However, the majority of blacks still perceived an advantage for the light-skinned black female.

In terms of perceptions of black professionals' competence, Clark & Clark (1980) suggest that perceptions of black professionals has improved but that blacks are still conflicted in their perceptions of the black professional. In a situation where a black is involved in serious legal trouble, a high percentage (27%) prefer a white attorney in comparison to a 20% preference for a black attorney. Many blacks selected publicly-subsidized legal assistance (36%) possibly for economic reasons. Others stated that they would seek assistance from organizations like the NAACP. When blacks who selected a political

activist agency are collapsed into the category of the selection of a black attorney, then 33% of all blacks would select a black attorney. The frequency of blacks selecting white attorneys may suggest that the notion of white lawyers having greater success in the white-dominated legal system still exist. Furthermore, in an attempt to discriminate what choices would be made in terms of the use of a black professional if economics were not a factor, Clark & Clark (1980) examined subjects' responses to the question, "Do Black professionals such as doctors and lawyers seek the services of white professionals or other Black professionals?" Blacks who made a choice based upon race in the selection of a professional to provide services indicated that 56% would seek white professionals. Clark & Clark noted that younger blacks (18-29 years old), particularly, selected white professionals (43%) over blacks (27%). The trend of selecting white professionals over black professionals did not hold true, however, for blacks between 30-49 years of age, where black professionals (30%) were preferred to white professionals (15%), nor among blacks who live in the Far West who selected black professionals slightly more than twice as often as in selecting whites (32% to 15%, respectively). What this data suggest is that the attitudes of racial competence might not be as strong in young blacks who have had more experience in a multi-racial world. This may result in young blacks, who have greater access to white institutions of education and employment, inherently accepting white institutions as superior. Clark & Clark acknowledge the limitations that direct questions, as used in their survey approach, and that telephone interviewing have in approaching personal

and racial conflicts. The author also cites the biases in responses that occur due to the lack of rapport between subjects and researchers because of telephone sampling and direct questioning. Clark & Clark's study is relevant because it suggests that despite increased awareness of the negative perceptions of blacks derived from the dominant culture, blacks remain fairly ambivalent with regards to perceptions of social roles.

Blacks are required to seek to protect themselves by a variety of sometimes sophisticated evasive devices and inconsistencies. The majority of Blacks want to be proud of themselves as Blacks but many of them still tend to reject their physical characteristics. Although they believe that Black elected officials and Civil Rights leaders have been effective in obtaining racial progress, many Black Americans are ambivalent about Black lawyers, Black doctors, and other Black professionals. (Clark & Clark, 1980, p. 178)

The existence of negative self-perceptions remain deeply integrated in self and group perceptions of blacks. The harsh reality of limitations in economic development, social mobility, and opportunities in employment and education do not allow a redefinition of self-perceptions. Positive proclamations about self-perceptions by blacks might function as a superficial defense against negative cultural perceptions of blacks. Underlying the positive perceptions espoused by many blacks probably exist the negative perceptions of the dominant culture. The temporary existence of the "Black Is Beautiful" movement precluded the possibility for any meaningful internalizations of new self percepts. Just as the slogans disappeared, many external manifestations of pride in African heritage and identifications did

too. Genuine changes in self-percepts do not prevail underneath the veneer of consciousness raising. The internal representations of dominant culture notions about the social roles of blacks still exist as preconceptions that are often transparent in blacks' communication with each other. It is the author's hypothesis that preconceptions about social roles must also impact on the black male-female interpersonal encounter, distorting the perception of the black male and female as they initiate relationships.

Preconceptions

Interpersonal attraction results primarily from the assessment and value assigned to perceptions of masculinity or femininity, educational achievement, occupational development and interest, sexuality, and physical attraction. For the black male or female who initiates a relationship, perceptions of interpersonal attributes are tinged by notions about racial group characteristics, gender roles, and self perceptions which incorporate dominant culture perceptions of blacks. In order to thoroughly understand how preconceptions affect the black male-female relationship, the author will discuss the salient preconceptions that exist about black males and females with regards to notions about masculinity and femininity, education, employment, sexuality, and physical attributes.

Gender Roles. Paramount to the male and female interpersonal relationships are conceptualizations of gender roles. Primarily, differences in preconceptions about blacks and whites vary in perceptions of gender roles. For instance, notions of the irresponsible black man contradict the dominant culture attribution of

responsibility to white males in characterizing masculinity. Similarly, the perception of the black female as the domineering head of the household is incompatible with perceptions of the subordinate white female role in the family.

Bem (1981) states that:

The distinction between male and female serves as a basic organizing principle for every human culture. Although societies differ in the specific tasks they assign to the two sexes, all societies allocate adult roles on the basis of sex and anticipate this allocation in the socialization of their children. Not only are boys and girls expected to acquire sex-specific skills, they are also expected to have or to acquire sex-specific self-concepts and personality attributes to be masculine or feminine as defined by that particular culture. (Barry, Bacon & Child, 1957, p. 353)

The black male and female child learn quite early that their gender role is incongruent with gender roles of the dominant culture. Social science literature and government documents promulgate notions that black males and females portray dystonic positions in the family. Historical myths about a "black matriarchy," suppositions about the black male and female in family roles as suggested in the Moynihan Report (1965), and studies measuring the meaning of femininity among black females, all indicate salient preconceptions about the gender identity of blacks.

The Matriarchy. One of the salient myths about black gender roles is that of the black matriarchy. The myth of the matriarchy originated in slavery where the black female was often assigned the economic responsibility of the family. Slave owners psychologically emasculated black males by denying them opportunities to assume

traditional masculine roles. Yet, the black male assumes the role of provider as a major part of his self-identification (Scanzoni, 1971). Although his external role in society was often designated to be ineffectual, many black men maintained their role as heads of the household within the internal family structure as previously had existed in traditional West African culture.

The Moynihan Report. The Moynihan (1965) report on the black family devised for use by the U.S. Department of Labor also characterizes the unrelenting dominant culture perceptions of black families and the roles of its members, particularly the black male. The Moynihan (1965) report emphasized characteristics of the black male as an absent male figure in the family, leaving a disproportionate number of black families with female heads. Moynihan believed that the disproportionate number of black female-headed households to white female-headed households and the number of illegitimate births to black mothers in contrast to white mothers was indicative of the ethics of black males and females, or the lack thereof, rather than of the effects of current social institutions and previous historical factors. In his report, the black female exemplifies the domineering, self-sufficient woman in contrast to the ineffectual black male figure. Despite the fact that the majority of black families were headed by men, the stated focus of the report emphasized fatherless families. The Moynihan Report led to much controversy during the ebb of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. Gans (1966) criticized Moynihan's report and declared it sensationalism. Gans asserted that too much attention had been

focused on the disabilities of black life and not enough on etiology.

Herzog (1967) criticized Moynihan's conclusions derived from the incidence of fatherless families. Herzog noted that the rate of fatherless families gradually rose by 5% between 1949-1964 and then reached a plateau. Hence, Herzog did not agree with Moynihan's premise that the demographic data was suggestive of the demise of the black family. Rather, Herzog cites the rate of fatherlessness as a chronic phenomenon that is a byproduct of joblessness and discrimination. Herzog furthermore indicates that Moynihan's use of illegitimacy rates as an indicator of the social disorganization of the black family misrepresents the fact that the increase in illegitimate births is a difference in numbers rather than in rate.

Ryan (1965) similarly criticizes the Moynihan Report and proposes that black and white illegitimacy rates, after accounting for sampling variances, were comparable. He expressed sentiments that Moynihan's report was inadequate in interpreting (a) the rate of illegitimacy among middle-class whites and proposed that middle class-whites are primarily responsible for underreporting the rate of illegitimate births, (b) the extent to which economics prevents marriage when a child has been conceived out-of-wedlock, (c) that white females, particularly those who are college-educated, have a much higher incidence of induced abortions even when including the disproportionately high rate of spontaneous abortion among black women without college education, (d) the rate of premarital conceptions which Ryan felt was less than suggested in Moynihan's (1965) data, and (e) the disproportionately high incidence of reported illegitimate

births among black females was related to the differential use of contraceptives, with white females practicing contraception more often than blacks. Rainwater & Yancey (1967) take issue with Ryan's (1965) hypothesis that there is no significant difference in black and white illegitimacy rates. They believe that Ryan grossly underestimates the number of premarital conceptions as suggested from extrapolating similar data from Kinsey's studies of male sexuality. Rainwater & Yancey further suggest that no data exist to verify Ryan's assumption that whites utilize contraceptives more often than blacks when involved in premarital sexual relationships. In addition, Rainwater & Yancey cite the high incidence of illegitimate births among blacks to be the result of postmarital exposure where black women either separated, divorced or widowed proceed to have another child without marrying the father.

Recent research similarly misinterprets the data on the black family. Rodgers-Rose (1980) suggests that too often social scientists fail to critically analyze the meanings of trends in demographic data. Although the number of households headed by black women has increased by approximately 18% during the period between 1950 and 1975 in comparison to only 2% during the same period in the number of households headed by white females, the increase in female-headed households among blacks can partially be accounted for by a 66% increase in single, never married black women. Another 25% of the increase in this category results from an increase in the percentage of separated and divorced black women. The observed increases in the percentage of female-headed households among white females frequently

is explained as the influence the Women's Movement has had and/or the effects of other social factors. However, for blacks the tendency is to explain the increase in female-headed households in terms of character dynamics rather than of real socio-economic and political factors like the disproportionate effects of inflation, unemployment, and welfare laws. The increasing number of black female-headed households has often been viewed as indicative of family disorganization. Rodgers-Rose emphasizes that the most influential factor on family intactness is the income of the parents. Only 18% of black families with incomes under \$4,000 a year in 1974 lived with both parents whereas 90% of black children from families with incomes over \$15,000 a year lived with both parents. Welfare policies provide an example of the lack of support available to preserve or encourage participation of both parents in families by limiting its support to the dependents and often penalizing the presence of a male in the household.

TenHouten (1970) studied Moynihan's hypothesis that lower-class black families are matriarchal and that low-income black families were increasingly chaotic and disorganized. TenHouten examined male dominance ideology (extent to which the husband and wife value male dominance and female submissiveness); conjugal decision-making power (parents' perceptions of power over major family decisions) and conjugal power structure (children's perceptions of the extent to which the mother bosses the father and vice versa). TenHouten surveyed the attitudes of 292 blacks and 255 whites of lower and higher socio-economic status (totals varied dependent upon items).

All subjects obtained were from intact family units with at least two children. With regards to male dominance ideology, TenHouten found that blacks are higher than whites on all measures of male dominance. Measures of female subdominance were also employed. He noted that the differences obtained were most significant on items measuring male dominance. It was also noted that male dominance was higher among lower socio-economic groups, particularly black lower socio-economic status. For conjugal decision-making power, there was no significant difference across race. There was a weak interaction effect between race and socioeconomic status where low and high socio-economic status whites were high on husband's power. TenHouten found that the wife-dominated family is an infrequent family constellation among all groups. Contrary to Moynihan's proposition that lower-class black families are overwhelmingly dominated by black females, TenHouten noted that wife-dominated households are lowest in frequency among this group than any other group although not significantly so. White males in lower socio-economic status families are more apt to be husband-dominated while two-thirds of the families in the three other groups are autonomic. The modal family type for lower socio-economic blacks, higher socio-economic blacks and higher socio-economic status whites is autonomic. The data does not lend itself to interpretations that lower-class black husbands are powerless in conjugal roles. Rather, black males are highest on male dominance ideology and approximate whites and middle-class blacks on conjugal decision power.

For measures of parental power, there was no significant difference based on race, but rather lower socio-economic persons are

more apt to view the mother as the dominant parent. High socio-economic status parents are also more powerful than lower socio-economic status parents in parental roles. TenHouten noted that for the total sample, black mothers tend to be more powerful in parent-child interaction than are white mothers but no significant difference exists between black and white fathers. On measures of parental control, three-fourths of the families are egalitarian. Among blacks there is little effect of socio-economic status. However, lower-class white fathers are more powerful than other fathers.

TenHouten also assessed children's perceptions of expressive support for educational attainment and the instrumental means available for helping the child attain educational goals. Expressive support is considered a more feminine mode while instrumental support as defined by TenHouten is more masculine. His findings indicate that black youths obtain more instrumental help from both parents than do whites. Black mothers are for the most part more instrumental than either black or white fathers. There was no significant difference between black and white fathers. TenHouten notes that although this may be interpreted as "role reversal," he views it as a healthy adaptation.

Lower-class black fathers are more supportive and more instrumental in contributing to the attainment of their children's educational goals than lower-class white fathers. In addition, higher socio-economic status black fathers are more supportive and more instrumental than higher socio-economic status white fathers. There

was no significant difference in the expressiveness of lower socio-economic black mothers although there was marked difference in instrumentality for both lower and high socio-economic status. Black mothers are higher on instrumentality in lower socio-economic status than black fathers but equal at higher socio-economic status levels. TenHouten concludes that the empirical data does not support the myth of the emasculated black male amidst a black matriarchy.

Lower-class black husbands do not empirically demonstrate powerlessness in their conjugal roles nor in their parental roles. TenHouten cites the major limitation of his study as that resulting from his having obtained the complete sample from a single metropolitan area although two national studies by Almond & Verba (1963) counter the likelihood of sampling bias due to geographical differences.

Although U.S. Government census data, as cited by Rodgers-Rose (1980) on the wage earnings and career attainment of black men, and studies on the black family (McAdoo, 1981; Staples, 1971), refute perceptions of the black male as subordinate in his gender role, conflict in the black male-female relationships seems to result from the mythical endowment of the black woman with the role of the dominant culture male. Erikson (1966) speaks of the reversal of role structure in black families as possibly the "greatest factor in personality organization" for the black male youth. The import of the role of provider to the male in society and its relationship to identity formation and the capacity for intimacy is expressed also by Kilpatrick (1975):

For males the role of protector and provider can supply for the first time a secure sense of masculine identity . . . its [the job or career's] loss can be a crushing blow to male identity. (p. 188).

Drake (1965) emphasizes that anger comes from the black male's sense of powerlessness; frustrated in his masculine role, he views his opportunities as bleak in terms of attaining status--through economic and occupational growth--in the dominant culture (Proshansky and Newton, 1968). He is further devastated by the distortion of the black female's role which seems adverse to his derogated position. It is not the reality of his plight or of his gender role; rather it is the distorted perception of his masculine role that the black male remembers. Bem (1981) explains in her notion of a gender schema, which is a network of associations that organize and guide an individual's perception about gender roles, that:

Simultaneously (to the formation of sex-typed self-concepts and the proceeding notion of two sexes that differ in degree and kind) the child also learns to evaluate his or her adequacy as a person in terms of the gender schema, to match his or her preferences, attitudes, behaviors, and personal attributes against the prototypes stored within it. The gender schema becomes a prescriptive standard or guide (Kagan, 1964; Kohlberg, 1966), and self-esteem becomes "its hostage." (p. 355)

Femininity and the Black Woman. Perceptions of gender roles not only influence concepts of black masculinity but also influence perceptions of the black woman's femininity. For not only do

misconceptions exist about the black male's gender roles, these same concepts also shift perceptions of the black female's gender roles. Femininity and the black woman have somewhat been estranged by prevailing perceptions about the black woman's role in the family, and her personality attributes and physical appearance. The black woman lives in a society where she constantly hears that her educational and career choices, her economic status, her personality, and her physical appearance are not those characteristic of femininity. She is atypical in the previous dimensions to the white female, which is a subtle derogation of her.

The concept of femininity is defined by percepts of gender roles in occupation and family as well as by personality attributes. Femininity also incorporates strong notions about physical characteristics. Physical attraction is much more significant in the assessment of femininity than in notions about masculinity. Although the notions of femininity in American society have been in a state of rapid transition for over a decade creating a state of anomie in self-perceptions of women, the concept of femininity has always been filled with dichotomies for the black woman.

The defeminizing of the black woman has particularly involved ascribing a negative value to her physical beauty. Black women are bombarded with messages that epitomize beauty as that exemplified by the white female. Even current images of the black female seldom venture beyond an updated version of "Aunt Jemima" or "Mammie." Black women are depicted as overweight, boisterous, and domineering. Frequent references to the black female, who most resembles the white

female, as beautiful is additional evidence of the internalization of dominant culture beauty standards. The valuing of dominant culture notions about femininity are also evident in some black women's mannerisms and in their sense of self-esteem, as exemplified in the following vignette:

A teenage black girl, who attended a private girls' high school that only had a few black students, watched several young white female adolescents bow in front of a restroom mirror while brushing their hair from the nap of their necks. Soon, she had bowed and began brushing her medium length hair. When these white teens stood upright, their hair fell neatly into place. The young black teen stood upright and so did her hair. (Wright, 1982)

The devaluation of the black woman also permeates perceptions of her social and occupational roles. She is told that she usurps the black man's role in the family and that she excels above the black man in educational and occupational achievement. She is constantly troubled by attempts to define her role because numerous dichotomies between central perceptions of her make it difficult for her. For instance, she has historically been viewed as a castrating, domineering and asexual female figure; yet in striking contrast but equally negative, she has historically been viewed as a Jezebel or the ultimate "Mammie." Central to all the notions about the black woman is that she is unfeminine. Even portrayals that acknowledge her strength have a two-edged message of admiration of her "unusual" stamina that makes her less feminine.

The image of the black woman in America permeates her self-image and, most crucially, affects her relationships. So key is the assault

to her self-esteem that it seems the most salient aspect of her devaluation. Dominant culture perceptions do not allow her to operate in a sphere of neutrality in her relationships nor do they allow the black woman to have a sense of positive self-regard. Rather, these perceptions lead immediately to tensions in her interpersonal relationships with black men. She often feels at a disadvantage in her womanhood. She loses her confidence in her feminine appeal. She is burdened by fears that her actions will be assessed in accordance with stereotypes about her. She constantly weighs what the perceptions of her actions will be. She worries that if she is assertive that black men will view her as aggressive, and if she succeeds at a high prestiged career she fears that black men will think of her as less desirable in a family role. She is often equally conflicted about being nurturant, afraid that her love will cast her into the role of "Mammie" in the black man's eyes or subject her to misuse at the black man's hands. The black woman is concerned that black men desire white women or other black women with greater resemblance to white females. Although her fears are in a few situations realistic, they more accurately reflect the black woman's fragile notion of her "femininity." Even the very positive aspects of her occupational development and assertiveness become her agony in that they are perceived in a negative light frequently by black men and not too infrequently by herself. At best, the black woman often feels conflicted about how much she may allow herself to develop and terrified by the prospects of not being valued as a feminine object by the black man.

The Women's Movement. Advocating that black women seek to recapture a traditional African feminine notion of self contradicts the thrust of the Women's Movement which pervaded the late 1960s and early 1970s. Regardless, the question of liberation for the black woman poses somewhat different concerns than it does for white women. Black women's issues are convoluted in contradictory facets. They have never had their femininity acknowledged in the context of the dominant culture, and hence, struggle to gain self-esteem in this respect. In addition to the black woman's struggle for her feminine self-concept, she must also engage in a battle for her economic prosperity. Black women comprise the most oppressed group in the labor force. The black woman is also battling for her civil rights, a struggle she shares with the black man, because racism has been more detrimental for her than sexism.

Black women jeopardize the potential for intimate relationships if they accept the socio-economic development of the black woman as their sole tactic for growth. Black women are often the targets of the black male's acceptance of illusions that governmental policies favor black women. The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) guidelines are representative of policies that do not require accountability in terms of racial-gender groups. Rather, they only stipulate that employees designate race and gender as independent categories. The black man is thus left questioning the judiciousness of Civil Rights policies. Often he is unaware of the fact that black women are the most oppressed group economically. Moreover, the EEOC guidelines are often strategically inadequate to deal with the racism

in the job market that the black man encounters. Hence, the black woman risks creating significant disparity between her career development and that of a prospective black mate which, despite her adherence to some Feminist's notions, is inconsistent with her traditional desires for her mate to be superior in his role (Staples, 1981).

Bell Hooks (1981) states that the Feminist Movement is important to the black woman because she has always had to abdicate her power to the black male and white male and female. Hooks asserts that black women have suffered greatly from sexism and although white females tend to perceive black women as strong, that this is a misconception.

When feminists acknowledge in one breath that black women are victimized and in the same breath emphasize their strength, they imply that though black women are oppressed they manage to circumvent the damaging impact of oppression by being strong--and that is simply not the case. Usually when people talk about the "strength" of black women they are referring to the way in which they perceive black women coping with oppression. They ignore the reality that to be strong in the face of oppression is not the same as overcoming oppression, that endurance is not to be confused with transformation. Frequently observers of the black female experience confuse these issues. (p. 6)

Hemmons (1980) surveyed black women's attitudes towards the Women's Movement and its goals. The study consisted of 45 black women and 37 white women obtained through a purposive quota sample so that the sample would solicit attitudes of women representative of varied stances concerning the Women's Movement. Hemmons hypothesized that (a) a female scoring high on femininity will manifest low scores on female liberalism, (b) a female who scores high on racial liberalism

will also manifest a high score on female liberalism, (c) a female who scores high on anomie will manifest a low score on female liberalism. Hemmons' results indicate that black women do not differ from white in their support of the Women's Movement. Slightly more than half rejected it in both groups while the remaining endorsed it. Furthermore, Hemmons notes that class differences do not exist in black women's precepts of the Women's Movement, whereas significant differences exist between white middle- and working-class women. The majority of middle-class women tend to support female liberalism while an overwhelming majority of working-class white women do not support female liberalism. Black women, particularly black working-class women, show a greater acceptance of the traditional definition of female roles. Both black and white middle-class women are low on femininity. Hemmons used correlation coefficients and t-distributions to determine the relationships between race and class on perceptions of anomie, femininity and racial liberalism. Both black and white women found traditional feminine notions to be incongruent with the values of the Women's Movement. Black women tend to hold more dissonant positions in their notions about the traditional gender stratification so that 38% of black women were high on femininity and also on female liberalism in comparison to only 20% of white females. Hemmons notes that black women have more often had to function in nontraditional female roles while continuing to act feminine in a traditional way. Hemmons found no correlation between anomie and the embracement of female liberalism.

Hemmons' study can be criticized in its sampling technique. Although she clearly states that her goal is to obtain a diverse group of opinions of black and white women concerning the Women's Movement, it is in this very goal that her data may be skewed to be less representative of normative attitudes among both groups about the Women's Movement. However, her hypothesis that black women desire and embrace traditional feminine roles more than white females is consistent with the author's hypothesis that black women are struggling to gain liberation in the context of strengthening feminine role aspects. Due to her sampling bias, one might anticipate a more profound quest for traditional feminine values, particularly among middle-class black women.

Rutledge (1980) studied marital interaction goals of 265 black women living in the Detroit, Michigan area. Her data was obtained from an investigation of the role stress and heredity play in black and white blood pressure differences. Rutledge found that most black women value the role of wife, and prefer to be empathetic and egalitarian in decision making in their intimate relationships with men. These findings are contrary to myths of the black woman who prizes dominance in the interpersonal arena, and support Hemmons' (1980) perception that black women hold femininity and liberalism high in their perception of women's roles.

Although Rutledge's study indicates some interesting findings about marital interactions, her study is limited in the following aspects. Primarily, Rutledge's findings can only be suggestive of cross-cultural differences in marital interaction goals between blacks

and whites since the sample she analyzed dealt exclusively with black subjects. She did not use the data on white subjects for comparative data. Secondly, although the independent variables included in her models of marital interactions can be associated with the dependent variables of contentment in marital interactions, the strength of the relationship between her variables of marital interactions and measures of contentment range from only weak to moderate. Manipulations of variables about marital interaction do not indicate the magnitude of change in the dependent variable measures of contentment.

Some black women have opted to take subordinate roles in interpersonal relationships and the family in an attempt to enhance the black male's perception of his masculinity, but this particular tactic neither effectively supports the quest of blacks for a strong identity nor acknowledges the black woman's struggle. The double-ascribed minority statuses--black and female--place black professional women in what Epstein has called a "double-bind," in that they are subjected to the economic discrimination patterns based on sex prevalent in American society while at the same time are subjected to those economic discrimination patterns imposed on all blacks. Racial discrimination is enforced more strictly than is sex discrimination (Epstein, 1973b).

Hemmons' (1980) perception of the dichotomy in the black female's role perceptions based upon her varying role experiences acknowledges the black woman's valuing self-determination and flexibility in role selection. Although black women support many values espoused by the

Women's Movement, black women recognize the unique problems that originate from racism and sexism. In particular, the dynamics between the black woman and others reflects the preconceived notions about her.

The dilemma of the black woman is her need to maintain balance between both her reactions to racism and sexism and balance in her social roles. Black and white women differ on the issue of sexism. White women support the Women's Movement from the context of being oppressed primarily in occupational roles, whereas black women participate in the Women's Movement or support its principles because of lack of choice in their social roles as well as in their occupational role. The black woman is at the same time aware of the impetus which the black male's limited opportunities and which his negative value of himself and of the black woman have on her social and occupational choices. Myths and employment opportunities have a prominent position in preconceptions about racial-gender roles.

Employment. The illusion of the black female as the higher wage earner demonstrates a key misconception which adversely affects the black male-female relationship. Rodgers-Rose (1980) refutes the assumption that black females are higher wage earners than black males. This misconception is perpetuated through myth and often validated by misleading U.S. Census data which incorporates the high unemployment rate of black males into the figures of average wage earnings. As a result, the black woman is often viewed as the major wage earner of the black family (Staples, 1971). When the census data is appropriately assessed, black males have greater earning power than

do black women. Black women comprise the lowest wage earning category. In 1974, they represented a larger proportion of professional and technical workers at 12% in comparison to 9% of all black male laborers in professional and technical fields. However it should also be noted that a sizeable proportion of black female professional workers are teachers, excluding college professors in the teaching category, which is true for only 22% of black male professional workers. Black women also participate in the labor force in a broader spectrum of occupations (Rodgers-Rose, 1980). Of all black women workers, the remainder of black women laborers in 1974 were distributed as follows: 37% were service workers, 2% held managerial positions, 25% were clerical workers, and 11% were domestic workers.

Although EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) guidelines currently promote the hiring of black women, black women do not as of yet have a distinct advantage in employment opportunities over black men. Despite the need for support in gaining access to employment opportunities, the effect the EEOC's guidelines has is to create an illusionary image of the black woman as one who capitalizes on opportunities in the labor market at the expense of the black male. This does not negate the fact that in some employment situations black women do have a distinct advantage. These situations are seemingly random events rather than patterns with the exception possibly in the field of communication. Epstein (1973b) notes that generally negative statuses tend to result in a cumulative negative effect. Yet, for some black females in various occupations this does not occur.

Rather, the racial status of black and the gender status of female form a positive constellation. However, this does not negate the additional support which black women often need because of sex biases encountered in some traditionally male-dominated occupations, particularly in executive positions in business careers. Black women in these circumstances are often the targets of greater discriminatory practices because of their double minority status.

Epstein's (1973b) interviews of 31 black professional women in high prestige occupations who had achieved success in predominantly male professions (law, medicine, dentistry, university professorship, journalism, and public relations) revealed more specific information about the highly-educated black woman's attitudes about career, family, and self-esteem. Her findings also included pertinent information about their value orientations and educational experiences. Three major perceptions of the black professional woman are: (a) The focus on the race of the black woman distracts from the conflicts associated with the occupational deficiencies of the white female so that the black woman's sex status is more desirable. Black women are viewed as lacking "womanly" occupational deficiencies--for example, seeking a husband; (b) The statuses of black and female create a new status which has no established "price" because it is unique; (c) The black woman is a "stranger" who exists outside the normal opportunity structure. She can choose an alternative lifestyle. In many situations, black women more often have been forced to enter the occupational world because of economic need. With limited options in marital, family, and occupational roles, many black

women's ambition and motivation for success in employment roles have been strengthened (Epstein, 1973b).

Epstein (1973b) states the following:

It is believed that in some sectors, probably as professionals in white firms, hospitals, and communities, black women have done better than black men. Historically, black women have had more access to white society than black men and have had opportunities to learn the 'ropes' of the white world. Because they were desired as house servants, nursemaids, and sexual partners, black women often became intimates of whites, learning their values and habits. They could be intimates because as women they were not only powerless but were never regarded as potentially powerful, an attribute which has its analogue in their admission to the male-dominated professions. Although it is difficult, if not impossible, to document the sense of threat with which white male professionals react to the thought of black men as colleagues, it is clear that black men and women perceive this reaction as a barrier to them. It was a common feeling among the black women in this study that this perceived threat was not as great for them. Being a woman reduced the effect of the racial taboo. On the other hand, black women are found in professions and occupations known to be difficult for white women to penetrate. Because these women are black they are perhaps not perceived as women; they may be regarded as more "serious" professionals than white women; they may not be viewed as sexual objects nor be seen as out to get a husband. The stereotypes attached to the so-called feminine mind, emotions, or physiology may not seem easily transferable to black women, for whom there seem to be fewer stereotypes in the context of the professionally trained. (p. 917)

Given drastic changes in white women's role orientation toward participating in the labor market since the Women's Movement and the increased economic demands on white families, many white women are participating in the labor force for a longer period of time and at a higher percentage. It is also worth noting that many women chose work roles because the original goal of marriage has not occurred, as Engram (1980) noted from re-analyzing the "Parnes" sample on the "Work

Experience of Young Women." The subjects included 361 black women and 821 white women between the ages of 17 and 24 years in 1971. The study was longitudinal in nature with an assessment of the future plans of the subjects in 1968 and a follow-up question of their marital and labor force roles in 1971. Subjects in Parnes' original sample who had left school by 1968, or who married by 1968, or who were still enrolled in school in 1971, were excluded. Engrams found that nearly 415 of all women of each race planned to work as their earliest adult role (77% of black women and 78.9% of white women). Approximately half of the remaining women in each racial group planned a role combining work and marital roles while half planned a marital role solely. White women were no less likely than black women to plan labor market roles. Upon follow-up in 1971, a slight majority of young black women had chosen labor market roles (54.3%), 6.6% were in dual labor market and marital roles, and 39.9% were in marital roles only. Only 60.9% of young black women were working. Among young white women, 62.3% were working, 8.6% were in joint roles, and 29.1% were in marital roles solely. Black women in this study were somewhat more likely to enact marital roles than were white women. Engram suggests that, contrary to popular beliefs of the black female as more labor-oriented due to her length of participation in the labor market, black women may actually be in conflict with their labor roles and rather possess more traditional homemaking roles. Young white women seem to be pursuing more freedom in labor market roles.

Engram's study can be criticized for not adequately controlling for socio-economic status and educational differences in parental

backgrounds. Rather she attempts to equate groups on social class based upon personal perceptions of socioeconomic status versus demographic data which may not influence black women's ideal goals but may effect their reality goals. Although some changes in the data may have occurred if black and white subjects had been matched on these variables, the likelihood of any significant change is doubtful. Engram's results may require interpretation though, in the light of the additional pressures for young black women to participate in the labor market for economic reasons due to more limited parental resources, so that black women may have participated in the labor force less if different socio-economic conditions existed for their parents.

Contrastingly, most empirical evidence does not support interpretations (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Moynihan, 1956; Scanzoni, 1971), suggesting that the differences that exist between black and white women's work patterns is the result of a lower value black women place on feminine roles. It seems that freedom to choose a labor market role has been denied some women, and freedom to choose homemaking roles has been denied others (Engram, 1980). Black women's participation in the labor force is primarily an economic venture for survival. Economic factors also influence how women in the labor market are affected by life cycle issues such as pregnancy and childrearing. White women's role orientation toward participating in the labor market has changed drastically since the Women's Movement and the increased economic demands on white females. Black women have always tended to rapidly return to the labor market or never leave it

for any significant period of time during such events because of limited financial resources. They remain in the labor force longer throughout their lives.

Dumas (1979, 1980) presents another perspective of the labor roles of black women. She suggests that perceptions of black women's leadership roles when racism and sexism interfere reflect the societal preconceived roles of the black woman:

The mythical image of the strong, powerful, castrating black matriarch pervades contemporary organizations and poses a critical dilemma for black females which makes competition for, and competent performance in, leadership positions at best a costly endeavor. There are increasing efforts to resurrect the Black Mammie in today's ambitious black woman who aspires to move up the socioeconomic ladder or into political arenas. And there are negative consequences for those who succumb as well as for those who dare resist. . . . Myths of the superiority of the black female over white females and black males, their tremendous power and strength, and their unique capacity for warm, soothing interpersonal relationships prompt others to press them into symbolic roles that circumscribe the nature and scope of their functions and limit their options and power in the organizations in which they live and work. (p. 205-207)

Engram (1980) furthermore states:

The structure of race relations in America made the structure of sex roles ill-shaped to fit the Black experience. The subordination of Black males in the labor market made participation of Black women in the labor market essential for economic survival of Black families. Black women, being the category of women who work out of necessity, have long combined family and market roles. Economic conditions in the Black community and correlated desires for better living standards have always conflicted with the notions of women belonging in the home and being spared from productive paid labor. (p. 176)

The psychological impact which preconceptions about the roles of black women in the labor market have on the black male-female relationship is profound.

The reversal of traditional sex roles has severe implications in a dominant culture which stresses male achievement. In spite of the distinctive Negro subculture and the reality of male-female differences in employment opportunities, the Negro male is still expected to be a responsible provider. His failure in this role results in a serious loss of self-esteem and severe derision from the female members of the community. These factors serve to discourage him both from staying at home and from seeking and holding a job. His predicament may take the form of a "self-fulfilling prophecy." He is told that he is "no good" and "irresponsible" and to some extent he internalizes these judgements, which in turn influences his actions. When he fails, no one is surprised. (Proshansky & Newton, 1968, p. 205)

Black men experience restricted choices in occupational roles. They have limited opportunities for job training and lack the seniority in many job positions for advancement. Racist hiring practices also do little for the black man's self-esteem. Black males find getting employment in jobs traditionally held by white males more difficult than black females who work in jobs traditionally dominated by white females (Glenn, 1963). Since black women comprise a greater proportion of all female workers, black women seem to find less resistance in their occupational participation than black males who have always been oppressed in labor opportunities. Black women also have greater access to occupations dominated by females because work roles have not traditionally been as valued by the white female. In occupations heavily-laden with value, such as modeling which has been dominated by white females and carries preconceived notions that white

females exemplify beauty, black women have had an equally difficult time entering these occupational roles. The recent information released on black employment supports the oppression of both black males and females. The Census Bureau reported that blacks remain "overrepresented" in some occupations, representing over half the private household cleaners and servants and one-third of maids and garbage collectors. Approximately one-fourth of postal clerks, nurses' aides, orderlies, and attendants were black in 1980. Blacks remain limited in professions and management, comprising only 3% of all physicians, lawyers, and engineers, 6% of clergy, judges, and computer programmers, and 4% of managers (Pear, 1983).

Despite the trend in interpersonal relationships in which men are selecting mates with similar occupational interest and achievement, black men still tend to select mates whom they dominate in terms of labor roles and educational achievement (Staples, 1981). Although this trend did not exist for most black professional women in the late 1940s through the 1960s, this pattern seems now to reflect an increased assimilation of dominant culture role stratifications among middle-class black men of the late 1960s and of recent times. The trend of black men marrying women of usually lower occupational status and educational achievement (Staples, 1981) illustrates the conflict of many black men who fear that their self-esteem is jeopardized with a more achieved black female.

Atypical Educational Goals. Congruent with perceptions of the black woman as excelling in employment in contrast to the black man, are assertions often citing that black women have an atypical

preference for high prestige professions. When the black male and/or female define the eligibility of a mate in terms of the traditional selection pattern of men selecting women who are less educated, several complications arise.

The most obvious problem involves the limited number of suitable mates for selection. This is particularly characteristic of the black female's pool of black males. If the black female has internalized or identified with the dominant culture's sex-role stratification in mate selection, she will consider ineligible many black males because of discrepancies between educational achievement. In addition to her viewing the sex-role stratification as important, she possesses preconceptions about the less educated black male that influence her encounters with him. Generally, educational achievement is equated with intellect and a host of other ascribed positive personality attributes. Therefore, the black female may assume that the black male with less education will provide her with inadequate intellectual stimulation and that he has fewer desirable personality attributes. Despite his abilities and compatibility, she will view him as less desirable. This is not only a phenomenon of black women. It is the dilemma most women, regardless of race, struggle with because they have internalized a sex-role stratification that entails women being subordinate to men in their gender roles. Similarly, the adverse is true about perceptions of more achieved black men. Black women may overvalue the more educated black male and hence accept more negative personality characteristics; for example, a woman may accept inconsiderateness if she does not weigh the importance of character

traits over educational attainment. Staples (1981) particularly discusses how many black women have unrealistic expectations in seeking a mate.

It should be noted that black males have consistently outnumbered black female college graduates with the exception of the period of World War II and the post-World War II era. The slightly higher incidence during this period of black females with four or more years of college may be indicative of the disproportionate number of black males in the Armed Forces and the greater war casualties among black men.

Rodgers-Rose (1980) asserts that the educational attainment of black women has never significantly differed from the educational attainment of black men. Although the black man's median level of educational attainment is somewhat less than that of the black woman, Rodgers-Rose questions what difference these small variations make, economically and socially, for blacks. In addition, the trend of women obtaining an overall higher median years of school completed has also held true for whites, with the exception of the year 1970 where male and female medians were equivalent. Rodgers-Rose furthermore states the following:

If one looks at those persons over 25 years of age who graduated from college, there is very little difference between males and females. In none of these figures do we see such drastic differences that would call for the kind of theorizing that exists about why Black women are more 'educated' than Black males. Nor do we see the kind of data that suggest that Black daughters have been preferred over Black sons in terms of education. The fact is that Black men and women have very similar educational levels compared with white men and women. For example, in 1940, 4.0% of the white females and 5.8% of the white males had graduated from

college. This was true for only 1.2% of Black females and 1.4% of the Black males. By 1970, the number of Black women graduating from college had increased, but so had the number of whites, and the differences by race were still larger than the differences by sex; 5.6% Black females and 6.8% Black males had completed four years of college. This was true for 8.4% of the white females and 15% of the white males. What we note in these statistics is the great difference between the white male and female. There has been a tendency for white social scientists to look at near parity in the college education of Blacks and see that as a disadvantage for Black males, since white females do not graduate from college nearly as often as white males. Whatever disagreements might exist between Black males and females cannot be blamed on the excessive educational advantage of Black women. (pp. 33-34)

Rodgers-Rose's (1980) analysis of previous demographic data contrast with previous positions espoused in the literature on the educational achievement of blacks (Ausubel, 1963; Bock, 1969; Deutsch, 1960; Lott & Lott, 1963, 1967; Proshansky & Newton, 1968). Most of the literature has been in accordance with Ausubel's (1963) conclusions that the black woman seems less traumatized by the impact of racial discrimination which is attributable to her preferential treatment in her family.

Deutsch (1960) studied the scholastic achievement of low-income blacks. Deutsch selected samples of two elementary schools with children in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. Two classes from each grade were studied. One school was a predominantly black (97%) school of low-income children. A similar control school was selected of white low-income children from a school enrollment 94% white. Deutsch did a comprehensive study on how academic achievement was influenced by socio-economic status. Self-esteem measures, intactness of family, family focus on child, teacher attitude, and the conditions

and goals prevalent in the school setting (overcrowding, disciplinary foci, equipment, morale).

Deutsch discovered a clustering effect among the factors of racial identity as Negro, broken homes, and negative self-image. Deutsch particularly noted that male-female differences existed in the occupational aspirations of black boys and girls. It was noted that black and white low-income boys aspire to high prestige jobs, like medicine and engineering, which are, more than likely, unrealistic goals. When the occupational aspirations of low-income black girls are compared with those of low-income white girls, black girls and white girls of the lower-class differ significantly. Both groups of girls chose nursing as the most favorable occupation. However, white girls differed significantly from black girls in their attitudes toward white collar jobs, housewife/mother roles, and movie-star/actress dreams. Black girls showed a significant interest in attaining white collar jobs in comparison to white girls (25% to 4%, respectively). In contrast, white girls felt housewife/mother roles and movie-star/actress roles were more desirable than black girls (16% to 3% and 12% to 4%, respectively). Deutsch noted that black girls choosing white collar jobs versus glamorous (movie star) and mundane (housewife) roles is suggestive of their responses to their existence in different social conditions. Unlike white women, black women have been overrepresented in domestic-type work. Thus, black girls may desire white collar jobs because of greater prestige. For both groups, Deutsch noted that the desire to be a model was unrealistic but even more so among black girls, particularly since

this has been a field almost exclusively dominated by white females.

Although Deutsch's (1960) study is outdated because of the revolution in gender roles, her findings have relevance to contemporary misconceptions. Deutsch's assumption that black females have an atypical preference for high prestige professions suggests that black female children have adapted gender roles contrary to traditional female roles. She suggests that black female children have assumed goals more characteristic of male roles. Yet if one thinks about the role of the black woman, she historically integrated a work identity into her concept of femininity. Her work identity seems to result primarily from her lack of choices and her struggle for economic survival. But it also represents her traditional African heritage where women always combined work and family roles. Deutsch's interpretations can furthermore be criticized because they do not indicate the healthy adaptation that black female children's educational aspirations represent. Because economic advancement often is obtained through educational excellence, it seems appropriate that black female children would seek high prestige professions. Furthermore, their choices of professional roles seem to indicate their awareness of the limited access they have to wife/mother roles and roles dependent upon physical attractiveness, such as movie-star/actress categories. They make little sense for her because the black woman is a low demand commodity in the world of physical attractiveness. The economic reality of the black family makes the black woman's acting solely in the mother/wife role a more remote possibility also.

The consequences to the black male's internalization of the dominant culture's sex-role stratification is his unduly avoiding the black female with comparable or more education than he. The identification immediately carries preconceptions of the domineering and powerful black female into any encounter he may have with her. Black women with higher education come to symbolically represent influence and financial worthwhile notions of her femininity become depleted.

The internalization of dominant culture values also defines the black male's experience of his gender role in the relationship. Antithetical to viewing the black female negatively and feeling hostile toward her, the black male may defend against his anger toward her and his perceptions of himself as inadequate. Rather, he may use reaction formations to position the black woman on a pedestal, often binding his overt hostility. The black man who uses this mode of defensive operations conveys his idealized appraisal to the black female with the accompanying conveyance of her incompatibility. The black woman becomes an idealized object that is "unapproachable" except as a platonic love object. The black man expresses his hostility by denying the black woman his availability in an intimate relationship and hence prevents her from deriving a sense of feminine worth as a sexual partner or romantic interest. Epstein (1973b) found that "Being black attenuated the effect of feminine roles in the university setting. Dating was difficult because there were so few black men; furthermore, being specially a selected female meant a high commitment to scholarship. The girls who went to all-white

schools were good students and most reported they had virtually no social life" (p. 924). Epstein (1973b) noted that one-third of the black professional women in her study had never married.

Sexuality. The sexuality of blacks evokes many mythical notions. Stiller (1962) believes that notions about race and sex have a somewhat universal mythical premise which is also applicable to the black male's and female's experiences in the United States. Stiller (1962) states:

Racial beliefs about sex usually go something like this: The "superior" race (or nation) considers itself more inhibited sexually. Its males are more restrained, its females more chaste as well as responsive. They are more "moral" than those they consider "inferior." On the other hand, the "inferior" people are presumed to be more lustful and more attractive sexually. The men are believed to be superpotent and therefore dangerous sexual competitors. The women are sexually very responsive and submissive. Being less inhibited they are "naturally" less "moral." Male and female, the "inferior" race are said to be capable of greater passion, and therefore both prized (female) and feared (male) sexually. (p. 270)

Many associations to black sexuality include perceptions of promiscuity. These notions of promiscuity not only exist in the dominant culture associations, but they also influence blacks' perceptions of the opposite sex's sexuality.

The black male's sexual prowess and anatomy typically have been subject to numerous generalizations. Cleaver's (1968) "Supermasculine Menial" image represents the common perception of the black male as an oversexed brute with abnormally large genitals. The black man's physique dominates his perceptions. Perceptions of the black male's

physique seem dehumanizing and animalistic in quality. These perceptions originated during slavery when his value was solely based upon his physical ability and fertility. Integral to this perception is the notion that he possesses inferior intellectual capabilities. Mythical perceptions of the black male's physical attributes are ascribed and often accompanied by misconceptions about his morality, integrity, and personality.

Although few people have such primitive notions about black men as found during slavery, these early concepts have left remnants in current perceptions of the black male's sexual behavior. If the black male has limited cognitive abilities then his capability as a lover is restricted to his physical lovemaking. Hence, black males have characteristically been viewed as less capable of the affectionate displays which essentially differentiate human sexuality from sexuality among animals. The perception of the black male's aggressiveness and his lack of moral development originates from earlier percepts that still influence conceptions today. For instance, the fact that blacks and whites often characterize athletics as the black man's domain in excelling derives from this assumption. Interest in the debate as to whether the average black male's erect penis is larger than the white male's and myths that the black male is less inhibited sexually or that he is a better lover than the white male, indicates the intrigue that has existed with the sexuality of the black male. If the black male lacks the ability to display emotional caring in lovemaking, existing perceptions of the black male create fear in the black female of his being potentially uncaring and

irresponsible in his sexual relationships. It also leaves an image of the black male as a sexual aggressor. Observations that many women more frequently become terrified when they encounter a black male in an isolated place than many would if they encountered a white male in a similar situation seem to indicate how the black male's sexuality is often paired with aggression. More commonly, perceptions of the black male as a brute can be heard in conversations about him as a lover. Black women often complain that black men are not romantic, in essence that they do not participate in or do not devote enough time to numerous courting rituals such as petting and other affectionate gestures in general (bringing flowers, verbal affirmations) (Staples, 1981). This statement usually originates from comparison to perceptions of the white male's behavior. Despite the enlightenment which the Women's Movement has provided about white women's perceptions of white males' sexuality, idealized images of the white male as a romantic partner seem to overshadow the perceptions of the black male's sexuality.

Cleaver's (1968) sexual characterization of the black male as perceived by the dominant culture also implies another conflict. Given that ascribed to the image of the black male are some sexual attributes valued in the context of masculinity, the distinction has to exist which will not allow the black male image to be enhanced in any manner by myths about sexuality. Associating aggression with the black male's sexuality is one tactic that seems to accomplish this goal. Additionally, the demise of a positive black male sexual image comes also from an opposing characterization of him as the "Eunuch" (Cleaver, 1968).

The "Eunuch" is best described by Staples (1971) as the impotent black male often portrayed in slapstick comedy roles that black males play in the media and in entertainment. The black male rather than being the aggressor becomes the "terrified, effeminate" victim who becomes frightened by any or everything, or acts subordinately even to a child's command. The image of the frightened, clowning, victimized, and subordinate male comes too easily to mind, and the denouncement of black men in this manner exemplifies another means of devaluating the black male.

Perceptions of black female sexuality equally encompass diverse but consistently negative images. To an extent, sexual desirability arises from the physical perceptions of the person. Black women's beauty has always been devalued, and preconceptions of the black female as less feminine have made her equally less desirable to the black male. The black male's sexual experience with the black woman often involves a comparison of the black female with the idealized symbol of the "ultimate in sexuality," the white female (Clever, 1968). Rose (1973) states:

The feeling that white women are more sexually desirable than black women has two possible dimensions. It may result solely from the historical taboos . . . and be satisfied by marriage. Or it may result from group self-hatred: that is, from the feeling that the physical traits of blacks are ugly and those of whites are beautiful. There is far less of this among young blacks than among older people, but it persists. (p. 48)

Dominant culture perceptions about the black woman's sensuality have spotlighted notions that she is promiscuous. Yet, common

perceptions about black women's sexuality by black men often suggest that they experience the black woman as puritanical. The dichotomous portrayals of the black "Mammy" and whore, make concepts about the black woman's sexuality quite difficult to integrate. The preconception of the sexually "easy" black woman tinges her interactions with men. Day (1972) asserts:

Masculine myth to the contrary, black women come in as many shades of the sexual spectrum as they do in skin color, and range from frigidity to nymphomania. Within that range, however, there appear to be proportionately fewer black women than white who have psychic blocks against sexual enjoyment. Among middle-class standards of sexual behavior, one encounters some of the same neurosis and prudishness that inhibits white women's behavior--yet a slightly higher percent of black middle-class women, according to the studies made by the Kinsey Institute, enjoy their sexual relations with their husbands, than white women of the same class. (p. 135)

Concerning assumptions that the black female is promiscuous, Day (1972) further states that:

Sexual codes and sexual behavior differ according to class, but each class has specifically defined sexual behavior. Lower-class black girls who have premarital sex tend to have serial affairs, and are relatively faithful to one boy at a time, rather than being promiscuous, unless they are promiscuous for money, as in instances of early prostitution. (p. 137)

Limited empirical information is available about the sexual lives of blacks. Day (1972) suggests that based upon Bell's analyses of data collected by the Kinsey Institute during the years 1942 through 1949, blacks' attitudes are more direct and less ambivalent about sex

than those of whites. The sample in the Kinsey study included 496 black males and females. His conclusions are: (a) contrary to beliefs, black males reach puberty later than the white male, possibly because of poor nutrition. Black males also experience their first ejaculation later than white males; (b) black males tend to experience their first ejaculation through coitus while white males tend to experience their first ejaculation through masturbation. Thus black males engage in heterosexual intercourse earlier than white males; (3) white males are more knowledgeable about sexuality, including subjects of menstruation, fertilization, abortion, and pregnancy. White males were also more likely to respond to erotic materials than were black males. Blacks reported less nudity practiced in their families. Black males also reported fewer sexual fantasies and less interest in voyeurism and fetishisms. Bell (cited in Day, 1972) concluded that,

White virginity and white asexuality as against black sexuality is, then, a myth. Whites do not delay sex. They simply delay full genital engagement, which blacks do not. Blacks' first sexual experience is coitus, or adult sex, the same activity that they will continue to practice throughout their lives. Whites, on the other hand, play at sex, through autoeroticism, petting, voyeurism, fetishism, before they graduate to coitus. If there were no cultural restrictions, the white child and the black child would probably develop their sexuality in a more similar fashion. (pp. 166-168)

Myths about black sexuality are detrimental in several ways. Noting the reaction to the perception of the black woman as promiscuous, Staples (1981) states that middle-class blacks have adopted more rigid codes for black women's sexual conduct although

these codes have become somewhat more liberal with the dominant culture changes in sexual attitudes in the 1960s. Black males' attitudes about the black woman's sexuality as well as other men's perceptions regardless of race might exemplify Oedipal phase conflicts where the genital integration of sexual impulses with love object has not been achieved. This is manifest in a strong adherence of middle-class black males to splitting love and sexual impulses and can best be observed by a discrete "good girl" or "bitch" dichotomy of black women. Some black males restrict sex in relationships with women who have the potential of being considered for marriage until they are ready to make a commitment and rather share sexual experiences with women who are considered "bitches."

Particularly, the expectation of the black male's innate sexual superiority may decrease the black female's role in his sexual experience if she assumes that her role is not key to the amount of pleasure that he will derive from the experience. She may as a result assume that foreplay is unimportant in her sexual encounter with the black male and may even place demands on him that, depending on several factors, could lead to sexual dysfunction or feelings of inadequacy. This view of the black male's superior sexual prowess also does not help him to develop a diverse sense of competencies in his relationship with a black woman. This is important since he often seems to be unable to derive this from his encounters with the dominant culture. Myths about black male sexuality also create fears of being exploited by a "brute" in some black women, which is often manifest in the black woman's fear of abandonment and her complaint

that black men are less affectionate than white men in lovemaking and relationships.

The opposite perception of the emasculated black male, due to his lack of power in a society dominated by the white male, decreases the black female's experience of sexual satisfaction with him and seems to increase her anger and frustration for his lot in life. Sexual pleasure, as experienced by the female, greatly involves the submission to the conquest of the male. If the black female is unable to view the black male as powerful, she may devalue her sexual experience with him.

Finally, a phenomenon that occurs in the sexual relations which some black men have with black women is the expression of his hostility and sense of powerlessness by being unavailable to the black woman consistently, often because of his desire to be in control of the relationship. Since the only domain in which the dominant culture has recognized the black man as valuable is his sexual prowess, some black males who tend to project onto black females qualities of being domineering and demanding in relationships also attribute these qualities to her sexual request or presume negative qualities, such as promiscuousness, about her personality. The black man's need for numerous sexual conquests is intensified by his feeling that the only manner in which he can assert his masculinity, particularly his need for power, prestige, and competency, is sexually.

Sexual roles, like all other aspects of black life, interact with preconceptions about race. The price of such a relationship seems to be a number of defensive and compensatory acts to alleviate the terror

of sexual abuse and to capitalize on the enhancement of self-esteem. Unfortunately, neither reactions are beneficial.

Physical Attractiveness. Physical attractiveness plays an important role in the initial phases of male-female interpersonal relationships. Physical characteristics are the cues for the symbolisms associated with blacks. Varied as these symbolic meanings are, they represent the impact that the historical associations of evil and bad have made to black and dark. The concept of race has no meaning outside the context of physical appearance. Therefore, it is no surprise that stereotypical notions about black physical features have emerged as important cues to the ascription of negative traits.

The devaluation of stereotypical black physical characteristics has had a lasting effect on blacks. Although associations to dark-skinned people have historically portrayed some foreboding sense, slavery solidified many of these perceptions. The contrast of peoples of color and whites often are synonymous with the dichotomies of unattractive-attractive, slave-master, and bad-evil. Not only was this true for whites, it also soon became inherent in blacks' perceptions of each other as skin color variations increased and differential privileges resulted.

One consequence for the offspring of an interracial blending in America was differentiation by whites, through law and custom in terms of color gradations. Labels such as creole, mulatto, quadroon, octoroon were used extensively. . . . Blacks were socialized to accept this system of color distinctions among offspring of interracial unions. . . . In the nineteenth century, many states distinguished between "Negro" and quadroons in terms of legal rights and privileges. . . . Rooted in the system of slavery, America's form of apartheid prevails, though not too subtly, in the twentieth century. (Wilkinson, 1975, p. 5)

The overvaluation of physical attributes were the consequence of (a) a strategy of oppression primarily concerned with the destruction of the self-image of blacks which led to a devaluation of black physical characteristics and/or culture, (b) white slave owners allowing more opportunities for their offspring of black slave women, (c) the liberating potential which the predominance of white physical attributes could have allowing the escape from slavery for some blacks through "passing," and (d) the symbolism of oppression of physical attributes represented.

Helson (1964) theoretically conceptualizes how the preconceptions of a stimulus, such as attractiveness, gets assessed in terms of an attitude rather than an objective fact, easily allowing the individual's perception to yield to the pressure of the group. For the black male and female, the bombardment of white images through the current media and the historical perceptions of beauty both function in creating the symbolic representation of beauty as that characteristic of whites. Since beauty is an attitudinal judgement, the continuous assertion of beauty as that exemplified by whites intensely pressures the acceptance of dominant culture beauty standards.

Black features are often considered negative assets given the positive value placed on dominant culture physical features. The more a black male or female approximates white features, the more s/he is attributed with possessing beauty. The more salient black facial features the black male or female possesses, the less beautiful s/he will be perceived. Variations in skin pigmentation make a difference

in the personality attributes projected onto the individual; often the black male or female of a darker shade and/or with more salient black facial traits will be perceived more in terms of negative valuations. For example, the obvious references made by black people expressing a preference for "good hair" (hair that is straight or has straight tendencies), the less-pigmented black male and/or female, the black woman with "long" hair, and the black male and/or female with less salient black facial features, are only a few examples. In terms of the impact of black skin, perception of the darker male as tough or frightening, respectively, and the black female as less gentle and affectionate, demonstrates some influences that preconceptions based on the dominant culture's valuations have in the black male's and female's encounters. Hernton (1965) provides his account of his realization of the influence of the dominant culture's valuation on his perceptions of black women and his relationship with them.

I think now--no I know--that this is one of the reasons Negro women encounter so much frustration with their men. Living in a society where the objective social position and the reputed virtues of the white woman smother whatever worth black women may have, the Negro male is put to judging his women by what he sees and imagines the white woman is. A common expression among Negro males when anything goes wrong between them and their women is to say that a white woman would act differently. Without ever having associated with, let alone having been married to, a white woman, the black male asserts, half-heartedly but significantly, that black women are hell to get along with. The fact that this may be said about all American women does little to alter the black man's deprecatory concept of Negro females. How can it? For the myth of white womanhood has soaked into the Negro's skin. In matters of beauty, manners, social graces, and womanly virtues, the white woman is elevated by American society to the status of near goddess. . . . It becomes all but impossible for the black man to separate his view of the "ideal" woman from that of the "white" woman. He may do it intellectually, cognitively, but it is a far more difficult feat to achieve emotionally. . . . My dates were

always light-skinned Negro girls, never dark or black ones, no matter how pretty they might have been. For, I know now, my desire for a girl was affected by the myth and taboo of the white woman. (pp. 61-62)

The 1960s were a period of heightened racial consciousness for black Americans. The "Black is Beautiful" movement attempted to foster the appreciation of blacks' heritage, and to increase black self acceptance and racial pride. Slogans like "black is beautiful," "black power," and "I'm black and I'm proud" were typical ways of expressing redefined self-concepts and the beginning of self-acceptance.

In 1963 Williams found that when American college students of both races rated color names in a nonracial context, they gave white a much more positive rating than they gave black . . . six years later to determine what effect the "black identity" movement of the early and late 1960s had on the connotative meaning of colors. . . . The evaluative difference in color names still held with Euro-American college students. But the 'black is beautiful' slogan had some effect, among black college students, the concept of white no longer held the same advantage over black. White still got significantly higher ratings, but the gap was not as wide. These changes were more pronounced among students strongly committed to black separatism. (Williams & Stabler, 1973)

Although associations to the colors black and white may have shifted, Williams & Stabler (1973) do not account for the more subtle racial devaluations associated to racial contexts; specifically, devaluations of blacks are best demonstrated through interactions in the arena of interpersonal relationship. Despite the outward proclamation of pride, the long period of devaluation of blacks has made it virtually

impossible to completely erase the traces of negative attitude perceptions.

Studies demonstrate the lasting effects which the devaluation of black features, particularly skin color, has had on children's preferences for dominant culture physical attributes (Asher & Allen, 1969; Clark & Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Greenwald & Oppenheim, 1968; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Morland, 1962; Radke & Trager, 1950; Stevenson & Stevenson, 1960).

Clark & Clark (1947) in a classic study about the effect of skin color on perceptions of personality attributes demonstrated a preference for the white doll among black children. They also noted that a marked increase in preference for the white doll existed among 3- to 4-year-olds. This gradually decreased through age 7 years. Their study of the preference in skin color among black children indicates a preference for white skin at each of the ages below 7 years old with a marked increase from 3- to 5-year-olds. Clark & Clark established that crucial patterning of racial attitudes begins around 4 to 5 years of age.

Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) criticize the methodologies instrumented in Clark & Clark (1947) and similar studies (Goodman, 1946; Horwitz, 1949; Morland, 1958, 1963). They suggest that Clark & Clark's study is faulted because it does not account for variations in skin color. They feel that since light skin has traditionally been more valued among blacks, this explains the confusion of light-skinned children who would view themselves more as white than black. Thus the misidentification data may be misleading

due to the forced choice between a black and a white doll without variations in the skin color of the black doll. Greenwald and Oppenheim added a third doll, mulatto in skin color, and standardized the color of all dolls' hair in an attempt to reassess racial identification among black children. They studied 39 black and 36 white 3- to 5-year-olds with a more open-ended questioning format. Chi square analysis indicated a high reliability with Clark & Clark and other researchers who proclaim that black children preferred white dolls and attributed more positive attributes to white dolls. In contrast, Greenwald & Oppenheim noted that light-skinned black children had significantly fewer self-misidentifications when given the additional choice of a mulatto doll. Oddly enough, the mulatto doll was adversely perceived by both black and white children, which Greenwald & Oppenheim suggest may have been the effect of the skin tone of the doll (light grayish brown). A different interpretation might be that black children, like whites, devalue any representation of black so that even light-skinned black children wish for white skin while dark-skinned black children are envious and/or devalue light-skinned blacks.

Dion, Berscheid, and Walster (1972) studied the impact physical attractiveness has on personality attributes, and social and occupational roles among whites. Dion et al. raised several questions: (a) Do individuals have preconceived notions about personality traits dependent upon the variance in attractiveness among individuals? (b) How accurate are the preconceptions that exist? (c) Does a correlation exist between beauty and personality, and if so,

what is the rationale for this correlation? Dion et al. studied 60 students, 30 males and 30 females, who were enrolled in an introductory course in psychology at the University of Minnesota. Subjects were given experimental points to their final exam grades as an incentive. Dion et al. introduced the study to the subjects as a study of accuracy in person perception to compare person perception accuracy of untrained college students with graduate students and professionals in clinical psychology. Each subject received a standard set of three photographs containing a portrait of a physically attractive stimulus person, a stimulus person of average attractiveness, and a portrait of a stimulus person relatively unattractive. Half of the subjects received pictures of females while the remaining half received pictures of males. Subjects were asked to rate the stimulus person on 27 personality attributes and to indicate which stimulus person possessed the most or least of a given trait. A 'social desirability' index was also devised by the authors. Inferences about the happiness or success of stimulus persons was obtained by requesting subjects to indicate what life experiences (marital, parental, social, professional, and total) they anticipated the stimulus person to have. Finally, an "occupational success" index was obtained from each stimulus person and subjects were asked to indicate which of the three stimulus persons was more likely to engage in 30 different occupations varying from low to high status. Dion et al., using an analysis of variance design, demonstrated that attractive persons are imbued with more positive personality attributes. In addition, attractive people are also expected to be

more successful in occupational, social, professional, and marital roles. Specifically, subjects assumed that the attractive stimulus persons were more likely to find an acceptable marriage partner than those who were less attractive. Physically attractive persons are presumed to lead happier and more successful lives. "It is clear that physically attractive individuals may have even more advantages in the dating market than has previously been assumed. In addition to an aesthetic advantage in marrying a beautiful spouse (Josselin de Jong, 1952), potential marriage partners may also assume that the beautiful attract all the world's material benefits and happiness. Thus, the lure of an attractive marriage partner should be strong indeed" (Dion et al., 1972). Dion et al. cautioned that an inherent bias may have existed in their physical attractiveness stimulus materials because of the homogeneity between the subjects and students of the same university who assisted in devising the materials. However, Dion et al. strongly conclude that a dominant culture notion about physical attractiveness does exist and with it are positive associations to personality attributes.

Dion (1973), interested in discovering at what age children can discriminate facial attractiveness and what behavioral expectations children have of unattractive children, demonstrated a consistency in judgement between children (as young as three years old) and adults. Children exhibit a preference for attractive children as playmates. Children also make distinctions in behavioral expectations based upon attractiveness. Children expected other attractive children to possess positive behaviors and the adverse was true for behavioral expectations of unattractive children.

Marks (1943) studied the relation between the judge's skin color and his ratings, and the relation between ratings of attractiveness among 83 black students enrolled in elementary psychology courses at Fisk University. Subjects rated all other class members on six characteristics on an eight-point scale: (1) very energetic - very unenergetic; (2) very attractive - very unattractive; (3) very intelligent - very unintelligent; (4) very stout - very thin; (5) very dark - very light; and (6) know person very well - know person only slightly. The subjects were divided into three groups based upon the month and year of each class (Group A did ratings in October 1941; Group B in March 1942; Group C, a smaller group of graduate students in a seminar on "Race and Culture," in December 1941). Ratings on stoutness and skin color were repeated in Group A because of tremendous variability between subjects. Second ratings showed greater consistency. Marks accounts for this variability to be due to the presentation of all trait continuums in the initial presentation. Group B rated only intelligence, attractiveness (personal charm), and skin color, due to the confounding effects observed in Group A. The skin color of Group C was expressed as a measurement of the percentage of black on a color top (a mixture of black, red, yellow, and white) matched to the subjects' skin color. Actual skin color ratings were made by Group C only, but a high correlation existed between subjects as well as between the measurements used to assess the skin colors of Group C. Marks transformed r scores into Z scores on the measures of skin color and attractiveness (personal charm). Marks concludes that ratings of skin color are significantly affected by objective measures

of skin color or associated salient black facial features. Mark suggests that the social stratification of blacks and attitudes held by blacks about color also influence ratings of attractiveness. The subjects judged the most attractive seem lighter than the average black but not at the extreme of the continuum of light-skin and that this was the preferred skin color. He also noted that subjects displaced the ratings of subjects considered attractive in the direction of preferred skin color. Independent reference scales of skin color exist dependent upon the skin color of the rater. Subjects tend to seek a rating position of 'neutral emotional content.' In essence, subjects who are very dark or very light in skin color see themselves as average in skin color and tend to displace ratings of others so as to perceive them as average skin color. This indicates a tendency to deny color differences although the objective colors of others, as well as the subjective, force a compromise between "egocentric" and "objective" reference scales.

Marks' study supports the hypothesis that skin color affects the perception of personality attributes among blacks. There was a significant correlation between light skin color and attractiveness and light skin and a composite measure of personal charm. It also emphasizes that the extremes (dark or light skin) are both devalued. The methodology of Marks' study can be criticized in that subjects who functioned as raters were socially acquainted with those subjects they rated, in essence their classmates, so that actual personality factors may interact with ratings of attractiveness (personal charm). In addition, the statistical analysis indicates trends in response to

general physical attractiveness (facial features, physique, and attire) that make it difficult to discriminate between which factors had the most impact. Marks' ratings do not really measure preconceptions but rather actual experiences. The awareness of the subjects to the variables being measured due to exposure of subjects to all variables at one time, as seen in Group A, may also create significant deviances in perceptions and ratings.

Secord (1959) conducted a study on stereotypes and their influence on the perception of black facial features. Secord hypothesized that (a) the identification of a photographed stimulus as black would evoke categorical responses, the projection of personality attributes associated with the identity of being "Negro," (b) categorical responses could result from the perception of salient black facial features or could be induced by labeling non-blacks as black; (c) categorization is a function of stereotyping in contrast to favorable - unfavorable reactions to photographs; and (d) finally, stereotypes are prevalent among all subjects but more so among highly prejudiced subjects, particularly when black-white comparisons are relevant. Secord (1959) presented 15 photographs, 10 of blacks and 5 of whites, to 39 white adults. Photographs of blacks ranged from very salient black facial features to blacks with Caucasoid facial features. Secord requested subjects to rate the photographs based upon 20 personality traits, 5 of each of the following categories: unfavorable stereotype, favorable stereotype, favorable but irrelevant trait, and unfavorable irrelevant trait. Traits were rated on a 7-point scale. Two basic scores were derived: a stereotype score and

a favorableness score. Secord, using an analysis of variance design, found that racial stereotyping was most prevalent against the photographs identifiable as blacks. Among photographs of blacks with very Caucasoid features, these three portraits were misidentified as photographs of whites. Photographs of blacks were significantly more stereotyped than the five white photographs. As long as photographs were identified as that of a black person, Caucasoid appearance did not decrease the attribution of stereotypes. Secord noted that individual variances in photographs were significant so that favorableness scores are not solely dependent upon racial identification. Secord noted that many of the photographs of blacks received higher favorableness ratings than photographs of whites. Secord did not find that stereotype ratings and favorableness ratings were a function of skin color variations among his white subjects. Secord did note that categorization was more provoked in judges high on prejudice ratings for blacks with very Caucasoid features.

Secord's study supports the hypothesis that the racial identity label of black provokes stereotypical responses. Although Secord states that favorableness ratings and stereotypes are independent measures, one might cite limitations in his data analysis in that the interaction effect of the two was not analyzed. Some of the traits Secord uses as indications of favorableness are themselves stereotypical attributes applied to blacks. For instance, the "cheerful," fat and "jolly," "religious" black who "enjoys music" was a prevalent image projected in portrayals of blacks. Yet these are the words Secord uses as an indication of favorableness. Favorableness

measures rated by whites certainly would be high for blacks given the use of these traits. Yet, the favorableness of this image as assessed by blacks would be strikingly lower. Blacks would probably perceive this as an unfavorable image. The favorable irrelevant traits, although not as profoundly, are also similarly biased and contaminated. Blacks have always been considered "sportsmanlike, patient, sincere, generous, loyal, and courteous" but these are terms that have meanings in the context of blacks' subordinate roles in society and resulting passivity. Secord's traits may not be neutral in that they interact with preexisting stereotypical images of the "good nigger" rather than exemplifying valued qualities consistent with an assertive and self-determined existence.

In Clark & Clark's (1980) survey on blacks' perceptions of themselves, a slight majority of blacks still perceive salient black facial features as less attractive than white features. Clark & Clark found that 45% of black males, in contrast to 35% of black females, indicated ambivalence towards or rejection of salient black features. Blacks over 50 years of age demonstrated the highest rejection or ambivalence toward or rejection of salient black features. Blacks over 50 years of age demonstrated the highest rejection or ambivalence with 48% indicating so, while college graduates (47%) and low- and middle-income blacks (42% and 40%, respectively) followed. Regional differences were noted among Far West blacks whose rejection of salient stereotypical black features was the lowest (12%). The Clarks further noted that only 1% of the national sample of blacks believed that black women preferred white men, and the majority (75%) of blacks

believe that black women preferred black men. There was actually a small preference for dark-skinned black men (16%) over light-skinned (15%). A sizeable proportion of blacks (16%) were unsure, which suggests that the conflict over the issue of skin color still seems significant.

Contrary to black women's preferences in facial features and skin color, the preferences of black men demonstrated some significant perceptions. Despite the belief that black men prefer white women, only 8% of black men sampled indicated this as a viable belief. Although the perception that black men prefer white women is more prevalent than the perception that black women prefer white men, the data does not suggest a profound preference of white women by black men. Rather of some recognition is that although 71% of all subjects said black men prefer black women regardless of skin color, a notable 30% of black women indicted a preference that black men have for white women. The data suggest that black females tend to feel more conflicted by black males' choices of women based on skin color than black males. These findings may be indicative of the low self-esteem black women have as a result of prevalent differential preferences in the past and present for light-skinned black women. The findings also suggest that black males have an awareness that the preferences for light-skinned black women is socially disapproved of as well as personally unacceptable in terms of his own feelings about racial consciousness.

The association of negative personality attributes to black physical features is key not only in how blacks view their physical

attractiveness or the lack thereof. Physical attractiveness has an even more profound negative impact on the development of self-esteem. Rhodes (cited in Staples, 1971) states:

This belief in his beauty is the foundation of his belief in all other things that make him a total person. From it flows the confidence that nurtures growth of intellect. From it flows the faith in self that nurtures courage to act; It is the foundation from which springs the child's power to assert self. Love of self is a powerful weapon. (p. 148)

For the black male and female, physical characteristics are symbolic of his/her powerlessness. The internalization of white beauty standards has been so complete that often it is unconscious in the way blacks understand and represent their internal world, sense of self, and relationships.

The Interracial Dyad

Blacks marrying other blacks are not the only types of marriages black people engage in. Increasing numbers of single blacks are selecting white spouses. The motive for interracial marriages are as varied as those for intraracial marriages. The rationale for discussing interracial marriages in a study focused on the black male-female relationship is generated by the impact perceptions about interracial relationships have on black singles. One of the most prevalent perceptions is that the interracial marriage decreases the availability of single black men, since interracial marriages most frequently consist of black men marrying white women. Coombs (1983) noted that in 1970, 65,000 interracial couples existed, and that

41,000 of these marriages included the black male as a spouse. In 1981, the number of interracial couples has increased to 132,000, with 104,000 black men as spouse. This represents a change from 63% of all interracial marriages involving a black male to 78% in an eleven year period. Coombs precautions, however, that these figures represent only one-third of the one percent of all black marriages. Coombs offers reassurance that this change does not represent a massive move of black men marrying interracially.

The impression of many black women of black men who date, have relationships with, or marry whites is often that the black male is devaluing black femininity and sexuality with his choice of white women. Day (1972) states:

The desire for the black man to prove himself sexually with a white partner has provoked a bitter conflict between black males and black females, just at a time when they most need to consolidate their ranks in their joint struggle for freedom. With fewer black males than black females in number and fewer black males than black females with education, the black/black marriage market is difficult at best. Observing many of the best educated, most advantaged of the "brothers" taking their detour to maturity via the white woman's bed is a sore point with many black women.
(p. 8)

Although most interracial marriages are comprised of black men marrying non-black women, increasing numbers of black women are choosing interracial mates. The number of white men taking black brides increased from 25,913 in 1960 to 23,566 in 1970 (Blackwell, 1977). Blackwell noted that these statistics are inadequate since many states have discontinued designating racial identity on marriage

licenses, although they do provide some idea of general trends. The increase in black females participating in interracial marriages seems more reactionary in nature. Many black women either fear that there are not enough black men to go around, or that there are not enough quality black men. Others complain of being weary of disrespect and maltreatment in black male-female relationships.

Day (1972) found that young blacks and whites who mix and occasionally marry usually consist of native-born Americans, who typically meet in college while pursuing careers, belong to the middle-class rather than to the lower-class, usually one or both partners has married before, and are older than blacks or whites who marry interracially. In 1960, interracial marriages were most common among educationally homogamous couples, with the exception of black men with 0-8 years of education (Bernard, 1966). Bernard, however, notes that marriages between blacks were somewhat more consistent by educational level. Bernard states that when marriages were not homogamous, the overall tendency was for the black partner to marry up (21% of the men, 21.3% for women) versus marrying down (18.6% of men and 13.2% for women). Staples (1968) concurs that most partners of an interracial dyad belong to the same educational brackets as the spouse.

Attitudes about interracial marriage as assessed in a 1972 Gallup Poll indicate that interracial marriage is still disapproved of by the majority of Americans (Wilkinson, 1975). Although blacks express a significantly higher approval of interracial marriages than whites (65% to 21%, respectively), sentiments about interracial marriages among all Americans remain overwhelmingly negative.

Numerous theories have been posited to explain the motives behind interracial relationships. Porterfield (1973) studied 20 black-white marriages in a Midwestern city and reported that most interracial couples gave the same reason--"love and compatibility"--for marrying as interracial couples. He also found that some husbands verbalized resentment against the "dominant black female" and viewed white females as "more understanding of their needs, more passive, and more affectionate." He cited few instances of racial revenge by the black male for marrying the white female, but instead found that some black men viewed the white female as a "prize status symbol" which provided him with a sense of power since she preferred him over the white male.

Some blacks view interracial mixing as a solution to racism or cite race as irrelevant. Yet, Wilkinson (1977) states that "color exogamy has not decreased institutionalized white racism." For those who do intermarry, problems around the issues of the future of the partnership due to a culture that stigmatizes the relationship, childbearing in a family milieu with contradictions, and identifying labels for the offspring still exist.

Cordova-Duprey (1977) presents an analysis of the influence of color on the island of Puerto Rico which supports Wilkinson's (1977) statement. Cordova-Duprey noted that in a culture where exogamy has presently and historically been widely practiced, darker-skinned Puerto Ricans possess a disproportionately small amount of political power and social mobility. In addition, the formation of an identity for Puerto Ricans that are neither white nor black but on a continuum between creates special problems. Often the most pigmented member of

the family has a higher incidence of needing psychological services. Finally, the illusion of the insignificance of color on the island of Puerto Rico has left black Puerto Ricans unable to mobilize against racism.

Biegel (1975) studied 40 individuals involved in interracial relationships, 20 of whom were seeking advice on a problem concerning their relationship and 10 of whom had sought professional help for other problems. The sample included: 2 Mexicans (1 male and 1 female); 21 whites (10 males and 11 females); 11 blacks (8 males and 3 females); 2 Japanese females; 2 Puerto Rican females; 1 Chinese female; and 1 American Indian female. Although Biegel obtained his sample from a clinical setting, he purports this hypothesis as one motivating factor in interracial marriages.

These accounts [case histories] suggest that in many instances members of the high prestige group select members of a low prestige group as partners in attempts to satisfy a material or psychological need if they have little or no hope to satisfy it with a high prestige group members. Not all of these needs or shortcomings are immediately noticeable; where they are however, it must be assumed that the partner either does not mind the particular defect or that there are many compensations in a relationship that cause him (or her) to make concessions or that they appear to compliment a need of his (her) own. (Biegel, cited in Wilkinson, 1975, pp. 81-82)

Down (1971) noted that many of the couples she interviewed used massive denial in discussing problems in their relationships. Controversial positions have been taken regarding whether or not the participants in an interracial dyad have a unique dynamic conflict. Brayboy (1966) believes that interracial relationships have a number

of possible pathological motives. Franzblau (cited by Day, 1972) and Haag (cited by Day, 1972) both assert that not all interracial relationships involve psychological conflict. Haag states that the problems with the interracial relationship seems to be the result of the society it exists in rather than intradynamics.

Several theorists propose some unconscious motives that may be involved in seeking a relationship with a person of another race: (a) Grier and Cobb (1968) cite rage as a possible motive that increases the desire for white women among black men; (b) insecurity or low self-esteem may also increase the desire to marry outside one's own ethnic group as an unconscious means of obtaining status or some other valued quality (Day, 1972); (c) masochism can also be expressed by selecting a partner from another ethnic group (Day, 1972); (d) disappointment with mates in one's own racial group is a common motive (Day, 1972); and (e) the idealization of an opposite-sex member of another racial group often represents the individual's devaluation of self and other members of his/her racial group.

Day (1972) cites an excerpt discussing the motives of a 35-year-old white female who married a black painter:

Being a Jewish radical liberal, I guess I was trying to prove something--probably most of all to my parents. His motivation in marrying me? Partly revenge, I think. Partly economic. But he was paranoid about race. We definitely broke up because of race. He left the ghetto young, was a Communist, knew a lot of whites. But he looked down on soul music. He'd only listen to high-class jazz. He regarded low-class blacks with real repulsion. At the same time I suspect he was also anti-Semitic. I'm convinced now that regardless of what people say to themselves there is always more to a mixed marriage than simply falling in love. There is the question of class, or proving something politically. And on this basis these marriages are dangerous. Marriage is always

difficult, but when you have this added factor, repressed at first, but gradually surfacing, it tends to make both partners aggressive. (p. 193)

The author believes that paramount in the reasons for seeking opposite-sex members of another racial group are the desires for the opposite-sex member to possess traditional gender-related personality attributes. For the black male or the black female member of the interracial dyad, perceptions of their mates also incorporate race/gender roles. Prospective white mates are subject to the same schema that blacks use to assess black opposite-sex members and to organize concepts of role definitions in interpersonal relationships. Hence, the perceptions blacks have of the white male and female are often based on preconceptions that counter those held about the black male and female.

Black Male - White Female. White females have long been credited as the ideal feminine symbol (Cleaver, 1968). She is assumed to be the adverse to all the negative things the black woman has come to represent. The white woman more prevalently is perceived to be the epitome of feminine personality attributes--soft, tender, gentle, and understanding. She does not have the stigma of being the domineering matriarch. Day (1972) cites that a recurrent theme in black men's explanations of choosing a white wife is:

"My first wife was always nagging me," said a black man who had been married to a black woman before he married a white wife. "She complained I wasn't a good provider, that I didn't have enough ambition. We'd end up at each other's throats. My wife now, she makes me feel real good about myself. She's gentle and undemanding. With her, I feel ten feet tall. (p. 199)

Day (1972) furthermore notes that:

A recurrent theme that runs through black men's discussions of why they have white wives or mistresses is that until very recently their own black women so often "put them down" and were demanding, critical, or even reflected them because they were "too black." White women, in contrast, leaven their egos, are gentler to them, more reassuring, make them "feel like kings." (p. 199)

Many comparisons which black men make between black and white women tend to demonstrate that white women are idealized. For blacks, whites have always been representative of perfection. In a society where blacks have constantly been exposed to such dominant culture messages, frequently blacks communicate these messages within their own intra-group. Cleaver (1968) discusses the "Ultra-feminine" image of the white female; an example of this type of idealization is obvious in an excerpt of a white woman's comments about her black husband's opinion of her:

I think that it was flattering for Tony to find a white woman who he considered his equal. That was one of the things Tony had--never finding a woman who was his equal intellectually, emotionally, never knowing any women who could really understand him. (Stuart & Abt, 1973, p. 197)

Tony's dilemma of never finding a black woman his equal suggests that he was quite conflicted about black women. His perfect mate must be his ego ideal which seemingly was a white woman. The devaluation of blacks often manifests in narcissistic concerns which the dilemma of Tony tends to suggest. Day (1972) also noted that some blacks'

fantasies include the wish to "whiten" or "purify" themselves. Kardiner (cited in Day, 1972) presented a case history of a black woman with a similar conflict whose marriage to a partially impotent, weak white male represented fantasies to become white and powerful. Encounters of the black man's experience with the white female cannot be separated from his preconceived notion or the psychodynamics meaning of the experience.

With respect to educational and occupational roles, many black women accuse black men of marrying down when they marry white women. Reports on the educational and occupational statuses of white spouses selected by black men (Bernard, 1966; Staples, 1968; Day, 1972) do not verify this perception. Most important might be the preconceived notions black men have about white females as passive in their heterosexual relationships. The notion of the white female as passive predominates contradictory perceptions that may be drawn based upon her labor market roles and educational achievements. In contrast, it may be deduced that labor market roles or educational achievement, per se, are not the source of conflict with the black woman; rather, it is the matriarchy myth that adds another dimension to the impact which educational achievements and occupational roles have on the black male's attitudes about the black woman. The fact that black men turned to more often marry down when they marry black women may be suggestive of the intensity with which these myths influence perceptions of educational achievement and occupational roles.

Sexual myths about the black male and white female promulgate the literature. A common preconception about black men is that they find

white women more sexually desirable. Other explanations for some black men's desire for white women are: (a) that sexual relations with white women for some black men boost the black male's identity (Thomas & Sillen, 1972), and (b) that middle-class black women are sexually more inhibited than white women (Day, 1972; Staples, 1981). Until recently, many sexual practices more common among whites (fellatio, cunnilingus, anal sex) were forbidden by the majority of blacks of all class levels (Day, 1972). It is also ironic that black males who seek white females to derive power through sexual intercourse only replicate the myths of his value as assessed by the dominant culture. Day (1972) states:

The male who is dehumanized to a phallus is as much a victim as the female whose guilt he has used as a trick to bed her. And the white woman who pursues black men because she believes the genital myth about the black male has no more respect for the object of her pursuit than the slaveholder did for his slave. (p. 191)

Physical attractiveness has many meanings. The cliché that "beauty is in the eye of the beholder" suggests that perceptions of physical beauty are by no means objective. Dion et al. (1972) document how personality attributes and occupational roles are also intertwined with the subjective perceptions of attractiveness. The black man's value of the white woman's beauty seems relevant from two perspectives: (1) the pressures to accept white beauty as promoted by continuous bombardment of such messages in the media; and (2) the symbolic representation of "white." The decision to subdivide the perception of white women's attractiveness results from inferences

derived from Marks' (1943) and Greenwald & Oppenheim's (1968) studies. Both studies document a distaste of mulatto skin color. Marks particularly notes that blacks rated extremely white skin color negatively when it was the skin color of another black. Skin color has always represented the opportunities a black may have (Wilkinson, 1975). The question may therefore be raised if white skin color were extremely valued then blacks should show a preference for white skin color tones among blacks. Rather, Marks and Greenwald & Oppenheim found the opposite. This may suggest that only to a certain degree are white features and skin color desired by that at some diverging point they are not valued in terms of physical beauty but rather as a symbol of power, economic advantage, or some other kind of privilege.

Black men's seeming preference for light-skinned black women also incorporates the motive of obtaining bourgeois status. Since mulattos or other blacks who were racially mixed received greater opportunities for social mobility, the black bourgeoisie has been overly represented with light-skinned blacks. Thus, physical characteristics possibly would have little meaning if they were to so intertwined with opportunities for affluence. Josselin de Jong's (1952) belief that the beautiful, in this case white female, attract all the world's benefits and happiness might most adequately explain the desire for the white woman rather than any of her specific physical attributes which exist outside of this association with power.

Black Female - White Male. The black female's preconceptions about the white male center around his role as provider. Since men's gender roles are predominated by occupational roles, it is little

wonder that the majority of the preconceptions about the white male include perceptions of him as the "ideal provider." "Just as black men, burned by the [alleged] criticisms of black women, may find a white partner less critical and demanding, black women may also find a white husband more responsible, a better provider, and less apt to be physically violent than their former black husbands" (Day, 1972, p. 200). Although black women traditionally have more vehemently opposed interracial marriages, most black women also often attribute more positive personality attributes to white men. The white male's image with respect to his treatment of white women and the provision for his family entails many positive characteristics.

Because of the shortage of black men and the reported poor quality of eligible black men, a few black women have decided to break with strong prohibitions against relationships with white men. Staples (1981) also notes that many black women are selecting white mates because educational and occupational equity has become highly important to some middle-class black women. He states that many middle-class black women are no longer willing to marry down. Accompanying black women's rationales for selecting white men are statements about white males being more respectful in relationships than black men. Staples (1981) noted that a significant number of black women surveyed in his study on relationships reported a significantly high proportion of black men being inconsiderate and irresponsible in their relationships. In contrast, Cothran (1972) noted that blacks of all socio-economic statuses viewed white men as more considerate of white women than black men are to black women.

Despite some reality to this perception in some individual situations, some black women in addition want the "ideal man" (Staples, 1981). Often the "ideal man" gets represented as the white male who has greater access to power and status. Black women also often speak of their desire for the black man to be considerate, flower-bearing, and affectionate mate they perceive the white male to be. Crossing the color line is often motivated by disenchantment (Day, 1972).

The sexuality of the white male seems the least desirable aspect of him because so many myths have portrayed him as impotent. Yet, another sentiment about the white male which compensates for his devalued prowess has to do with notions about his romantic inclinations. The courting behavior of the white male is often lauded. As stated by one black woman with a white husband:

"I really pity white women who take black lovers," said the black wife of a white husband. "My husband is so much kinder, so much more considerate than any black man I ever knew, it really was a shock to me. My parents have a good marriage, but I had never seen the constant attention and affection between them that Mike showers on me. It actually took some getting used to. (Day, 1972, p. 242)

Physical attraction as a motive for selecting a white male partner does not seem prevalent. The irrelevance of physical attractiveness seems three-fold: (a) in general, physical attraction is not as important in women's assessment of men in Western culture; (b) the white male's physique has been historically less valued with deference to emphasis on his intellectual abilities (thus white males are more commonly thought of in terms of professional and occupational

achievement. The tendency for black women to emphasize the looks of a black male's description, for example "He sure is fine," may possibly indicate that black women view the black man's appearance as important because other attributes are less accessible for the black male to be valued for); (c) the fact that black women tend to slightly prefer darker-skinned black men over light-skinned black men somewhat suggests that the role of the white male in sexual exploitations of black women is still a vivid association for the black female; (d) black women may also feel more desirable if their skin tone is lighter than the black man with whom they engage in a relationship; and (e) because aggression has been so linked to the black male, dark skin may actually be symbolic of masculinity.

Summary

It can be concluded from the literature that the black male-female relationship has a unique history with its roots in West African culture and American slavery. Race seems to be an important factor in the nature of black male-female relationships because it effects self- and other concepts. Similar to the impact that any central personality trait has on interpersonal interactions (Asch, 1946; Kelley, 1950; Wilkinson, 1977), race modifies perceptions of the opposite-sex member (Asher & Allen, 1969; Clark & Clark, 1939, 1980). Several theorists and researchers (Ausubel, 1958; Cleaver, 1968; Deutsch, 1960; Moynihan, 1965; Rodgers-Rose, 1980; Staples, 1981; Wilkinson, 1977) propose that black male-female relationships are based on gender roles, or preconceptions which are incongruent with

the dominant culture. The internalization of dominant culture values and socio-economic realities have also influenced notions about career status, educational achievement, sexuality, and physical attraction. Specifically, studies (Dion et al., 1972; Clark & Clark, 1980; Marks, 1943) are all suggestive that physical attraction is primarily judged by dominant culture standards and that there are often serious consequences in perceptions of personality attributes for those who do not possess the valued appearance. Although the interracial dyad is not a focus of the author, there are some indications that in some interracial dyads the ego "ideal" of masculinity and femininity may exist in perceptions of white opposite-sex members (Day, 1972). In such cases, the perceptions of white opposite-sex members also include race-gender roles. It is also proposed that the interracial dyad does not reflect racial motives (Franzblau, cited in Day, 1972; Haag, cited in Day, 1972), but rather is based on compatibility and attraction.

The third chapter explains the methods that will be used to explore the hypotheses that preconceptions about racial-gender roles, career status, educational achievement, and sexuality differ between blacks and whites. In addition, it will explore how physical attraction affects notions of femininity and masculinity among blacks.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Chapter three presents the methods and procedures used in the two research studies. Experiment 1 compares blacks' and whites' preconceptions of family-orientation, occupational achievement, and career motivation. It also examines blacks' and whites' preconceptions about opposite-sex members' gender roles. Finally, it contrasts dating and relationship behaviors between single, divorced, and separated black and white adults, respectively.

Experiment 2 examines how skin color and facial features impact on perceptions of masculine and feminine personality attributes and ratings of attractiveness. It also attempts to examine how the raters' skin color and facial features are correlated with ratings of photographed subjects. In order to present the studies most effectively, the third chapter has been divided into five sections: (a) the statement of the hypotheses, (b) description of the subjects, (c) description of the research instrumentation, (d) description of the procedures, and (e) the treatment of the data. To facilitate clarity, Experiments 1 and 2 are reported independently.

Experiment 1

Review of the Hypothesis

The hypotheses posed for testing in Experiment 1 are listed below.

H1 There will be significant differences between black and white males' perceptions of black and white females, respectively, on the variable of femininity.

H2 There will be no significant differences between black and white females' perceptions of black and white males, respectively, on the variable of masculinity.

H3 There will be significant differences between black and white males' preconceptions of black and white females, respectively, on the variables of career status, gender traits, family roles, and sexuality.

H4 There will be significant differences between black and white females' preconceptions of black and white males, respectively, on the variables of career status and gender traits.

H5 There will be significant differences between black and white males' relationship histories, sexual histories, and dating histories.

H6 There will be significant differences between black and white females' dating and relationship histories.

Review of the Methods

The author conducted two experiments and the methodology for each will be presented separately to facilitate clarity.

The subjects in Experiment 1 were 119 black and white adults who were single, never married, separated, or divorced. Subjects were selected using a clustering sampling based on geographic regions. Groups were established by gender identity and race, so that black males were compared to white males and black females were compared to white females. Subjects were asked by a research assistant or the author to complete a "Relationship Survey." When appropriate, research assistants were asked to complete the questionnaire before distributing to other subjects. Subjects were allowed to complete the survey at their own leisure and were asked to return the questionnaire to the research assistant in a sealed envelope or to mail it directly to the author. Males and females received different forms. Within both male and female groups, black and white males' forms were identical with the exception of the racial identity being modified to that of the subject. This was true also for the female forms.

Description of the Subjects

The subjects of Experiment 1 were 119 black and white adults who were single, never married, separated, or divorced. Tables 3.1 to 3.4 provide demographic information. Subjects were selected using a cluster sampling technique. Clustering was based on geographic regions so that subjects were recruited from large metropolitan areas within the following geographic regions--Northeast, Midwest, Far West, Southwest, and Southern United States. Subjects were obtained through personal contacts of the author, some of whom were asked to function as research assistants; when appropriate. Some research assistants were contacted vis-a-vis associates of the author. Research

assistants were asked to coordinate data collection within their geographic region. Research assistants recruited other participants from their employment settings or amongst their personal friends. The majority of the participants were unknown to the researcher. Subjects were obtained through this sampling technique to increase the probability of questionnaires being returned. Research assistants, who were eligible to participate in the study, were blind to the purpose of the study until they had completed their questionnaire. All subjects were unmarried or separated, between the ages of 22-33, and black or white males or females.

Description of the Research

A questionnaire was used which consisted of four subsections--Personal Data Sheet, Vignettes, Preconceptions List, and Dating and Relationship History. The rating scale format for questions consisted of Semantic Differential scales or Likert scales to assess perceptions of masculine and feminine personality attributes. All except two items in the questionnaire were presented in a fixed-alternative format. Itemized rating scales were used for questions other than those obtaining demographic information, for which an open-ended question format was used. The Personal Data Sheet surveyed relevant demographic and background characteristics of all subjects. This information can be found in Tables 3.1-3.4.

Vignettes. Eight vignettes were devised, four vignettes providing descriptive information about females which were administered to male subjects and four vignettes providing descriptive information about males which were administered to female subjects.

Table 3.1

Relationship Study

Subjects' Mean Age, Marital Status, Gross Annual Income, and
Mean Years of Education

Race/Gender	N	Age \bar{X}	Marital Status	Gross Annual Income \bar{X} (\$)	\bar{X} Years of Education**
Black Females	31	26.3	29 Single, Never Married 1 Divorced 0 Separated	22,517	5.21
White Females	29	25.6	27 Single, Never Married 0 Divorced 2 Separated	15,963	5.35
Black Males	30	26.4*	25 Single, Never Married 4 Divorced 1 Separated	21,288	5.7
White Males	29	28.0*	25 Single, Never Married 3 Divorced 0 Separated	26,625	6.28

*p < .02

**post-high school

Table 3.2

Composite of Subjects' Occupations

	Females		Males	
	N	%	N	%
Business and Related Areas	7	11.7	10	17
Medicine and Related Areas	0	0	8	13.6
Other Health Care Professionals	2	3.4	0	0
Law	5	8.3	6	10.2
Engineering, Physical Science, Technology	4	6.6	6	10.2
Arts, Communications	4	6.6	5	8.5
Social Service	9	8.3	3	5.1
Skilled Laborers	0	0	1	1.7
Students	13	21.7	11	18.6
Clerical	3	5	1	1.7
Civil Service	1	1.7	1	1.7
Education	8	13.4	4	6.8
Interns	0	0	1	1.7
Missing Information	2	3.4	2	3.4

Table 3.3

Subjects' Parents Marital Status, Occupation,
and Gross Annual Income Mean (GAI)

<u>Race/Gender</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Mothers' GAI</u>	<u>Fathers' GAI</u>
Black Females	8 Divorced 1 Separated 20 Married	\$21,071	\$33,000
White Females	4 Divorced 0 Separated 25 Married	\$17,667	\$52,412
Black Males	11 Divorced** 0 Separated 17 Married**	\$14,413	\$29,441*
White Males	1 Divorced** 0 Separated 28 Married**	\$13,125	\$42,950*

*p < .03

**p < .01

Table 3.4
Composition of Parents' Occupations

	<u>Female Subjects</u>			
	<u>Mothers</u>		<u>Fathers</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Business and Related Areas	7	13	11	19.8
Medicine and Related Areas	1	1.8	2	3.6
Other Health Care Professionals	5	9.1	2	3.6
Law	0	0	2	3.6
Engineering, Physical Science, Technology	1	1.8	6	10.9
Arts, Communications	3	5.5	2	3.6
Social Service	6	10.9	0	0
Skilled Laborers	1	1.8	6	10.9
Military	0	0	1	1.8
Students	0	0	0	0
Clerical	6	10.9	1	1.8
Civil Service	1	1.8	1	1.8
Transportation	0	0	2	3.6
Education	10	18.5	5	9.1
Farmer	0	0	1	1.8
Sports	0	0	0	0
Cosmotology	0	0	0	0
Homemaker	7	13	0	0
Home Services, Maintenance, Cook	3	5.5	3	5.5
Home Design and Economics	0	0	0	0
Religious Services	0	0	1	1.8
Retired	2	3.6	2	3.6
Deceased	1	1.8	7	12.7
Missing Information	6	10.9	5	9.1

(Table cont'd next page)

Table 3.4 (cont'd)

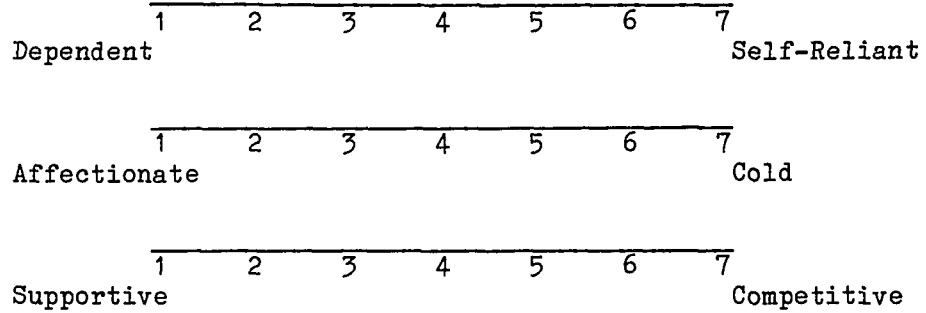
	<u>Male Subjects</u>			
	<u>Mothers</u>		<u>Fathers</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Business and Related Areas	4	7.1	13	23.1
Medicine and Related Areas	0	0	2	3.5
Other Health Care Professionals	6	10.7	4	7.1
Law	0	0	2	3.5
Engineering, Physical Science, Technology	0	0	3	5.4
Arts, Communications	3	5.4	0	0
Social Service	3	5.4	0	0
Skilled Laborers	1	1.8		
Military	1	1.8	2	3.5
Students	0	0	0	0
Clerical	9	16.2	1	1.8
Civil Service	1	1.8	2	3.5
Transportation	0	0	3	5.3
Education	7	12.5	3	5.3
Farmer	0	0	1	1.8
Sports	0	0	1	1.8
Cosmetology	0	0	1	1.8
Retired	1	1.8	1	1.8
Deceased	1	1.8	7	12.3
Homemaker	13	23.2	0	0
Home Services	4	7.1	0	0
Home Design and Economics	2	3.6	0	0
Missing Information	3	5.4	2	3.5

Each vignette was constructed so that descriptive information varied in terms of occupation, career achievement, and family-orientation. The four descriptive vignettes about females were devised as follows: (a) T.S. who is traditional in occupational role (retail clerk), low on career status, and low on family-orientation; (b) N.D. who is traditional in occupation choice (psychiatric social worker), high on career status, and moderate on family-orientation; (c) J.S. who is untraditional in occupation choice (attorney in investment banking with an MBA degree), high on career status, and high on family orientation; and (d) B.T. who is traditional in occupation choice (kindergarten teacher), moderate in career status and high on family-orientation. The four descriptive vignettes about males were devised as follows: (a) L.O. who is untraditional in occupation choice (photographer), moderate in career status and low in family-orientation; (b) E.M. who is traditional in occupation choice (banker), high in career status and high in family-orientation; (c) K.B. who is traditional in occupation choice (bookkeeper), low in career status, and high in family-orientation; and (d) R.C. who is traditional in career choice (physician), high in career status, and moderate in family-orientation.

A sample of a female vignette with several rating scale items follows:

T.S. majored in retailing in college but dropped out to work for a famous apparel store. T.S. has always been interested in fashion but does not have a career planned. T.S. works to support herself. She has considered entering a management training program at this department store but has not made a definite decision to do so at present. T.S. does like entertaining and spends a lot of time doing so. Most of her

leisure time is spent following fashions designed in the meccas of Paris and New York. T.S. collects antiques, too. She likes going to antique shops and auctions. She is a gourmet cook and collects recipes. T.S. wishes to marry and have children. She does not wish to have a career but would like to devote her time to family life.



Subjects rated the vignettes based on Semantic Differential scales adapted from Bem's Sex Role Inventory (BSRI, Bem, 1974). The instrument was designed to measure how the racial identification ascribed to the vignette impacted on perceptions of gender roles of opposite-sex members of the subjects' racial group. Scale items were selected based on their face validity relevant to the author's study of preconceptions. Scale items were modified somewhat to yield divergent continuums, with the midpoint of each scale representing a balanced possession of both attributes on the continuum, unless otherwise specified.

Subjects were requested to read descriptive paragraphs and to subsequently rate the person presented in the paragraph on the rating scales that proceeded. Subjects were asked to give their impression of how desirable the person described in the paragraphs were if s/he were considered for a relationship. It was emphasized to subjects

that the descriptions were of opposite-sex members of their own ethnic group. They were also informed to disregard age inferences in their responses that might be derived from the descriptions.

Preconception List. The second section of Experiment 1 included a list of gender role preconceptions presented in a statement form that were preceded by Semantic Differential scales, fixed alternative questions, and an open-ended question format. Some questions were given a directional slant and followed by scales that allowed the subject to strongly agree or disagree with the directional statement. The male Preconception List included 24 items while the female version included 26 items. The variable to be measured is how racial identity impacts on preconceived notions about gender roles. This portion of the questionnaire takes approximately ten minutes to complete. Subjects were simply requested to read the statements and to indicate their general impressions by circling or placing an "X" where appropriate. It was once again emphasized that subjects respond to the questions with reference to opposite-sex members of their ethnic group. Ethnic groups were defined to be very generalized categories, African-American and European-American. An example of the Preconception List from the female form follows. (It should be noted that the racial identity of black was presented prior to the word "man" on black females' forms without parentheses but not on white females' forms. An exception was made on black females' forms in the case where racial identity seemed awkward and conspicuous):

(Black) men are not demonstrable with their affection.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
disagree agree

One of the most important considerations in a relationship for me is the ability of the man to behave in a socially appropriate manner in public (for example, capable of engaging in conversation, knowledgeable about social etiquette and dress).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
disagree agree

Relationship History. The third section of Experiment 1 was devised to assess what the actual experiences of black and white subjects has been in their heterosexual relationships. Information about the commencement of dating and sexual intimacy, career versus marital orientation, number of relationships, parental interactions, frequency of relationships and contact, quality of relationships, and interracial relationship history, provide the focus for this section of the questionnaire.

An example of the questions follows:

At what age did you begin dating?

How many relationships have you been involved in since 18 years old?

- _____ a. 0-5
- _____ b. 6-10
- _____ c. 11-15
- _____ d. 16-20
- _____ e. 21 or more

Description of the Procedures

The procedure for administration of the questionnaire was for the subjects to complete a "Relationship Survey." Surveys were distributed by research assistants. Research assistants were directed to simply inform potential subjects that this was a study of relationships. Subjects were then requested by the research assistants to read the cover sheet of the questionnaire which provided a standardized explanation. Subjects were allowed to complete the survey at their own convenience within a three week period. Upon completion, subjects were requested to return the completed questionnaire in a sealed envelope to assure confidentiality. Subjects were also given the option of directly mailing the questionnaire to the author. Subjects were discouraged from discussing the study until they had completed their questionnaire. Some subjects were recruited through the research assistants' employment. Racial identity was used as the independent variable. Only black and white subjects were used despite the appearance of Hispanic and Asian ethnic groups in the demographic section of the questionnaire. The use of these categories by the researcher were attempts to conceal the independent variables.

Treatment of the Data

The data collected from single adults relative to the degree of congruence or incongruence between black and white perceptions of gender roles as presented in the Vignettes and the Preconception List were analyzed by item-by-item t-tests with unequal sample size. Race (black and white) served as the independent variable for both the

Vignettes and Preconceptions List. Data analysis of the Personal Data Sheet and Relationship History sections were conducted using chi-square analyses. To determine the percentage of responses and their significance, a few selected items were also analyzed by t-test and Newman-Keuls test and a repeated measures analysis of variance.

Experiment 2

Statement of the Hypotheses

The subsequent hypotheses are posed for testing in Experiment 2:

H1 There will be a significant difference between black females' perceptions of masculinity with regard to variations in skin color and saliency of black facial features.

H2 There will be a significant difference between black females' perceptions of attractiveness with regard to variations in skin color and saliency of black facial features.

H3 There will be a significant difference between black females' perceptions of positive personality attributes with regard to variations in skin color and saliency of black facial features.

H4 There will be a significant difference between black males' perceptions of femininity with regard to variations in skin color and saliency of black facial features.

H5 There will be a significant difference between black males' perceptions of attractiveness with regards to variations in skin color and saliency of black facial features.

H6 There will be a significant difference between black males' perceptions of positive personality attributes with regard to variations in skin color and saliency of black facial features.

Description of Subjects

The subjects of the study on skin color and salience of black facial features were 260 students who attended Introductory Psychology classes at a predominantly black university in the South. Subjects ranged in age from 17-35 years. Subjects were from various geographic regions in the United States. Subjects who were African or West Indian nationals, for the purpose of this study, were omitted.

Description of the Research Instrumentation

Semantic Differential scales were used to determine the subjects' perception of the person photographed on the dimensions of masculine or feminine personality attributes, attractiveness and saliency of black facial features. The two remaining itemized rating scales were used by the author to rate the subjects' skin color and saliency of black facial features. The same rating scales as used in the Vignette section of the Relationship Survey were used in the skin color and facial features study. Rating scales were designed using Semantic Differential continuums adapted from the Bem Sex Role Inventory Scale (Bem, 1974). The midpoint of each scale represented a neutral perception of both personality attributes unless otherwise designated as neither where appropriate. Open-ended question formats were used to obtain most of the demographic data.

Skin color variation and saliency of black facial features were varied simultaneously for all male and female photographs and

categorized in three groups: (a) light skin color with low salient black facial features, (b) medium skin color with moderately salient black facial features, (c) and dark skin color with highly salient black facial features. The selection and categorization of photographs by skin color and saliency of black facial features was based upon the ratings of four judges. To verify the validity of categories each subject rated their stimulus photograph on skin and eye color, nose and lip shape, and hair length. There were significant differences in perceptions of these characteristics on all items, as presented in Tables 4.30-4.34 and 4.44-4.48.

Description of Procedures

Group administrations, ranging in number from 2-30 subjects, were conducted. Subjects completed tasks in approximately fifteen minutes. Subjects were informed not to discuss study during test administration nor until after the researcher's completion date for the project. Subjects were also requested to limit their contact with the photographs by only looking at the photograph presented to them. The structure of the scaling methods was explained clarifying the midpoint as neutral.

The author used a statement of research purposes obtained from Dion, Walster, and Bershied (1972). The following statement was provided:

This is a study of person perception. Studies have shown that people do form detailed impressions of others on the basis of very few cues. The purpose of the present study is to compare person perception accuracy of untrained college students with graduate students in clinical psychology and practicing psychologists. Person perceptions may prove to be as accurate as professionals.

A set of standard photographs will be used as the basis of personality inferences. The individuals depicted in the photographs are college students at other universities who are participating in a longitudinal study of middle adulthood. It will be possible to assess the accuracy of your judgment against information currently available on the stimulus persons and also against forthcoming information.

All of your responses are confidential. Do not put your name on any forms. Please complete the following information below.

Subjects received one of six 3x4 photographs. The photographs were standardized for clothing and facial expressions. All male subjects photographed wore white shirts and all female subjects wore pink dresses with V-neck collars. All subjects were photographed at the same camera angle.

Subjects were recruited with the permission of the Department of Psychology, at a predominantly black university in the South. Subjects were informed that the study had no relationship to their university.

Treatment of Data

The data collected from Experiment 2 was analyzed using a one-way analysis of variance with three levels of the independent variables (light skin color with low salient black facial features, medium skin color with moderately salient black features, and dark skin color with highly salient black facial features).

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter will present the results of the study. The chapter has been divided into seven sections which correspond to the hypotheses in Experiment 1 and Experiment 2. The results will be presented utilizing the hypothesis-analysis-summary style. The results of Experiment 1 follow.

The Personal Data Sheet and Dating and Relationships History sections were analyzed using t-tests and chi-square analyses. The Preconceptions List was analyzed using t-tests. All the data collected on the Vignettes subsection was analyzed in two ways. First, an item by item analysis was conducted on each vignette using t-test statistics. Four vignettes were presented to each male and female subject. Males received vignettes on T.S. (traditional occupation, low career achievement, and high family-orientation), N.D. (traditional occupation, high career achievement, and high family orientation), J.S. (untraditional occupation, high career achievement, high family-orientation) and B.T. (traditional occupation, moderate career achievement, high family-orientation). The female subjects were presented vignettes on L.O. (moderate occupation, moderate career achievement, and low family-orientation), E.M. (high occupation, high career achievement, and high family-orientation), K.B. (low occupation, moderate career achievement, and high family-orientation) and R.C. (high occupation, moderate career achievement, and moderate family-orientation). The composite scores were collapsed across each

vignette and analyzed comparing blacks' and whites' mean score perceptions with t-test analysis. Finally, a Newman-Keuls procedure was used to determine which vignettes significantly differed from any other vignette.

Males' Perceptions of Femininity on Vignettes

Hypothesis one stated that significant differences would exist between black and white males' perceptions of black and white females, respectively, on the variable of femininity for the conditions of occupation, career achievement, and family-orientation.

On Vignette 1 (traditional occupation, low achievement, and high family-orientation), there were no significant differences between black and white males' ratings of femininity on any items. Males tended to perceive the traditional occupation, low achievement, and high family-orientation females (Vignette 1) as equally dependent-self-reliant, affectionate-cold, tender-strong, moody-cheerful, humble-conceited, coy-direct, maidenly-sensuous, submissive-controlling, insincere-truthful, and jealous-trusting. They also perceived this female as slightly shy, slightly feminine, slightly family-oriented, slightly unchallenging, and slightly friendly. Black and white males differed but not significantly on Vignette 1 perceiving black and white women as slightly supportive versus equally supportive-competitive and as neither faithful-unfaithful versus slightly faithful, respectively.

The analysis of data on Vignette 2 (traditional occupation, high achievement, and high family-orientation) as indicated in Table 4.1, revealed significant differences on several items between black and

white males' ratings of black and white females, respectively. Black males rated the black female as slightly affectionate in contrast to white males' rating the white female as significantly less affectionate ($p < .03$) (tending towards neutral) on the continuum of affectionate-cold. Black males also tended to perceive the black woman in this category as moderately sensuous, in contrast to white males who perceived white females in this same category as slightly sensuous ($p < .04$) on the continuum of maidenly-sensuous. On the continuum of submissive-controlling, black males tended to be neutral in their opinion of the black woman with a traditional occupation, high career achievement, and high family-orientation, whereas white males perceived the white females in this category as slightly controlling ($p < .01$). All other continuums of feminine personality attributes were not significant. There was a trend for males to perceive the traditional occupation, high career achievement and high family-orientation female (Vignette 2) as equally supportive-competitive, humble-conceited, and unchallenging-intimidating. They also perceived this female as moderately self-reliant, moderately assertive, slightly strong, slightly cheerful, slightly direct, slightly truthful, slightly trusting, slightly friendly and slightly faithful. Black and white males differed, but not significantly, on Vignette 2 perceiving the black and white woman as slightly feminine versus equally feminine-mannish and slightly career-oriented versus equally family-oriented - career-oriented, respectively.

Vignette 3 (untraditional occupation, high career achievement, and high family-orientation) showed no significant differences between

Table 4.1

t-Test of

Black and White Males' Perceptions

of Femininity of Vignette 2

(Traditional Occupation, High Achievement, and High Family-Orientation Female)

Rating Scale	Group	N	X	s.d.	t Value	df	2 Tail Probability
Affectionate/Cold	Black Males	30	3.000	1.08	2.29	57	0.025
	White Males	29	3.66	1.11			
Maidenly-Sensuous	Black Males	30	4.63	1.00	2.10	57	0.040
	White Males	29	4.10	0.94			
Submissive-Controlling	Black Males	30	4.37	0.89	2.75	57	0.008
	White Males	29	4.97	0.78			

black and white males' ratings of femininity of black and white women, respectively, in this category. There was a tendency for males to perceive the untraditional occupation, high career achievement, and high family-orientation female (Vignette 3) as equally affectionate-cold, humble-conceited, and faithful-unfaithful. They also perceived this female as moderately self-reliant, moderately assertive, slightly strong, slightly cheerful, slightly competitive, slightly direct, slightly intimidating, slightly sensuous, slightly controlling, slightly truthful, and slightly friendly. Black and white males differed, but not significantly, on Vignette 3 perceiving black and white women as slightly feminine versus equally feminine-mannish, as equally family-oriented - career-oriented versus slightly career-oriented, and equally jealous-trusting versus slightly trusting, respectively.

On Vignette 4 (traditional occupation, moderate career achievement, high family-orientation), black and white males' perceptions of black and white females, respectively, were significantly different on the continuum of tender-strong with black males showing a tendency toward a more neutral perception of the black female in this category whereas white males tended to perceive the white female as slightly tender ($p < .03$). Black males tended to perceive black females in this same category somewhat neutrally on the continuum of maidenly-sensuous in contrast to white males' perceptions of white females in this same category who were significantly ($p < .02$) more neutral in their perceptions. The data in Table 4.2 presents these findings. There was a trend for males to perceive traditional occupation, moderate career achievement, and high family

Table 4.2

t-Test of Black and White Males' Perceptions
of Femininity of Vignette 4

(Traditional Occupation, Moderate Career Achievement,
High Family-Orientation)

Rating Scale	Group	N	\bar{X}	s.d.	t Value	df	2 Tail Probability
Tender-Strong	Black Males	30	3.47	1.11	2.27	56	0.03
	White Males	28	2.75	1.30			
Maidenly-Sensuous	Black Males	30	3.63	0.89	2.34	56	0.02
	White Males	28	4.25	1.11			

Table 4.3

Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance
on Group by Vignette
of Males' Ratings of Females

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F
Within Cells	14.33	57	.25	
Constant	3915.13	1	3915.13	155878.36713*
Group (G)		1	.04	.16
Within Cells	40.56	171	.24	
Vignette (V)	48.14	3	16.05	67.66
G x V	.94	3	.31	1.33

orientation female (Vignette 4) as equally shy-assertive, coy-direct, and submissive-controlling. They also perceived this category of female as slightly cheerful, slightly feminine, slightly supportive, slightly humble, slightly family-oriented, slightly unchallenging, slightly trusting, and slightly friendly. Black and white males differed, but not significantly, on Vignette 4, perceiving black and white women as slightly self-reliant versus equally dependent - self-reliant, as moderately affectionate versus slightly affectionate, as slightly truthful versus equally insincere-truthful, and as moderately faithful versus slightly faithful, respectively.

Further analysis indicated that no significant difference exists between black and white males' composite scores for each vignette across all feminine personality rating scales. A t-test revealed no significant differences between black and white males' perceptions of black and white females, respectively, on any of the individual vignettes.

Furthermore, a repeated measures analysis of variance with two levels of group (black and white racial identity) and the four levels of vignette indicated no significant group effect nor any significant group by vignette effect. There was a significant vignette effect ($p < .001$), as presented in Table 4.3. A Newman-Keuls analysis indicates that black and white males hold similar impressions about femininity based upon a woman's occupational choice, career achievement, and family-orientation. Vignettes 1 and 4 (low and moderate career achievements and traditional occupations) were perceived significantly different ($p < .05$) from Vignettes 2 and 3 (traditional and untraditional occupations but both high career

achievers). A woman's choice in occupation (traditional versus nontraditional) seemingly does not have as much impact on perceptions of her femininity as does her career achievement. No significant effects by groups emerge on perceptions of femininity so that black and white males' perceptions with regards to occupation, career achievement, and family-orientation are the same.

Hypothesis one stating that significant differences exist between black and white males' perceptions of black and white females, respectively, on the variable of femininity for the conditions of occupation, career achievement, and family-orientation is rejected.

Females' Perceptions of Masculinity on Vignettes

Hypothesis two stated that no significant differences would exist between black and white females' perceptions of black and white males, respectively, on the variable of masculinity for the conditions of occupation, career achievement, and family-orientation.

On Vignette 1 (moderate occupation, moderate career achievement, and low family-orientation) there were no significant differences between black and white females' ratings of masculinity. Females tended to perceive moderate occupation, moderate career achievement, and low family-orientation males (Vignette 1) as equally scrawny-athletic, passive-aggressive, inconsiderate-thoughtful, childlike-mature, unsuccessful-successful, powerless-strong, indecisive-decisive, insincere-trustworthy, insensitive-understanding, and unfaithful-faithful. They also perceived males as slightly ambitious, slightly competent, slightly friendly, slightly likable, slightly affectionate, slightly sensuous, slightly unpredictable, and

Table 4.4

t-Test of
Black and White Females' Perceptions of Masculinity
of Vignette 2

(High Occupation, High Career Achievement, and Low Family-Orientation Males)

<u>Rating Scale</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>	<u>t Value</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>2 Tail Probability</u>
Boring-Intriguing	Black Females	31	6.06	0.93	3.30	57	0.01
	White Females	28	5.14	0.21			
Insincere-Trustworthy	Black Females	31	5.58	1.03	1.98	56	0.05
	White Females	27	5.00	1.21			

Table 4.5

t-Test of
Black and White Females' Perceptions of Masculinity of Vignette 3
(Low Occupation, Moderate Career Achievement,
and High Family-Orientation Male)

Rating Scale	Group	N	\bar{X}	sd	t Value	df	2 Tail Probability
Scrawny-Athletic	Black Females	31	4.52	1.24	2.04	57	0.05
	White Females	28	3.93	0.94			
Follower-Leader	Black Females	31	4.68	1.25	2.47	57	0.02
	White Females	28	3.96	0.92			
Powerless-Strong	Black Females	31	4.77	1.26	2.24	57	0.03*
	White Females	28	3.36	0.99			
Boring-Intriguing	Black Females	31	4.19	1.56	2.43	57	0.02**
	White Females	28	3.36	0.99			

*The adjusted F value for the pooled variance estimate is significant at the 0.001 level. Therefore, the separate variance estimate is significant at the 0.02 confidence level.

**The adjusted F value for the pooled variance estimate is significant at the 0.02 level. Therefore, the separate variance estimate is significant at the 0.02 confidence level.

slightly intriguing. Black and white females differed, but not significantly, on Vignette 1, perceiving black and white males, respectively, equally as a follower-leader versus slightly a follower.

On Vignette 2 (high occupation, high career achievement, and low family-orientation), black women perceived this category of black males as moderately intriguing which significantly differed with white females who perceived this category of white males to be only slightly intriguing ($p < .01$). Black women also tended to perceive this black male as moderately trustworthy in contrast to white females who perceived this white male as only slightly trustworthy ($p < .05$). These findings are presented in Table 4.4. Females tended to perceive high occupation, moderate career achievement, and high family orientation males (Vignette 2) as moderately athletic, moderately perceived as a leader, extremely ambitious, moderately competent, moderately mature, moderately likable, slightly affectionate, slightly sensuous, moderately reliable, moderately strong, moderately decisive, slightly understanding, and slightly faithful. Black and white females differed, but not significantly on Vignette 2, perceiving black and white males, respectively, as moderately friendly versus slightly friendly, and extremely successful versus moderately successful.

On Vignette 3 (low occupation, moderate career achievement, and high family-orientation) black and white women significantly differed in their perceptions of black and white men, respectively, on the continuums of scrawny-athletic, follower-leader, powerless-strong, and boring-intriguing, as presented in Table 4.5. Black women tended to perceive the black man as slightly athletic in contrast to white females who were neutral in their opinions of the white male

($p < .05$). Black women also had a tendency to perceive the black male as slightly more of a leader in contrast to white females who were neutral in their perceptions of the white male ($p < .02$). There was a significant difference ($p < .03$) between black women's ratings of the black man as slightly strong in contrast to white females who were more neutral in their perceptions of the white male. Black females also tended to be somewhat more positive although neutral in their perceptions of the black male with regard to the boring-intriguing continuum, in contrast to white females who tended to view the white male in this same category as slightly boring ($p < .02$). Females tended to perceive low occupation, moderate career achievement, and high family-orientation males (Vignette 3) as equally passive-aggressive, and "nerd"-sensuous. There was a tendency for females to perceive this same category of males (Vignette 3) as slightly ambitious, slightly thoughtful, slightly competent, slightly friendly, slightly mature, slightly likable, slightly affectionate, slightly predictable, slightly successful, slightly decisive, slightly trustworthy, slightly understanding, and slightly faithful.

On Vignette 4 (high occupation, moderate career achievement, and moderate family-orientation), black females viewed the black male in this category as only slightly reliable in comparison to white females who tended to perceive the white male as almost moderately reliable, as presented in Table 4.6. Females tended to perceive the high occupation, moderate career achievement, and moderate family orientation male (Vignette 4) as slightly athletic, slightly aggressive, moderately ambitious, slightly thoughtful, moderately competent, slightly friendly, slightly mature, slightly likable,

slightly affectionate, slightly sensuous, moderately successful, moderately decisive, slightly trustworthy, slightly understanding, and slightly faithful. Black and white females differed, but not significantly, on Vignette 4, perceiving black and white males as moderately leaders versus slightly a leader, moderately strong versus slightly strong, and slightly intriguing versus equally boring-intriguing, respectively.

Further analysis was conducted to determine if black and white females' composite scores across all masculine personality rating scales differed with respect to each of the individual vignettes. A t-test analysis indicated no significant differences between black and white females' perceptions of black and white males, respectively, on any of the individual vignettes.

Furthermore, a repeated measure analysis of variance with two levels of group (black and white racial identity) and the four levels of vignette indicated no significant group effect nor any significant group by vignette effect. There was a significant vignette effect ($p < .001$) as presented in Table 4.7. A Newman-Keuls analysis indicates that both black and white females' impressions of masculinity differ significantly ($p < .05$), based upon a man's occupational choice, career achievement, and family-orientation for all Vignettes. Seemingly, high occupation and career achievement accounted for the significantly more positive masculine traits of Vignettes 2 and 4. Women seem to have more diverse perceptions of men, but they also have stereotypical notions.

The second hypothesis that no significant differences existed between black and white females' perceptions of black and white males,

Table 4.6

t-Test of
Black and White Females' Perceptions of Masculinity
of Vignette 4
(High Occupation, Moderate Career Achievement,
and Moderate Family-Orientation Male)

<u>Rating Scale</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>	<u>t Value</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>2 Tail Probability</u>
Unpredictable- Reliable	Black Females	31	5.03	1.14	2.24	56	0.03
	White Females	27	5.63	0.83			

Table 4.7

Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance on Group
by Vignette of Females' Ratings of Masculinity

<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>ss</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Within Cells	64.22	57	1.127	
Constant	5941.08	1	5941.08	5273.44*
Group (G)	1.08	1	1.08	.96
Within Cells	56.18	171	.33	
Vignette (V)	71.49	3	23.83	72.53
G x V	.33	3	.11	.33

*p < .001

respectively, on the variable of masculinity for the conditions of occupation, career achievement, and family-orientation is therefore accepted.

Males' Preconceptions of Career Status, Gender Traits, Family Roles, and Sexuality

Hypothesis three stated that a significant difference exists between black and white males' preconceptions of black and white females, respectively, on the variables of career status, gender traits, family roles, and sexuality.

Black and white males' mean scores significantly varied on the Preconception subtest in respect to career status, as presented in Table 4.8. Black males tended to feel that black females had a slight advantage in employment opportunities whereas white males felt that white females had equal opportunities ($p < .01$). Black males also tended to view black females' role in the labor force as slightly more often for economic reasons in contrast to white males who tended to feel that white females participated in the labor force equally for economic reasons and personal fulfillment ($p < .01$). Black men tended to slightly disagree with the notion that Affirmative Action programs give black women an unfair advantage in the labor force in contrast to white males who were neutral about their perceptions of white women's advantage in the labor force ($p < .01$).

Black and white males also showed variance in their preconceptions about gender traits, as presented in Table 4.8. Black males felt that black women place moderate importance on their appearance in contrast to white males who felt that white females

Table 4.8
t-Test of
Black and White Males' Preconceptions
of Career Status and Gender Traits

CAREER STATUS	Group	N	\bar{X}	sd
Women's opportunities for obtaining higher education in contrast to men's opportunities***	Black Males	30	3.57	0.90
	White Males	29	3.00	0.60
Primary reason that women participate in the labor market***	Black Males	30	2.47	1.11
	White Males	39	3.14	0.74
Affirmative Action programs give women an unfair advantage in the labor market	Black Males	30	2.53	1.89
	White Males	28	3.96	1.73
Average level of education for a man in contrast to the average for a woman**** †	Black Males	29	2.72	.80
	White Males	29	3.62	.49
<u>GENDER TRAITS</u>				
Women put great importance on their appearance**	Black Males	30	5.93	1.02
	White Males	29	5.31	1.17
Women are very intelligent**	Black Males	30	4.47	1.50
	White Males	29	4.41	1.15
Humble-Conceited*	Black Males	29	3.90	0.67
	White Males	28	3.50	0.84

* p < .05

** p < .03

*** p < .01

**** p < .001

† Note: The adjusted F value for the pooled variance estimate is significant at the .01 level. Therefore, the separate variance estimate is significant at the .001 confidence level.

placed only slight importance on their appearance ($p < .03$). Black men also perceive black women as slightly intelligent in contrast to white males who felt that white females are somewhat less so ($p < .03$). Black men were more ambivalent in their ratings of black women on the continuum of humble-conceited whereas white males were also ambivalent but there was a trend to perceive white females as a little more humble ($p < .05$).

There were no significant differences between black and white males' preconceptions with regard to family roles and sexuality.

Further t-test analysis revealed that no significant difference exists on a composite score comparison of gender traits on the Preconception subtest between black and white males.

Males' preconceptions generally tended to be similar, however. Of the ten items on careers, only four were significant. Males generally had the same preconceptions about females' careers. Males perceived women as indifferent about their careers, as generally earning slightly less than the average man, and as balanced in their preference for marital versus career development. Males were uncertain of the impact women's having equivalent or more education and/or career accomplishments would have on their ability to be supportive, or whether it would create competition in their relationships. Black and white males differed, but not significantly, on their preconceptions about women's careers on two items, perceiving black and white females, respectively, as slightly more motivated for high prestige jobs versus perceiving them as neither high nor low in their motivation for high prestige jobs. Black and white males' preconceptions about black and white females, respectively, were also

different, but not significantly, with regards to the likelihood that a friend would compete for the same job with black males responding that black women would tend to pursue the job but reluctantly whereas white males were uncertain as to whether white females would pursue or withdraw from the job competition. Black males feel that their average level of education is less than that of black females, in contrast with white males who felt they equalled or were superior in education to white females ($p < .001$).

On the twenty-eight items regarding gender traits, only three items were significant. Males generally perceived women similarly. They tended to feel that women equally do and do not initiate relationships. Black and white men differed, but not significantly, in terms of black and white women, respectively, with black men slightly agreeing that black women are characterized by attributes like gentle, soft, tender, delicate whereas white males neither agreed nor disagreed with this perception. Black and white males tended to feel that black and white women were neither aloof nor receptive to meeting men with black males perceiving them as only slightly more receptive. Men slightly agreed with the statement that women have a variety of interests and experiences that stimulate conversations. Men also agreed that women are knowledgeable about social etiquette.

Males' experiences in their relationships were similar. Males experienced women as slightly supportive, slightly agreeable to engaging in varied sexual acts, slightly genuine, slightly affectionate, slightly assertive, slightly sensuous, slightly truthful, moderately likable, moderately feminine, and slightly faithful. Males perceived females as neither overbearing nor aloof,

as equally tender-strong, moody-cheerful, submissive-domineering, jealous-trusting, family oriented-career oriented, and unchallenging-intimidating. Black and white males differed, but not significantly, perceiving black and white women as slightly self-reliant versus equally dependent - self-reliant, and as slightly direct versus equally coy-direct, respectively. Overall, males tended to perceive women as equally traditionally feminine-untraditionally feminine with regards to personality traits.

There were no significant differences in how males perceived women's family roles. Men felt women were moderately involved with their families. Black and white males differed, but not significantly, in their preconceptions about black and white females, respectively, perceiving black women as slightly domineering whereas white males felt white females were equally passive and domineering in their family roles.

Males had similar preconceptions about women's sexuality. Men slightly agreed with the statement that women view sex as an integral part of their relationships. They also felt that sex was mutually important for themselves as well as their partners. Men slightly disagreed with the statement that women demand too much in a relationship before they will allow sexual involvement.

The third hypothesis is rejected. Black and white males only differed significantly in their perceptions of black and white females' career status. These differences seemingly reflected real differences in black and white women's occupational roles. There was a trend for black and white males to vary somewhat in their perceptions of black and white females' gender traits, respectively, but not significantly.

Table 4.9
Significant t-test Differences Between
Black and White Females' Preconceptions of Career Status

Questions	Group	N	\bar{X}	sd
Men place more importance on their careers than on their relationships*	Black Females	31	4.52	1.50
	White Females	29	5.28	1.22
Men are competent in their jobs****	Black Females	31	5.77	1.18
	White Females	28	4.36	1.13
The amount of energy men devote to developing their careers****	Black Females	31	3.32	0.87
	White Females	28	4.11	0.63
Men have more opportunities for employment and career development****	Black Females	30	3.33	1.17
	White Females	28	5.79	1.63
Men's opportunities in obtaining higher education in contrast to women's opportunities****	Black Females	31	2.71	0.82
	White Females	29	3.38	0.62
Men's earnings in contrast to women's****	Black Females	31	5.10	1.49
	White Females	29	6.31	0.76
The average level of education for a woman in contrast to the average for a man**	Black Females	30	3.20	.09
	White Females	28	2.71	.66

*p < .05
 **p < .02
 ****p < .0001

Females' Preconceptions of Career Status, Gender Traits, Family Roles and Sexuality

Hypothesis four stated that significant differences existed between black and white females' preconceptions of black and white males, respectively, on the variables of career status and gender traits.

There were significant differences on seven of the eight career status items. The mean preconceptions scores are presented in Table 4.9. Black and white females slightly agreed with the statement that black and white men, respectively, place more importance on their careers than on their relationships; however, white females felt more strongly so ($p < .05$). Black women moderately agreed with the statement that black men are competent in their jobs whereas white females neither agreed nor disagreed with this statement ($p < .001$). Black women were uncertain about how much energy black men devote to developing their careers versus white females who felt that white males devoted a sufficient amount of time ($p < .001$). White females moderately agreed with the statement that men have more opportunities for employment and career development, whereas black females slightly disagreed with the same statement with regards to black males ($p < .001$). Black and white women felt that black and white men, respectively, had equal opportunities for obtaining higher education; however, black women felt less strongly this way than did white women ($p < .001$). Black women felt black men's earnings were slightly higher than theirs whereas white females felt that white males' incomes were moderately higher than theirs ($p < .001$). Black females felt that their average level of education is higher than that of

Table 4.10

Significant t-test Differences Between
Black and White Females' Preconceptions of Gender Traits

<u>Questions</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Men are not demonstrable with their affection***	Black Females	31	3.03	1.60
	White Females	28	4.11	1.34
Men are very capable of being supportive to me and understanding of my feelings**	Black Females	31	4.94	1.46
	White Females	28	4.00	1.61
Men place great importance on being well-groomed***	Black Females	30	5.57	1.07
	White Females	28	4.64	1.28
Men are assertive in initiating relationships***	Black Females	31	5.29	1.51
	White Females	29	4.21	1.18

**p < .01

***p < .001

black males whereas white females felt equal to white males ($p < .02$).

Both black and white females had similar preconceptions of black and white males on two career status items. Women slightly agreed with the statement that men are successful in their careers. Women also slightly agreed with the statement that men actively compete for high prestige jobs.

There were significant differences on only five of the thirteen gender trait items as presented in Table 4.10. Black women slightly disagreed with the statement that black men are not demonstrable with their affection in contrast to white females who were neutral with regards to their perceptions of white males ($p < .01$). Black women also slightly agreed with the statement that black men are vary capable of being supportive and understanding whereas white females were neutral with regards to white males on this statement ($p < .02$). Black women moderately agreed with the statement that black men place great importance on being well-groomed versus white females who only slightly agreed with the same statement with respect to white males ($p < .001$). Black women slightly agreed with the statement that black men are assertive in initiating relationships versus white women who were neutral in their preconception about white males ($p < .001$). Black and white females had similar attitudes about black and white males, respectively, on the majority of items. Neither black nor white females agreed or disagreed with the statement that black or white men, respectively, appreciate women who initiate relationships, but black females tended to disagree with this statement more so than did white females who tended towards agreeing with this statement. Females had neutral preconceptions with regards to men not informing

them when they have a change of plans. Females slightly agreed with the statement that most men do not express their emotions well verbally. Females moderately agreed with the statement that a man's behaving in a socially appropriate manner in public was an important consideration for a relationship. They slightly disagreed with the statement that men devote a lot of time to numerous courting behaviors such as bringing flowers, petting, and verbal affirmations.

Black and white females differed, but not significantly, in their preconceptions of black and white males with regards to the statement that men respect their expectations of appropriate dating behaviors with white females tending to respond neutrally and black females slightly agreeing. Black and white females also differed somewhat in their perception of the prevalence of homosexuality among black and white men. Black women slightly disagree with the statement that homosexuality is extremely prevalent among black men while white females were neutral relative to perceptions of white males. Black women tended toward moderately agreeing with the preconception that black men adhere to the traditional masculine role whereas white females slightly agreed with this statement with regards to white males although the difference was not significant.

There were no significant differences between black and white females' sexual preconceptions on the two items. Females responded neutrally to the statement that many men date primarily to have a sexual partner. However, black females tended toward feeling that black men as sexual partners were physically gratifying but not emotionally gratifying whereas white females tended towards feeling that white males were emotionally gratifying but not physically gratifying. This difference was not significant.

Table 4.11

Significant t-test Differences Between
Black and White Females' Preconceptions of Family Roles

<u>Question</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
In family life, men tend to be passive-dominating****	Black Females	28	5.29	1.08
	White Females	28	4.32	0.77

****p < .0001

Table 4.12
Black and White Females' Experiences
in Their Relationships

<u>Rating Scale</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Unfaithful-Faithful*	Black Females	31	4.03	1.76
	White Females	29	5.34	1.14

*The adjusted F value for the pooled variance estimate is significant at the .02 level. Therefore, the separate variance estimate is significant at the .001 confidence level.

Of the two items on family roles, only one was significant (see Table 4.11). Black females perceive black males as slightly domineering in their family roles whereas white females perceive white males as more likely to be neither passive nor domineering ($p < .001$). On the other item, black females tended toward perceiving black males as slightly involved in their families whereas white females perceive white males as neither involved nor uninvolved but this was not significant.

Black and white women had the same general experiences in their relationships with black and white men, respectively, with the exception of one significant item of the fourteen items (see Table 4.12). Black women were neutral in response to the continuum of unfaithful-faithful versus white females who experienced white males as slightly faithful ($p < .001$). Females generally perceived males as slightly domineering, slightly genuine, slightly thoughtful, moderately friendly, slightly strong, slightly decisive, slightly trustworthy, and slightly understanding.

Black and white women differed in their general experience of men, but not significantly, with black women rating black men as slightly mature versus white women tending toward perceiving white males as equally childlike-mature. There was a trend for black females to experience black males as moderately affectionate versus white females who tended toward rating white males as slightly affectionate. Black females also tend to experience black males as moderately sensuous versus white females who tend toward rating white males as slightly sensuous. Black females also tend to rate black males as moderately intriguing versus white females who tended to rate white males as slightly intriguing.

Table 4.13

Chi-Square Analysis of
Black and White Males' Relationship History

With most of the women you have dated, what did you anticipate would happen in the relationship?

	<u>Thought Mate</u> <u>Would be Exploitive</u>	<u>Thought Mate</u> <u>Might Usually</u> <u>be Insincere</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Thought Mate</u> <u>Would Usually</u> <u>be Honest</u>	<u>Thought Mate</u> <u>Would Always</u> <u>Be Honest</u>	<u>ROW</u> <u>TOTAL</u>
Black Males			7	23		30
White Males		1	5	14	7	27
COLUMN TOTAL		1	12	37	7	
PERCENTAGE		1.8	21.1	64.9	12.3	

p < .02

Collapsing across all items related to women's experiences in their relationships, there was no race effect.

The fourth hypothesis, that significant differences exist between black and white females' preconceptions of black and white males, respectively, on the variables of career status and gender traits, is rejected. There was a significant race effect on career status items; however, gender items only suggest a trend for black and white females to significantly differ.

Males' Relationship, Sexual, and Dating Histories

Hypothesis five stated that there are significant differences between black and white males' relationships, sexual, and dating histories.

Of the twenty-one relationship history items, only one was significant, as presented in Table 4.13. Black and white males significantly differed ($p < .02$) in their expectations of women's intents in a relationship. The majority of black men (41.4%) thought black women would usually be honest about their intents. The remainder of black men surveyed (12.6%) were undecided. Only 25.2% of white males felt that white women would usually be honest about their intents. The remainder of white males felt that women would always be honest (12.6%). Males agreed that they tend to select women with the same qualities as those they desire women to have when considering a serious relationship. Half of all men (49.2%) surveyed would enter a serious relationship during their preparation for a career. Men usually (37.9%) have had zero to five relationships since 18 years old and the majority of men (72.4%) have had ten or fewer relationships.

Most men (67.2%) agreed with the statement that women desire committed relationships. An overwhelming number of men (76.1%) would be uncomfortable with a woman who had not completed high school; however, only 4.3% would be uncomfortable with a woman who had completed a doctoral degree. Most men (58.5%) specified that the woman's income bracket at any level was acceptable.

The majority of men (93%) reported that women usually do not or never end relationships without an explanation. In addition, men (46.4%) most often desire steady relationships. The primary reason why most men (42.3%) reported their previous relationships ended was because they were not ready for a commitment. Another 30.8% of men reported that most of their previous relationships had ended because the woman had different values from their own. Men (40%) feel that they are very knowledgeable about the woman (her family, political beliefs, value system, personality style, personal goals--career and marital, her other relationships--friends and coworkers, and sexual desires) with whom they have relationships. Most men (44.6%) consider between ages 29-31 as optimal for marriage while 82.1% of men feel that marriage is optimal at 31 years of age or below. Of those men surveyed that are involved in relationships, the majority (33.9%) are involved in relationships where neither dates anyone else. Another sizeable percentage (32.1%) are in relationships in which both mates date someone else. A considerable number of men (16.1%) were not currently dating, while 12.5% of men were in relationships where they dated other people but their mates did not. Most men (60.7%) agreed that women are willing to discuss problems that arise in their relationships. There were no significant differences between black

and white males in the frequency with which they spent time with the person they were involved (nine days for black males and thirteen days for white males). On average, black males have contact with the person they are involved with approximately eleven days out of thirty whereas white males spend fourteen days out of thirty. The amount of contact spent was not significantly different between the two groups. Black males spent approximately fourteen months without being involved in a relationship, in contrast to approximately nineteen months among white males. Men (50%) reported that they usually receive gifts from women with whom they have relationships.

Black and white males' dating behaviors are not significantly different, either. Many men (40.4%) strongly disagreed that parents (or significant adult figures) emphasized differences between "women you marry" and "those you have fun with." Another 36.8% disagreed. Only 19.3% agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. Men (45.8%) also felt that opportunities for meeting desirable women were usually available with another 10.2% of men feeling they were abundant. Interestingly, there was a sizeable percentage of men (44%) who felt that opportunities were usually not available or were not available at all. Most men go on six dates a month. Although not significant, the longest period black males spend without dating is approximately five months, whereas white males spend approximately seven months. Most men (89.6%) usually are not or never are stood up for a date.

Black males differed significantly ($p < .0001$) from white males with regards to the age of first sexual intercourse, as presented in Table 4.14. The average age of black males having intercourse for the first time is approximately 13 years, in contrast to white males who

Table 4.14

t-Test of
Age at First Sexual Intercourse
for Blacks and Whites

<u>Group</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Black Males	23	13.30*	4.83
White Males	23	18.43*	1.78
Black Females	25	18.56	1.53
White Females	19	19.16	1.90

*The adjusted F value for the pooled variance estimate is significant at the .001 level. Therefore, the separate variance estimate is significant at the .001 confidence level.

usually have intercourse for the first time at approximately .18 years of age. Black and white males, however, did not differ in how they felt about most of their sexual relationships. The majority of men (79.3%) were usually satisfied with their sexual relationships in contrast to 5.2% who were usually dissatisfied and 13.8% who were undecided.

With regards to cohabiting, men reported never living with a woman in 44.8% of the cases. The majority of men (51.7%), however, reported cohabiting once or twice in their lives. The primary reason for cohabiting was a mutual wish for a more intense relationship, which was reported by 41.5% of the men. Companionship was the second most prevalent reason for cohabiting (44.1%). Greater sexual access was the third most frequent choice (45.5%).

A large percentage of men (41.8%) have never had a relationship with a woman of another ethnic group. Approximately 38% of all relationships reported by men have included 25% or greater than 1% of women from another ethnic group. Reports of 75% or more of all relationships involving women from another ethnic group were indicated by 11.1% of men surveyed. More than half of all men have been involved in at least one relationship with a woman from another ethnic group. Men (44.7%) primarily reported personal attraction as the reason for dating a woman outside their ethnic group. Another large percentage (34.2%) stated that they did not consider ethnicity a factor in mate selection.

The majority of black males (70%) have had at least one relationship with a woman from another ethnic group. Most of the women (67%) were white, 43% Hispanic, 14% were Asian-Americans, 5%

were Indian nationals, 10% were American Indians, and 10% were African nationals. Only 45% of white males had had a relationship with at least one woman from another ethnic group. White males equally dated black and Hispanic women (45%) while 27% dated Asian-American women. Black males significantly ($p < .01$) more often had relationships with women from other ethnic groups than white males.

Males responded similarly to questions about platonic relationships with other men and relationships with parents. Most men (61.4%) reported having at least one or two male friends whom they can confide in. Almost all men (75.5%) reported having at least one or two friends or several friends with whom to confide. However, the remainder of men surveyed (24.5%) have no friends with whom to confide, or felt uncertain. Men (52.8%) share most things about their personal lives with platonic male friends while some 34% reported limited sharing about their personal lives.

Most men (40%) talk in general about events and sometimes discuss in detail their personal interest with their fathers. Other men (26%) felt distant from their fathers, seldom talking about current events and never discussing personal interest or problems. In contrast, some 24% of men talk in detail about personal and career interests as well as discuss current events with their fathers. Men's relationships with their mothers seemed quite different. Half of all men (50%) talked in detail about personal and career interest as well as discussed current events with their mothers while another 42.3% talk in general about events and sometimes discuss in detail personal interest and problems.

Table 4.15

Chi-Square Analysis of Black and White Females' Relationship Histories

Women's anticipation of men's sincerity in relationships

	Thought Mate Would be Exploitive	Thought Mate Might Usually be Insincere	Undecided	Thought Mate Would usually be Honest	Thought Mate Would Always be Honest	RAW TOTAL
Black Females	0	6	2	20	2	30
White Females	0	0	1	21	6	28
COLUMN TOTAL	0	6	3	41	8	58
PERCENTAGE	0	10.3	5.2	70.7	13.8	100

p < .04

Frequency with which black and white women have relationships with men less successful economically/professionally

	Never	Usually do not	Indifferent	Usually do	Always do	RAW TOTAL
Black Females	2	13	5	10	0	30
White Females	5	14	7	1	0	27
COLUMN TOTAL	7	27	12	11	0	57
PERCENTAGE	12.3	47.4	21.1	19.3	0	100

p < .03

*Since age 18 years, what is the longest period you have spent without being involved in a relationship or dating?**

	N	\bar{X}	sd
Black Females	30	13.80	10.13
White Females	28	7.79	6.46

p < .01

The fifth hypothesis that significant differences exist between black and white males' relationship, sexual, and dating histories is rejected. Significant differences seemingly exist only in the age of the first sexual intercourse between black and white males.

Females' Dating, Relationship, and Sexual Histories

Hypothesis six states that significant differences exist between black and white females' dating and relationship histories.

Of the 25 relationship items, three items were significantly different, as presented in Table 4.15. More black women (13.6%) anticipated that men usually might be insincere in most relationships in contrast to 13.6% of white females who anticipated that white men would always be honest in most of their relationships ($p < .04$). However, the majority of black and white women thought black and white men, respectively, would usually be honest about their intents in a relationship. Black women more frequently have relationships with black men who are less successful professionally/economically versus white females who more often never or usually do not have relationships with white males who are less successful professionally/economically ($p < .03$). Black women spend approximately 14 months without dating or being in a relationship in contrast to white females who spend approximately 8 months ($p < .01$).

Surprisingly, black and white women generally felt the same about their relationships. Most women (51.7%) agreed that they select men with qualities that they would desire if interested in a man for a serious relationship. Another 35% strongly agreed with this statement. Women (56.9%) would also choose to enter into a serious

relationship if they met someone in the midst of career preparation. Some women (19%) would consider entering a serious relationship only upon completion of career goals.

The majority of women (45.8%) have had zero to five relationships while another 39% have had six to ten relationships. Women (44.8%) generally disagree with the statement that men do not desire commitment in a relationship, but another sizeable percentage (31%) agree. Men usually do not end relationships rather abruptly without explanation as indicated by 54.2% of women. Another 33.9% indicated that men never end relationships rather abruptly without explanation. Women equally (37.3%) wished for a steady relationships as they did a monogamous, committed relationship, indicating that 74.6% of all women wish their relationships would be stable. When growing up, women (44.1%) reported receiving few warnings or none (23.7%) that men do not have sincere intents in relationships. Some women (22%) reported frequent warnings to this effect.

Women (62.1%) would feel most uncomfortable with a man who had less than a high school education. Women (20%) also reported that they would be uncomfortable with a man with a high school diploma while 12.1% would be uncomfortable with a man who had a Bachelor's degree. Similarly, women (45.6%) would feel uncomfortable with a man who earned \$9,000 annually or less while another 29.8% felt uncomfortable with men who earned between \$9,000-\$18,000.

Most women (47.4%) reported that the primary reasons their previous relationships had ended was the lack of readiness for a commitment. Another 21.1% indicated a difference in values as the reason why most of their relationships had ended. Separation because

of relocation and incompatibility with mate's interests, friends or sexual practices represented the remaining 14% of women's rationales for most relationships ending.

Women (83.1%) overwhelmingly feel that one of the most important qualities for companionship is a man who is willing to discuss things regardless of outcome. Only 13.6% of women wanted a man who usually respected their wishes although at times they (the women) would allow things to go his way. Women (61.4%) usually become very knowledgeable about the men (his family, political beliefs, value system, personality style, personal goals--career and marital, his other relationships--friends and coworkers, and sexual desires) they have relationships with.

Most women (53.4%) consider between 26-28 as optimal years for marriage while another 24.1% consider between ages 29-31 as optimal. Most women (33.3%) indicated that they are involved in relationships where neither mate dates anyone else. Yet, some 25.9% are in relationships where the man dates someone else and 27.8% of women surveyed are currently not dating.

Women were ambivalent about men being willing to discuss problems when they arise in relationships with 38.6% indicating men as willing and 38% indicating them as unwilling. Most women (44.6%) feel men are considerate while 35.7% felt they were somewhat inconsiderate. Women (47.5%) usually receive gifts from men while another 39% indicated they usually do not.

White females reported seeing the person they are involved with on the average of 9 times a month in contrast to black women who reported contact approximately 13 times a month. This was not

significantly different. There was no significant difference in the number of dates a month, 6 for white females and 5 for black females.

Black and white females did not differ in sexual histories, as presented in Table 4.14. The mean age for first sexual intercourse for both is 19 years old. Most women (63.8%), also, usually felt satisfied about most of their sexual relationships, with another 13.8% expressing that they were always satisfied and 15.5% expressing that they were dissatisfied.

Most (50.8%) women have never cohabited with a man. Some 39% have done so once or twice. A few women (3.4%) considered doing so but decided against it. Only 6.8% have cohabited with three or more men. Primarily, women (40%) cohabited because there was a mutual wish for a more intense relationship. The second most prevalent reason for cohabiting was for companionship.

Women also did not differ in their relationships with members of other ethnic groups. Most women (63.8%) have never had a relationship with a man from another ethnic group while 29.3% of women said that 25% or fewer of their relationships have been with men from other ethnic groups. Approximately half (48%) of all black women have had a relationship with a man from another ethnic group. This result was significantly different ($p < .03$) from that for white women. Most black females (43%) have had a relationship with white males while 24% reported a relationship with Hispanic males, 5% with American Indians and 14% each with Asian-American and African national males. Among white females, some 45% had had relationships with men from other ethnic groups. White females more frequently (23%) had relationships with Hispanic men than any other group. A few (15%) reported having

relationships with black males while 8% reported dating Asian Americans and African nationals equally. Both black and white women (68.8%) indicated attraction as the primary reason they chose to enter relationships with men from another ethnic group. Women equally felt that ethnicity was not important as a consideration of mate selection or that there was a shortage of men of their own ethnic group (26.1%) as a secondary reason.

Females responded similarly to questions about platonic relationships with men and relationships with parents. Some 93.3% reportedly have one or more platonic male friend. Only 3.5% reported that they did not share anything about their personal life with their platonic male friend in contrast to 31.6% who reported limited sharing about their personal lives, 42.1% who reported usually sharing most things about their personal lives, and 22.8% who reported sharing everything about their personal lives with at least one platonic male friend.

With regards to women's relationships with their fathers, an equal percentage (36.8%) felt they could talk in general about events and sometimes discuss in detail personal interest and problems, or felt they could talk in detail about personal and career interest as well as discuss current events, respectively. Only 1.8% reported having no relationship with their fathers and 21.1% reported a distant relationship, seldom talking about current events and never discussing personal interest and problems. A small percentage (3.5%) were uncertain about what type of relationship they had with their fathers. Most women felt slightly more positive about relationships with their mothers with 51.7% indicating that they talk in detail about personal

and career interest as well as discuss current events. Another 41.4% reported talking in general about events and sometimes discussing in detail personal interest and problems while 3.4% felt distant in their relationships with their mothers and 1.7% reported being uncertain about the quality of their maternal relationships.

The sixth hypothesis was rejected for differences existing between black and white females' dating and relationship histories.

Skin Color and Salience of Facial Features

The following section will deal with the presentation of the results of Experiment 2. The data was analyzed using a one-way analysis of variance with three levels of photograph set numbers for males and females, respectively.

Black Females' Perceptions of Male Photographs Rating Masculinity

Hypothesis one stated that there would be significant differences in black females' perceptions of masculinity with regard to variations in skin color and salient black features.

Black females significantly differed in rating black males in the continuum of scrawny-athletic, as presented in Table 4.16. Dark-skinned black males with the most salient facial features were perceived as neither scrawny nor athletic in contrast to the medium skin color with medium features male who was perceived as slightly athletic, and the light-skinned with the least salient facial features who was considered as most athletic although still within the slightly athletic range ($F=12.58$, $p < .001$).

Black females significantly differed on the follower-leader continuum, as presented in Table 4.17, perceiving the dark-skinned

Table 4.16

Analysis of Variance of Scrawny-Athletic Continuum
Varying Black Males' Skin Color and the Saliency of Facial Features

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	25	5.32	0.95
Group 2	26	4.54	1.10
Group 3	27	4	1.78
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>4.60</u>	<u>1.09</u>

F = 12.580, p < .001

Table 4.17

Analysis of Variance of Follower-Leader Continuum
Varying Black Males' Skin Color and the Saliency of Facial Features

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	25	5.00	1.04
Group 2	26	4.62	0.80
Group 3	27	4.11	1.25
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>4.56</u>	<u>1.10</u>

F = 4.690, p < .01

Table 4.18

Analysis of Variance of Unmotivated-Ambitious Continuum
Varying Black Males' Skin Color and the Saliency of Facial Features

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	25	5.08	1.04
Group 2	26	5.50	0.86
Group 3	27	4.22	1.15
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>4.92</u>	<u>1.15</u>

F = 10.695, p < .0001

male with the most salient facial features as equally a follower or leader in contrast to the medium skin color black male with medium facial features who was perceived as slightly a leader. The light-skinned black male with the least salient facial features was perceived more as a leader although still within the slightly a leader category ($F=4.69$, $p < .01$).

Black females on the continuum of unmotivated-ambitious rated the medium skin color with medium features black male as moderately motivated, the light-skinned with the least salient black facial features black male as slightly motivated and the dark-skinned with the most salient black facial features male as neither ambitious nor unmotivated ($F=10.695$, $p < .0001$). These findings are presented in Table 4.18.

Black females rated the medium-skinned black male with medium facial features as moderately likable in contrast to the light-skinned with the least salient black facial features male who was considered slightly likable (not significantly different from medium male statistically). The dark-skinned with the most salient black facial features male was rated as slightly likable although the least likable among the three ($F=3.93$, $p < .03$). See Table 4.19 for findings.

Black females rated black males on the continuum of "nerd"-sensuous with the light-skinned with the least salient facial features male rated as slightly sensuous in contrast to the medium-skinned with moderately salient black facial features and dark-skinned with the most salient facial features males whom black women were neutral towards ($F=6.564$, $p < .002$). There was a tendency to perceive the dark-skinned male with the most salient facial

Table 4.19
Analysis of Variance of Unlikeable-Likeable Continuum
Varying Black Males' Skin Color and the Saliency of Facial Features

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	25	5.40	0.87
Group 2	26	5.54	1.21
Group 3	27	4.81	0.88
TOTAL	78	5.24	1.03

$F = 3.943, p < .02$

Table 4.20
Analysis of Variance of Nerd-Sensuous Continuum
Varying Black Males' Skin Color and the Saliency of Facial Features

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	25	4.88	1.05
Group 2	26	4.42	1.14
Group 3	27	3.81	1.00
TOTAL	78	4.36	1.14

$F = 6.564, p < .002$

Table 4.21
Analysis of Variance of Unsuccessful-Successful Continuum
Varying Black Males' Skin Color and the Saliency of Facial Features

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	24	5.38	0.92
Group 2	26	5.35	1.06
Group 3	27	4.52	1.09
TOTAL	77	5.06	1.09

$F = 5.875, p < .01$

Table 4.22
Analysis of Variance of Boring-Intriguing Continuum
Varying Black Males' Skin Color and the Saliency of Facial Features

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	25	5.08	1.22
Group 2	26	4.65	1.32
Group 3	27	3.67	1.30
TOTAL	78	4.45	1.40

$F = 3.356, p < .001$

features as more of a "nerd" in contrast to the medium-skinned with medium facial features male whose score tended towards the sensuous continuum (see Table 4.20).

Black females rated both the light-skinned with the least salient facial features male and the medium-skinned with moderately salient facial features male as slightly successful, with the light-skinned male rated slightly higher but not significantly so. The dark-skinned with the most salient facial features male was also seen as slightly successful but received the lowest rating ($F=5.875$, $p < .004$), as presented in Table 4.21.

Black females rated both the light-skinned with the least salient facial features and the medium-skinned with moderately salient facial features males as slightly intriguing. The light-skinned male was considered significantly ($F=8.356$, $p < .001$) more intriguing than the medium-skinned male. The dark-skinned with the most salient facial features black male was perceived as neither boring nor intriguing but his ratings were more weighted towards the boring continuum. These findings are presented in Table 4.

There was no significant difference based upon skin color and salience of black facial features on 12 of the 19 scales. Black women generally perceived dark- and medium-skinned black males as neutral on the continuum of passive-aggressive with the light-skinned male with the least salient features as slightly aggressive, but this was not significant. Black women generally perceived all groups as slightly thoughtful. Black women perceived the medium skin color with moderate facial features male as slightly competent in contrast to the dark-skinned with the most salient black facial features and the

light-skinned with the least salient facial features males, who were both rated neutrally on the incompetent-competent continuum. Black females rated the medium skin black male as moderately friendly in contrast to light- and dark-skinned males who were perceived as slightly friendly. The dark-skinned male was rated as friendlier on this item than the light-skinned male but not significantly. Black females rated the medium- and dark-skinned males as slightly mature with the dark-skinned male rated as more mature than the medium-skinned black male. The light-skinned with the least salient facial features male was rated as moderately mature but not significantly so. Females rated the medium- and light-skinned male as slightly affectionate in contrast to the dark-skinned male who was rated as neither cold nor affectionate. Females rated all categories of males as slightly reliable, slightly strong, slightly decisive, slightly trustworthy, slightly understanding, and slightly faithful.

Black females' perceptions of masculinity after collapsing all 19 items significantly differ according to variations in skin color and the saliency of black facial features. All males are perceived as slightly masculine but the light-skinned male was perceived as the most masculine, the medium-skinned male rated second while the dark-skinned male was rated the least masculine among the categories ($F=5.316$, $p < .01$), as presented in Table 4.23.

The first hypothesis is accepted for black females' perceptions of masculinity being affected by variations in skin color and saliency of black facial features.

Table 4.23
Analysis of Variance of Composite Score
of Masculinity and Positive Personality Attributes Rating Scale Continuums
Varying Black Males' Skin Color and the Saliency of Black Facial Features

	N	\bar{X}	sd
Group 1	25	5.08	0.64
Group 2	26	5.00	0.67
Group 3	27	4.57	0.51
TOTAL	78	4.88	0.64

F = 5.316, p < .01

Table 4.24
Analysis of Variance
of Black Females' Ratings of Attractiveness of Black Males' Hair

	N	\bar{X}	sd
Group 1	25	5.24	1.33
Group 2	26	4.19	1.23
Group 3	27	2.92	1.23
TOTAL	77	4.10	1.57

F = 21.468, p < .0001

Table 4.25
Analysis of Variance
of Black Females' Ratings of the Attractiveness of Black Males' Eyes

	N	\bar{X}	sd
Group 1	25	5.44	1.16
Group 2	25	4.76	1.48
Group 3	25	3.40	1.29
TOTAL	75	4.53	1.55

F = 15.572, p < .0001

Black Females' Ratings of Black Male Attractiveness

The second hypothesis stated that significant differences existed in black females' perceptions of attractiveness with regard to variations in skin color and saliency of black facial features.

Black females significantly differed with regards to their ratings of the attractiveness of black males' facial features and skin color. Black females rated the hair of the light-skinned male as significantly more attractive than that of the medium- or dark-skinned male. The light-skinned male's hair was considered slightly attractive, the medium-skinned male's hair was rated as neither unattractive nor attractive, and the dark-skinned male's hair was considered slightly unattractive ($p < .0001$), as presented in Table 4.24.

Black females rated the light-skinned male's eyes as slightly attractive but more so than the medium-skinned male's eyes which were considered slightly attractive. They rated the dark-skinned male's eyes as slightly unattractive ($F=21.468$, $p < .0001$), as presented in Table 4.25

Black females rated the least salient lips as slightly attractive but more so than the moderate sized lips which were also considered slightly attractive, while rating the most salient lips as slightly unattractive ($F=15.572$, $p < .0001$), as presented in Table 4.26.

Black females rated the moderate nose size and the thin nose as slightly attractive with the moderate sized nose being rated slightly more attractive, while rating the broad nose as slightly unattractive ($F=20.798$, $p < .0001$), as presented in Table 4.27.

Table 4.26
Analysis of Variance
of Black Females' Ratings of the Attractiveness of Black Males' Lip Size

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	25	5.04	1.17
Group 2	26	4.85	1.08
Group 3	26	2.88	1.80
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>4.25</u>	<u>1.69</u>

F = 18.969, p < .0001

Table 4.27
Analysis of Variance
of Black Females' Ratings of Attractiveness of Black Males' Nose Size

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	25	4.60	1.26
Group 2	26	4.77	1.21
Group 3	26	2.58	1.58
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>3.97</u>	<u>1.68</u>

F = 20.798, p < .0001

Table 4.28
Analysis of Variance
of Black Females' Ratings of the Attractiveness of Black Males' Skin Color

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	24	3.79	1.44
Group 2	25	5.72	1.02
Group 3	26	4.85	1.46
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>4.80</u>	<u>1.52</u>

F = 12.994, p < .0001

Medium skin color was considered moderately attractive, the highest rating of all categories. The dark skin color was rated as slightly attractive while the light skin color was neither unattractive nor attractive ($F=12.994$, $p < .0001$), as presented in Table 4.28.

Overall, the medium-skinned male with moderately salient facial features and the light-skinned with the least salient facial features were both rated as slightly attractive. The dark-skinned male with the most salient black facial features was rated as slightly unattractive which significantly differed ($F=26.309$, $p < .0001$) from the other two categories, as presented in Table 4.29.

The second hypothesis is accepted with significant differences in ratings of attractiveness based on variations of skin color and saliency of black facial features. Generally, the darker the skin color and the more salient the facial features the more unattractive black females rated black males.

Subjects rated skin color and saliency of facial features to determine if three distinct categories existed as was the goal of the author. These findings are presented in Tables 4.30 - 4.34. Females perceived differences in hair length of the males. Both light-skinned and medium-skinned males' hair was considered moderately short. The dark-skinned males' hair was considered extremely short ($F=7.742$, $p < .001$). There was no reality to the difference in hair length among males as perceived by female subjects. Subjects rated the lip sizes of the males appropriately from slightly thin, medium to moderately broad ($F=58.141$, $p < .0001$). Females rated the moderate features male as having a medium size nose and the light-skinned

Table 4.29
Analysis of Variance
of Black Females' Composite Ratings of Black Males' Attractiveness
Varying Skin Color and Saliency of Facial Features

	N	\bar{X}	sd
Group 1	25	4.83	0.90
Group 2	26	4.84	0.81
Group 3	26	3.32	0.90
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>4.32</u>	<u>1.12</u>

F = 26.309, p < .0001

Table 4.30
Analysis of Variance
of Black Females' Perceptions of Black Males' Hair Length

	N	\bar{X}	sd
Group 1	24	2.21	1.02
Group 2	24	2.29	0.95
Group 3	26	1.42	0.58
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>1.96</u>	<u>0.94</u>

F = 7.742, p < .001

Table 4.31
Analysis of Variance
of Black Females' Perceptions of Black Males' Lip Size

	N	\bar{X}	sd
Group 1	24	2.58	1.06
Group 2	25	3.76	0.60
Group 3	26	5.58	1.21
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>4.01</u>	<u>1.58</u>

F = 58.141, p < .0001

Table 4.32
Analysis of Variance
of Black Females' Perceptions of Black Males' Nose Shape

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	23	4.22	0.95
Group 2	25	4.00	0.87
Group 3	26	5.96	1.08
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>4.76</u>	<u>1.31</u>

F = 31.186, p < .0001

Table 4.33
Analysis of Variance
of Black Females' Perceptions of Black Males' Eye Color

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	24	4.42	1.10
Group 2	25	6.20	1.19
Group 3	26	5.73	1.08
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>5.47</u>	<u>1.34</u>

F = 20.8590, p < .0001

Table 4.34

Analysis of Variance Indicating Black Females' Perceptions
of Three Distinct Categories of Features
Varying Skin Color and Facial Features With Regards to Male Photographs

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	24	3.09	0.52
Group 2	25	4.00	0.40
Group 3	26	4.72	0.55
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>3.96</u>	<u>0.83</u>

F = 68.165, p < .0001

Table 4.35

Analysis of Variance
of Black Females' Perceptions of Black Males' Skin Color

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 1	24	2.08	0.72
Group 2	25	3.68	1.22
Group 3	26	4.88	0.86
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>3.59</u>	<u>1.49</u>

F = 53.655, p < .0001

male's nose similarly. They rated the male with the most salient black nose correctly as moderately broad ($F=31.186, p < .0001$). Black females also perceived significant differences in nonexistent variations of eye color. They perceived the light-skinned male to have medium color eyes, the medium-skinned male and the dark-skinned male to have moderately dark eyes with the medium-skinned males eyes rated the darkest ($F=20.859, p < .0001$). There were three significant ($F=68.165, p < .001$) distinctions as rated by the subjects in congruence with the author's on the continuums of skin color and black facial features ranging from slightly unsalient, medium, and slightly salient. Women also rated skin color in congruence with the author's on a continuum from moderately light-skinned, to medium skin color, and slightly dark-skinned ($p < .001$). These findings are presented in Table 4.35.

To determine if the sampling was biased by a relationship between distribution of picture sets and subjects' skin color and saliency of black facial features, the author rated subjects on both variables. There were no significant differences in the distribution of photographs.

Black Females' Perceptions of Positive Personality Attributes

The third hypothesis stated that significant differences existed in black females' perceptions of positive personality attributes with regard to variations in skin color and saliency of black facial features.

The third hypothesis is accepted with females attributing more positive personality traits in congruence with light skin color and

the least salient black facial features and more negative or ambivalent notions of personality traits for the dark-skinned more salient black facial feature male. The medium-skinned male typically falls in between these extreme categories or at times at an advantage over the two other categories. Table 4.23 depicts these findings given the fact that positive personality attributes are synonymous with masculine personality traits in this study.

Black Males' Perceptions of Female Photographs Rating Femininity

Hypothesis four stated that significant differences existed in black males' perceptions of femininity with regard to variations of skin color and saliency of black features.

Of the 17 scale items measuring femininity, only 3 were significant. Black males perceived the light-skinned with the least salient facial features females as neither dependent or self-reliant while they perceived the medium-skinned with moderate facial features and dark-skinned with the most salient facial features females as slightly self-reliant ($F=4.07$, $p < .02$). These findings are presented in Table 4.36.

Black males perceived the light-skinned with the least salient facial features as slightly moody and the medium-skinned with moderately salient black facial features as neither moody-cheerful. The dark-skinned with the most salient facial features female was also perceived as neither moody-cheerful but somewhat more cheerful ($F=3.141$, $p < .05$). See Table 4.37.

Black males perceived the light-skinned with the least salient facial features black female as slightly feminine, the medium skin

Table 4.36
Analysis of Variance of Dependent - Self-Reliant Continuum
Varying Black Females' Skin Color
and Saliency of Facial Features

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 4	30	3.89	1.48
Group 5	21	4.76	1.34
Group 6	16	4.88	1.09
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>4.39</u>	<u>1.41</u>

F = 4.070, p < .02

Table 4.37
Analysis of Variance of Moody-Cheerful Continuum
Varying Black Females' Skin Color
and the Saliency of Facial Features

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 4	30	3.20	1.40
Group 5	21	3.76	1.30
Group 6	16	4.31	1.74
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>3.64</u>	<u>1.50</u>

F = 3.141, p < .05

color with moderate facial features black female as moderately feminine, and the dark-skinned with the most salient black facial features female as neither feminine-mannish ($F=3.824$, $p < .03$) as presented in Table 4.38.

Black males did not indicate significant differences on the majority of the rating scales. In general, they tended to rate black women as neutral in the continuums of affectionate-cold, shy-assertive, tender-strong, humble-conceited, and unchallenging-intimidating. They generally perceive black women to also be slightly direct, slightly controlling, and slightly friendly.

Black males differed in their perceptions of black females but not significantly on several scales. Black males tended to perceive light-skinned with the least salient facial features and dark-skinned with the most salient facial features black females as neither supportive-competitive in contrast to the medium skin color with moderate black facial features female whom they tended to perceive as slightly competitive.

Black males tended to perceive the light-skinned with the least salient facial features black female as neither family-oriented nor career-oriented in contrast to the medium-skinned with the moderately salient facial features and the dark-skinned with the most salient black facial features females when they tended to perceive as slightly career-oriented. Black males perceived the light-skinned with the least salient black facial features and the dark-skinned with the most salient black facial features female as neither maidenly-sensuous in contrast to the medium skin color with moderate black facial features female whom they tended to view as slightly sensuous.

Table 4.38

Analysis of Variance of Feminine-Mannish Continuum
Varying Black Females' Skin Color and Facial Features

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 4	30	2.73	1.41
Group 5	21	2.10	1.48
Group 6	16	3.56	2.03
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>2.73</u>	<u>1.66</u>

F = 3.824, p < .03

Table 4.39

Analysis of Variance of Black Males' Ratings
of Attractiveness of Black Females' Hair

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 4	30	5.07	1.17
Group 5	20	3.85	1.76
Group 6	16	2.63	1.09
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>4.11</u>	<u>1.67</u>

F = 17.379, p < .0001

Black males perceived the light-skinned with the least salient facial features and the medium skin color with moderately salient black facial features female as slightly truthful in contrast to the dark-skinned with the most salient black facial features whom they tended to perceive as moderately truthful.

Black males perceived the light-skinned with the least salient facial features and the medium skin color with moderately salient facial features females as neither jealous-trusting in contrast to the dark-skinned with the most salient facial features black female whom they tended to perceive as slightly trusting.

Black males tended to perceive the medium skin color with moderately salient facial features and the dark-skinned with the most salient facial features black females as slightly faithful. The light-skinned with the least salient black facial features female tended to be perceived as neither faithful-unfaithful.

Collapsing scores across all rating scales of femininity, there were no significant differences in the ratings of femininity based on variations in skin color and the salience of black facial features. Black males also tended to be neutral in their perceptions of black women as traditional-untraditional.

The fourth hypothesis that significant differences exist in black males' perceptions of femininity with regard to variations in skin color and salience of black facial features is rejected. However, despite the fact that a limited number of scale items were insignificant, the strength with which these items were significant does suggest a tendency for black males to have a range of perceptions of black females' personality attributes related to variations in skin color and the salience of black facial features.

Black Males' Ratings of Black Females' Attractiveness

Hypothesis five stated that there would be significant differences in black males' perceptions of attractiveness with regard to variations in the salience of black facial features and skin color.

Black males rated the light-skinned female's long hair as slightly attractive. They were neutral with regards to the medium-skinned woman's medium length hair and indicated that the dark-skinned woman's short Afro style was slightly unattractive ($F=17,394$, $p < .0001$). See Table 4.39.

Black males tended to perceive the light-skinned and medium skin color black female's eyes as slightly attractive, with the medium color female's eyes rated as slightly more attractive than the light-skinned female's eyes although not significantly. They rated the dark-skinned female's eyes as neither attractive-unattractive but tended towards seeing her eyes as more unattractive ($F=9.001$, $p < .001$). These findings are presented in Table 4.40.

Black males tended to be neutral in rating the light- and dark-skinned black females' lips on the continuum of unattractive-attractive although there appeared to be a tendency towards perceiving the light-skinned female's as attractive in contrast to the dark-skinned female's who tended to be perceived as more unattractive. The medium skin color female's lips were perceived as slightly attractive ($F=7.726$, $p < .001$). See Table 4.41.

Black males perceived the light-skinned and medium skin color females' noses as slightly attractive in contrast to the dark-skinned female's nose which they perceived as slightly unattractive ($F=8.792$, $p < .001$). The summary of the analysis of variance of nose attractiveness is presented in Table 4.42.

Table 4.40
Analysis of Variance of Black Males' Ratings
of Attractiveness of Black Females' Eyes

	N	\bar{X}	sd
Group 4	30	5.27	1.26
Group 5	20	5.35	1.63
Group 6	16	3.56	1.46
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>4.88</u>	<u>1.60</u>

F = 9.001, p < .001

Table 4.41
Analysis of Variance of Black Males' Ratings
of the Attractiveness of Black Females' Lips

	N	\bar{X}	sd
Group 4	30	4.40	1.16
Group 5	20	5.45	1.39
Group 6	16	3.56	1.93
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>4.52</u>	<u>1.59</u>

F = 7.726, p < .001

Table 4.42
Analysis of Variance of Black Males' Ratings
of the Attractiveness of Black Females' Noses

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 4	29	4.59	1.09
Group 5	19	4.79	1.40
Group 6	16	3.25	1.06
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>4.31</u>	<u>1.32</u>

F = 8.792, p < .001

Table 4.43
Analysis of Variance of Black Males' Ratings
of Attractiveness of Black Females' Skin Color

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>sd</u>
Group 4	27	4.44	1.19
Group 5	19	5.16	1.46
Group 6	15	4.07	1.49
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>4.57</u>	<u>1.40</u>

F = 2.949, p < .06

Black males did not indicate a significant difference in the attractiveness ratings of skin color. There was a tendency, however, for males to perceive the medium skin color female as slightly attractive in contrast to the light- and dark-skinned females whom they indicated were neither unattractive-attractive. It is also worth noting that the light-skinned female tended to be perceived as more attractive in contrast to the dark-skinned female who tended to be considered as less attractive within the neutral range. The summary of the analysis of variance on skin color is presented in Table 4.43.

Subjects rated saliency of black facial features and skin color to determine if three distinct categories existed as was the goal of the author. Significant distinctions were made between saliency of facial features and skin color, as presented in Tables 4.44-4.48. Males perceived significant differences ($F=100.14$, $p < .0001$) in the hair length of the black females, rating the light-skinned black female's hair length as moderately long, the medium skin color female's hair length as slightly long (the author rated the hair length as medium short), and the dark-skinned female's hair length as slightly short (the author rated the hair length as moderately short). Males rated the lip size of females as significantly different ($F=14.592$, $p < .0001$) with the light-skinned female's lips rated as medium, the medium skin color female's lips as medium but tending to be considered as somewhat thinner than those of the light-skinned female (in congruence with the author's ratings), and the dark-skinned female's lips as slightly broad. Males rated the nose shape of the females as significantly different ($F=8.504$, $p < .001$) with the light-skinned female's nose as medium, the medium skin color female's

Table 4.44
Analysis of Variance of
Black Males' Perceptions of Black Females' Hair Length

	N	\bar{X}	s.d.
Group 4	30	6.27	0.83
Group 5	20	4.45	0.69
Group 6	15	2.53	1.06
TOTAL	65	4.85	1.72

F = 100.14, p < .0001

Table 4.45
Analysis of Variance of
Black Males' Perceptions of Black Females' Lip Size

	N	\bar{X}	s.d.
Group 4	30	3.93	0.74
Group 5	20	3.65	0.93
Group 6	15	5.27	1.22
TOTAL	65	4.15	1.11

F = 14.592, p < .0001

Table 4.46
Analysis of Variance of
Black Males' Perceptions of Black Females' Nose Shape

	N	\bar{X}	s.d.
Group 4	30	4.03	0.89
Group 5	20	4.25	0.72
Group 6	15	5.20	1.15
TOTAL	65	4.37	1.01

F = 8.504, p < .001

Table 4.47
Analysis of Variance of
Black Males' Perceptions of Black Females' Eye Color

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Group 4	30	2.27	1.34
Group 5	20	5.85	1.18
Group 6	15	6.07	1.44
TOTAL	65	4.25	2.26

F = 63.158, p < .001

Table 4.48
Analysis of Variance of
Black Males' Perceptions of Black Females' Skin Color

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Group 4	30	1.80	0.76
Group 5	20	3.95	0.83
Group 6	15	5.20	1.01
TOTAL	65	3.25	1.65

F = 91.218, p < .0001

Table 4.49
Analysis of Variance Indicating Black Males' Perceptions of
Three Distinct Categories of Features Varying Skin Color
and Facial Features with Regards to Females' Photographs

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Group 4	30	3.66	0.40
Group 5	20	4.43	0.48
Group 6	15	4.85	0.67
TOTAL	65	4.17	0.70

F = 32.802, p < .0001

nose as medium but a tendency to be somewhat more broad than that of the light-skinned female, and the dark-skinned female's nose as slightly broad. Males indicated significant differences ($F=63.158$, $p < .001$) in perceptions of eye color, rating the light-skinned female's eyes as moderately light, the medium skin color female's eyes as moderately dark and the dark-skinned female's eyes as moderately dark but somewhat more so than the medium skin color female's. Males perceived significant differences in skin color between the females photographed. The light-skinned female was rated as moderately fair-skinned, the medium skin color female was rated as medium skin color, and the dark-skinned female was rated as slightly dark-skinned.

Three significant distinctions are rated by the subjects in congruence with the author's on the continuum of black facial features (least salient mean is 3.66, moderately salient mean is 4.43, and most salient mean is 4.85). These findings were not as dramatic as those for females' perceptions of males but they are significant, as presented in Table 4.49.

Collapsing scores across all rating scales of attractiveness of features and skin color, black males did indicate significant differences in their perceptions. They rated the light-skinned with the least salient facial features and the medium skin with the moderately salient black facial features females as slightly attractive with the medium skin color female with the moderately salient black facial features tending to be rated as somewhat more attractive than the light-skinned female. The dark-skinned with the most salient black facial features female is perceived as the least attractive, rated as slightly unattractive by black males ($F=13.168$,

Table 4.50

Analysis of Variance of
Black Males' Composite Ratings of
Black Females' Attractiveness
Varying Skin Color and Saliency of Facial Features

	<u>N</u>	<u>\bar{X}</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Group 4	30	4.76	0.83
Group 5	20	4.93	1.21
Group 6	16	3.39	0.92
TOTAL	66	4.48	1.15

F = 13.168, p < .0001

$p < .0001$). The summary of the analysis of variance of a composite attractiveness score is presented in Table 4.50.

To determine if the sampling was biased by a relationship between distribution of picture sets and subjects skin color or saliency of black facial features, the author rated subjects on both variables. There were no significant differences in the distribution of photographs.

The fifth hypothesis is accepted with regards to significant differences existing in black males' perceptions of attractiveness with regards to variations in the saliency of black facial features and skin color.

Black Males' Perceptions of Positive Personality Attributes

Hypothesis six stated that significant differences existed in black males' perceptions of positive personality attributes with regard to variations in skin color and saliency of black facial features.

Re-examining the composite scores across all rating scale items on femininity, there were no significant differences in black males' perceptions of positive personality attributes with regards to variations in skin color and the saliency of black facial features. Black males generally were neutral in their perceptions which indicates that in general they do not have stereotypical roles that exemplify either extremes of traditional-untraditional female attributes.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Summary of Findings of the Relationship Study

The analysis of the data collected relative to the principle objectives of the first study as tested in Experiment 1 indicated that black and white males generally do not differ in their perceptions of black and white females' femininity because of variations in occupational roles, career achievement, and family-orientation. Rather, males tended to have the same stereotypes about women's occupational roles, career achievement, and family-orientation. Women in moderate or low rated occupational roles with moderate or low achievement tend to be perceived as more traditionally feminine than were women with high occupational roles and/or high career achievement. There may be some tendency for black and white males to vary in their views of black and white females' sexual appeal given the significant findings on the maidenly-sensuous scale items. Similarly, black and white females' perceptions of black and white males' masculinity do not differ with respect to occupational roles, career achievement, and family-orientation, respectively. There was a significant trend for females to attribute more traditional masculine characteristics to males who were in high occupational roles and/or who had high career achievement. Males with low or moderate occupational roles with low or moderate career achievement were perceived as less masculine. It can be surmised from the data analysis that race has little impact on perceptions of masculinity and

femininity but that notions about opposite-sex members' masculinity or femininity are primarily the same for blacks and whites.

Blacks' and whites' general preconceptions about career status, gender traits, sexuality, and family roles were analyzed. The data analysis indicates that generally blacks and whites have the same expectations of opposite-sex members' behaviors and characteristics. There was a tendency, however, for black males to perceive black females' career status as different from white males' perceptions of white females'. Additionally, a slight difference was observed for black and white males. Black males tend to have untraditional perceptions of black females' careers and gender traits.

Black females significantly differed in their perceptions of black males' career status in contrast to white females' perceptions of white males. Black females believed they had an advantage in employment opportunities as well as more education than black males, whereas white females believed white males had greater employment opportunities and equal education. Black females were generally more positive and sympathetic regarding their feelings about black men's career status than white females were of black males. However, black females were uncertain about the effort black males invest in their careers. There was also a tendency for black and white females to have different generalizations about black and white males' gender traits. Black women tended to be more positive in their attitudes about black males than did white females, although white females were also positive but somewhat less so of white males. Black women believed men were more understanding and supportive, generally.

Black women also felt that black men attributed more importance on being well-groomed than white females felt about white males. Black women felt that black men were assertive in initiating relationships versus white women who were neutral in their preconception about white males. Neither black nor white females, on the other hand, feel that black and white males are less approving of women initiating relationships; however, black females tended to disagree with this statement more so than white females who tended more towards agreeing with the statement. Black and white women had similar preconceptions about black and white males' sexuality although there was a tendency for black women to feel more physically gratified than emotionally gratified in contrast to white females who tended to feel emotionally gratified but not as physically gratified in their relationships with white men.

There was also a tendency for black females to have different preconceptions about black males in their family roles from white females' preconceptions of white males. Black women experience black males as domineering in their family roles whereas white females perceive white males as more likely to be neutral, neither passive nor domineering. There was also a tendency for black females to perceive black males as more active in their family roles than white females felt white males are.

Black and white women felt their general experiences of men in relationships were the same with the exception of black females feeling that black males were unpredictable with regards to faithfulness in relationships whereas white females felt white males tended to be slightly faithful.

There was no significant difference between black and white males' relationships and dating histories. However, black and white males do significantly differ with regards to the age of first sexual intercourse, 13 and 18 years respectively. Generally, men reported feeling satisfied with their sexual lives.

The findings also indicate that the majority of men have cohabited with a woman usually because they wished for greater intimacy. Concerning relationships with opposite sex members from other ethnic groups, approximately 42% of men have never dated a woman from another ethnic group. However among the majority of men who have, most have done so for reasons of personal attraction. With regards to their parental relationships, most men talk in general about events and sometimes discuss in detail their personal interest with their fathers. Most men generally reported a closer relationship with their mothers, one in which they talked in detail about personal and career interest, as well as discussed current events.

Black and white women tended to have similar experiences in their relationship, dating, and sexual histories. Black women differed from white women only in that more black women anticipate that black men will be insincere in most of their relationships in contrast to more white females who felt white males would always be honest in their relationships. Also, black women tend more frequently to have relationships with black males who are less successful professionally/economically than did white females who do not usually have relationships with white males who are less successfully professionally/economically. Black women also spend approximately 14 months in contrast to white women who spend approximately 9 months in

between relationships or without dating. Black and white females' sexual histories did not differ with the age of first sexual intercourse being approximately 19 years old, and women in general felt satisfied with their sexual lives.

Women did not differ in their other relationships either. Most women have never cohabited with a man, but of those who have, usually they have done so because they wished for a more intense relationship. In addition, most women have never had a relationship with a man from another ethnic group, but of those who have, most have done so primarily because of personal attraction. Concerning parental relationships, women equally felt they could talk to their fathers in general about current events and sometimes discuss in detail personal problems and career interests. Women felt slightly more positive about their relationships with their mothers with the majority indicating they can talk in detail about personal and career interests as well as discuss current events.

Summary of Findings of the Skin Color/Facial Features Study

The analyses of the data in Experiment 2 revealed that black females' perceptions of masculinity are significantly influenced by variations of black facial features and skin color. Light-skinned black males with the least salient black facial features are perceived as the most masculine in contrast to the medium skin color male with moderately salient facial features who is perceived as slightly less masculine. The dark-skinned male with the most salient facial features, although considered masculine, was rated the least masculine. Attractiveness is also influenced by the salience of black

facial features and skin color. Both the medium skin color black male with moderately salient facial features and the light-skinned male with the least salient facial features were rated as slightly attractive. The dark-skinned male with highly salient black facial features was rated as slightly unattractive. Black females attribute more positive personality attributes to the lighter skin color black male with the least salient facial features and attribute more negative or ambivalent personality traits to the dark-skinned black male with the most salient facial features. The medium skin color black male with the moderate salient facial features usually falls between these two extremes or somewhat at an advantage over the other two male types.

In contrast, black males generally did not exemplify significant differences in perceptions of black females related to variations in skin color and salience of facial features. However, there was a tendency for black males to perceive some differences with regards to variations in skin color and salience of black facial features. Black males did indicate significant differences in perceptions of femininity rating the light-skinned black female with the least salient facial features as slightly feminine. The medium skin color black female with moderately salient facial features was rated as moderately feminine, and the dark-skinned black female with the most salient facial features was rated as neutral on the continuum of feminine-mannish. They also perceived the light-skinned black female with the least salient facial features as more stereotypically feminine on two other items rating her as slightly moody and as ambiguous with regards to dependent-self-reliant. On the other hand,

they rated the medium skin color black female with moderately salient facial features and the dark-skinned black female with highly salient facial features as gradually more cheerful and self-reliant, with the dark skinned-female being rated the highest on both items. Black males did indicate a significant difference in their perceptions of attractiveness. They rated the light-skinned female with the least salient facial features and the medium skin female with the most salient facial features as slightly attractive with a trend to perceive the medium skin color black female with the moderately salient black facial features as somewhat more attractive. The dark-skinned black female with the most salient facial features is perceived as slightly unattractive by black males. Black males were generally neutral in their ratings of personality attributes which indicates that they generally do not have stereotypical perceptions that exemplify either extremes of untraditional-traditional female attributes which significantly vary according to skin color and salience of black facial features. However, there was a tendency for black males to perceive the light-skinned black female with the least salient facial features as more stereotypically feminine than the dark-skinned black female with the highly salient facial features.

Interpretation of Findings of the Relationship Study

In the author's opinion this data indicates that race generally has a minimum effect on perceptions of opposite-sex members with regards to masculinity and femininity. Dominant culture gender roles prevail among blacks as well as whites. This suggests that middle-class concepts of gender roles rather than multi-cultural

values predominate. One can conclude that racial-gender stereotypes are not fixed perceptions that are easily projected in the black male-female encounter.

Blacks' and whites' primarily differ in their preconceptions about careers and gender traits when dissimilarities in relationships were noted. Seemingly, these findings reflect some real differences between blacks' and whites' career and gender roles. Black and white females' perceptions of black and white males' career statuses, respectively, indicate that black females sense inequities in black males' employment and educational opportunities. These findings are in contrast to Rodgers-Rose (1980) assertion that black males and females do not significantly differ in educational and career achievements despite prevalent preconceptions to this effect. In this study, most black males and females expressed sentiments that black women have an advantage in education and/or employment as espoused by Staples (1982). The mean years of education in this study did not indicate a significant difference between black males and females, with both averaging approximately five years post high school. Black females did earn more than black males did in this study, but not significantly so. Black males' and females' preconceptions of disparities in career status are contrary to the dominant culture pattern of males being more successful in career status. One might hypothesize that this may be a significant source of value conflict for blacks, considering the fact that blacks' notions about gender roles were primarily the same as those of whites. There are some indications in this study's findings that blacks have adapted to this perceived disparity in roles by adapting more diverse gender roles

with black males fulfilling some of their achievement goals through other mechanisms than career status. Black women also tend to perceive black men as more empathic which possibly suggests that there is a shared belief and compassion among blacks regarding the experience of discrimination in employment. This finding contradicts or suggests a change from the hypothesized contempt that black females have for black males due to their limited career and educational opportunities, as noted by Grier and Cobbs (1968) and Proshansky & Newton (1968). In contrast, black women seem to feel that black males' roles in their relationships and families become more important. The black male is more active, and seemingly much more in control, as well as domineering. Komarovsky (1976), Mack (1971), and TenHouten (1970) support this perception of the black male's role in the family.

White females' responses to career status questions on the Relationship Survey also lend themselves to interpretations of the impact of current social forces. White females expressed a greater sense of being competitors with white males and of feeling at a disadvantage in employment. They were ambivalent about whether or not white males were supportive of them and ambivalent about how affectionate and demonstrable white males are. These seemingly are dilemmas relevant to the Women's Movement, and specifically, exemplify how white females feel at a significant disadvantage in employment opportunities.

Black males' attitudes were virtually the same as those of white males with regards to career status on the Relationship Survey, except for black males reporting that they felt at a disadvantage to black

women in educational opportunities and achievement. This is incongruent with black females' perceptions of equal opportunities in education and may suggest that black males do feel that black women have an educational advantage.

Relationship and sexual histories further lend themselves to some understanding of blacks' and whites' intimate relationships. Many differences between blacks and whites involved the questions of faithfulness and honesty in relationships. The experiences of black females tended to suggest their uncertainty about the faithfulness of black males whereas white females had a slight sense of confidence about their mates' faithfulness. Furthermore, more black women generally experienced insincerity from most relationships with black males versus white females who believed white males were always honest in their relationships. This suggests that the alleged conflict that exists in black relationships may be rooted in a lack of trust, an essential foundation for an intimate relationship. This notion is further supported by the tendency for black females to feel that their sexual relationships are more physically gratifying than emotionally versus white females feeling more emotionally gratified than physically. The difference in black and white women's perceptions of their sexual lives also reflects stereotypical notions of the sexually promiscuous black male and the affectionate but sexually unsatisfying white male. Since black women also spend more time without dating or being involved in a relationship, it seems that relationships with black males are somewhat less accessible and tenuous for the black female than for the white female.

Black and white males' sexual experiences seem basically the same with the exception of the commencement of sexual intercourse. Early age of first sexual intercourse among black men and the concerns about fidelity and sincerity among black women in their relationships seem related. It might be that black males do not associate sexual intimacy with commitment to a relationship. In other words, a sexual relationship for some black males is not an indication of emotional investment. Hence, black females might interpret sexual intimacy as more significant in the development of a steady relationship than it may actually be for black males. Although there is no factual information to confirm this, one might also wonder whether the meaning of sexual intercourse for black males is more an assertion of masculinity which substitutes for career and educational expressions of masculinity which are less readily available for the black male. Given black males' sense of being at an educational disadvantage, the question of whether achievement strivings are accomplished through sex seems reasonable. The term "machismo" captures the essence of strivings for masculinity in culturally extreme ways. Self-reports among minority youths about their sexual histories are often exaggerated. The fact that some males reportedly had sexual intercourse as young as three years old lends itself to the suggestion that some distortions in reports might exist. Since black females, like white females, have their first sexual experience significantly later would contraindicate the notion of greater opportunities because of lack of supervision. Rather it suggests that some dichotomy exists in the ascribed value to early sexual experiences (whether real or fantasized) for black males and females. Thus, this more strongly

implies that early sexual experiences for black males may be linked to some assertion of masculinity. The notion that black males may have adapted other sources to assert their masculinity seemingly is further supported in black females' perceptions of black males' family roles where black males are not only active but tend to be experienced as domineering by black females. Race seems to have little impact on platonic and parental relationship development. Gender differences seem more prominent given the fact that females tended to report greater closeness in their parental relationships than did males.

Social class seemingly has the most profound impact on relationship behaviors. Social class functions as a great equalizer in this study, minimizing any racial differences. The sample selected were young professionals with an average of five years of education post high school. Many of the racial effects were possibly eliminated due to young blacks being quite well-read about the topic of black male-female relationships. This may have resulted in the intensity of some of the responses being modulated by social consciousness. It is possibly that quite discrepant relationship behaviors exist among lower socio-economic status blacks and whites.

Interpretation of the Findings of the Skin Color/Facial Features Study

Skin color and the salience of black facial features affect perceptions of masculinity/femininity. Personality attributes and attractiveness are related to blacks' perceptions of physical attractiveness. The notion that race has a significant impact on perceptions of gender roles is supported in initial impressions of personality being partially based on physical appearance. Black

females' perceptions of masculinity were significantly influenced by variations of skin color and salience of black facial features. Seemingly, black females associate competency in occupation with skin color and salience of black facial features. This may be reflective of traditional patterns for members of the black middle class being light-skinned, with the least salient black facial features (Davis, Gardner, & Gardner, 1941; Dollard, 1937; Drake & Cayton, 1962; Edwards, 1959; Frazier, 1941; and Warner, Tunker, & Adams, 1940). It may also reflect some subconscious notions of power, in which masculinity in the dominant culture is most associated with white males or those who more closely approximate their complexion.

Surprisingly, variations in skin color and salience of black facial features did not impact on black males' perceptions of femininity as significantly as they did black females' perceptions of masculinity. This contradicts the author's anticipated findings and leads to the question of whether black males were guarded in their responses. Black males did exemplify differences in ratings on the feminine-mannish continuum as well as in their ratings of attractiveness, which supports the author's impressions. Black males have often been criticized by black females for preferring light-skinned black females with the least salient facial features. A study by Freeman, Armor, Ross, & Pettigrew (1962) demonstrates that black males in white collar occupations are more likely to marry light-skinned wives than are blue collar workers. They also noted that blue collar workers usually married women of lighter skin than themselves if the woman they married was from a blue-collar family. They found that blue-collar husbands often married women from

white-collar families if the husband was lighter skinned than the wife. This accusation commonly has been a source of great conflict between males and females. The tendency for black males to evade rating skin color adds additional support to the notion that black males may have evaded this conflictual issue.

The findings of this study are congruent with those of Dion et al. (1953), that the more one approximates the dominant culture, the more positive the personality attributes and ratings of attractiveness, and conversely the less one approximates the dominant culture's beauty standards the more negative the personality traits attributed and the lower the ratings of attractiveness. These findings are supported by many other studies (Asher & Allen, 1969; Clark & Clark, 1980, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Greenwald & Oppenheim, 1968; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Marks, 1953; Morland, 1962; Radke & Trager, 1950; Stevenson & Stevenson, 1960).

Although race had little impact when comparing blacks' and whites' perceptions of masculinity and femininity, variations in skin color and black facial features significantly affected perceptions of masculinity and femininity among blacks. Several theoretical explanations can be posed regarding these findings.

Skin color and saliency of black facial features may operate like central traits (Asch, 1946) so that variations in the two change perceptions of personality attributes. In accordance, the fact that the lighter-complexioned black male and female were perceived as more attractive supports the hypothesis that attractiveness is also influenced by racial characteristics. Helson (1969) stated that attractiveness acts as an attitude rather than an objective fact such

that its perception is typically based on pressures of the group. In this particular study, it seems that dominant culture values negatively influence the perception of black attractiveness.

Personality consists of many components. Perceptions of one's goodness or value directly relate to perceptions of one's physical beauty (Dion et al., 1972). The value ascribed to black physical beauty directly influences personality attributes. Inherent in all perceptions of personality are presumed qualities based upon physical attributes. Wilkinson (1977) similarly states that color defines the basic role, behavioral expectations, and stratification of people. The findings support that attractiveness and gender-related personality attributes are significantly impacted on by the meanings attributed to salient black facial features.

The differences noted suggest that racial identity did not have as significant an impact when comparing blacks' and whites' attitudes about relationships. Verbal references to racial identity have minimum impact. This may reflect an increased sensitivity and a cognitive shift away from negative associations to black as a labeling world, as noted by Williams and Stabler (1973). However, perceptions of skin complexion and saliency of black facial features do tend to significantly impact on personality traits when racial references are presented vis-a-vis visual cues. One might question what makes physical attractiveness a more powerful influence than racial designation. Racial awareness has changed many of the blatant qualities attributed to being black. Increasing literature and other consciousness-raising resources have helped in monitoring and eliminating many derogatory verbal traits attributed to blacks.

However, physical characteristics evoke changes in the perception of personality attributes, possibly because physical cues are at a more primary level of organizing and understanding the world. As in the Clark and Clark (1946) studies, children often could not provide the color label to identify the dolls as black or white, but they had learned that certain personality attributes were associated to the shading of the dolls. Early associations of personality characteristics to racial cues thus seem to precede associations to the verbal identification of color. Also, it can be validated historically in the black experience in America that dark skin has never been an advantage but rather has been linked to many disadvantages. These disadvantages often ranged from the determination of the type of work and education one was allowed to determining one's social class. The black social class structure was at one point highly bound to skin color (Freeman, Armor, Ross, & Pettigrew, 1962).

Discussion of the Problems and Limitations

A number of problems and limitations were encountered in the process of implementing this research study which should be considered when interpreting these data.

Relationship Study

Pertaining to Experiment 1, several problems were identified. Primarily, the use of personal and work contacts to obtain subjects may have resulted in subjects' responses being more guarded. In many situations, subjects returned the completed questionnaire to the research assistant in a sealed envelope; however, the fact that the

research assistant did participate in the collection of the subjects' surveys may have inhibited responses because of familiarity between subject and research assistant. A better arrangement might have been for subjects to return the questionnaires directly to the author, although this option was discouraged because of the increased cost involved in subjects doing so.

Another problem encountered in this study was the inability to assure complete control over the instructions provided the subjects in the "Relationship Survey." Although research assistants were given instructions to provide subjects with a limited explanation prepared by the author, subjects' inquiries may have resulted in the research assistants providing too many cues to the rationale of the study. Again, this problem could have been eliminated by the subjects' contact being limited to the author.

The format of the "Relationship Survey" was based on response categories which limited obtaining a more detailed report about the subjects' interpersonal relationships. Thus subjects were forced to respond in a fixed-alternative format. The author also decided against providing subjects with "none of the above" as a frequent alternative to increase the likelihood of receiving some data that were more informative. This limitation may have been circumvented by conducting formal personal interviews to obtain more in depth information on the subjects' experiences. Although subjects were encouraged to comment and were provided with a sheet for this purpose, most subjects commented about their experience of the questionnaire rather than providing additional information about their relationship experiences.

Some respondents also felt that a few referents lacked clarity. This may have resulted in their responses being to men or to women in general versus responses to men and women who are in their own ethnic group. This confusion of subjects may have been clarified by consistently providing referents on all items versus providing it solely in the general instructions. Placing referents in the beginning of all questions rather than the the majority of questions as the author did may have also further clarified the questions for subjects.

Skin Color/Facial Features Study

In Experiment 2, one of the problems encountered was that among the female photographs, the salience of black facial features was not significant on all features. Particularly, the lip and nose formations of the light-skinned black female with the least salient features and the medium skin color black female with the moderately salient features were not significantly different. This did not interfere with subjects rating that there were three significantly different categories. However, the black males' responses may have been altered by the lack of the clearly different categories. This problem could be remedied by more carefully selecting women who are perceptibly different in skin coloration and black facial features.

A second problem of Experiment 2 was that black male subjects were administered the test by the author. Black males' responses may have been guarded given the fact that the author is a black female with medium skin color and moderately salient black facial features. If black males have felt criticized by black females for preferring

light-skinned black females with the least salient facial features, these subjects may not have felt comfortable in expressing their genuine feelings due to the author. The experimenter's effect could have been remedied by providing male subjects with a black male proctor.

For both experiments, the samples are limited to distinct groups, middle-class professionals, and college students at a predominantly black university. These samples should be used cautiously in generalizing the results to the larger population of blacks. Specifically, the college students represent a very distinct black student group, since they had chosen to attend a predominantly black university. One might wonder if this indicates greater racial pride or whether black students who chose predominantly white universities differ in racial consciousness or attitudes. This problem may be remedied by a replication study that compares black students at a predominantly white university to black students who attend a predominantly black university. The sampling in the "Relationship Survey" would provide more information if the number of subjects were increased to determine whether geographical differences exist.

Discussion of the Practical Implications

A number of findings were derived from the study which may have practical implications for others involved in research or applied practice in the area.

This study provides general, current information about relationship expectations and characteristics as well as the quality of relationships of blacks and of whites. It focuses on several key

aspects of relationships and by doing so provides some insight into what patterns exist in relationships and what concerns middle-class singles have about their relationships. It also highlights how black and white relationship patterns are similar or different. It provides some basic demographic information about developmental milestones in relationships, such as the age dating commenced, age of first sexual intercourse, frequency with which singles spend time with their mate(s), and the number of relationships.

For the clinician, this study has value also because of its comprehensive examination of relationship behaviors. It gives the clinician a stronger base by which to examine their clients' relationship patterns from the context of current relationship patterns. This is important because it makes more apparent what socio-cultural factors are prevalent and further clarifies what unique conflicts the client may have in his/her relationship(s).

In addition, this study highlights the black male-female relationship and provides pertinent information on a dyad that has been studied with growing concern. It provides the clinician with a sense of what gender roles are prevalent. It indicates the great significance skin color and salience of black facial features has on perceptions of masculinity, femininity, and attractiveness. This is quite relevant because it emphasizes the significance of analyzing skin color and salience of black facial features in the context of symbolic meanings.

Finally, this study allows a more refined questioning of the state of relationships, specifically the black male-female relationship.

Implications for Further Research

The author proposes four topics for further research.

Given the fact that blacks' and whites' relationship behaviors were generally found to be similar, it would be interesting to determine if differences exist between the two groups' preconceptions of opposite sex members of the same race and opposite-sex members of another racial group (in this case black females' perceptions of white males, black males' perceptions of white females, white males' perceptions of black females, and white females' perceptions of black males). This type of study could be conducted by altering the questions to ask subjects to give their perceptions of relationship behaviors among the appropriate categories. A t-test analysis could be used to conduct an intra-group contrast of the data obtained in this study with the data obtained in the proposed study to determine if either blacks or whites have more idealized or devalued preconceptions about opposite-sex members of their own race. The data collected in the second study could also be analyzed comparing blacks' and whites' perceptions of opposite-sex members of another race to determine if significant differences exist between intergroup perceptions of opposite-sex members of another race.

Several new methodological approaches could be implemented with regards to the study of how skin color and saliency of black facial features impacts on perceptions of masculinity/femininity.

One approach to this study would be to vary skin color and saliency of black facial features independently to determine which of these factors has the greatest impact and if an interaction effect exists. This could be achieved by utilizing a 3x3 factorial design with three levels of the two independent variables.

A second approach to this study would be to determine if black females' perceptions of black females and black males' perceptions of black males based on the continuums of skin color and saliency of black facial features significantly differ from black males' perceptions of black females and black females' perceptions of black males. These findings would provide greater support for inferences that skin color and salience of black facial features impact on gender formation and the formation of a self-concept. A 2x3 factorial design would be appropriate for data analysis.

Finally, the photograph study can be approached from the context of what impact socio-cultural factors have on perceptions of masculinity/femininity with regards to variations in skin color and salience of black facial features. This can be conducted by comparing black Americans' perceptions to West Indians' and Africans' perceptions. The data could be analyzed using 3x3 factorial design with three levels of photographs and three levels of ethnic groups as the independent variables.

Appendix A

Discriminate functions analyses were conducted on the significant male and female relationship items independently. Items from the relationship study were then grouped into the following categories dependent upon their content: career items, gender traits, dating history, age of first sexual intercourse, and relationship history items. The findings can be summarized by stating that black women differed most in their perceptions of men's career roles. Perceptions of career roles were approximately 75% more powerful in predicting differences between black and white female, than age at first sexual intercourse. Career status was most related to discriminating between race and the other variables (69%). If responses to career status items were used to group the subjects in cases where their racial identity was unknown, it would accurately predict the race of 86% of all subjects. Table Appendix A.1 presents a breakdown of how accurately responses to questions about career roles categorized black and white females when considered separately. There was no probability that these findings were due to chance ($p < .0001$).

For males, the age at first sexual intercourse predominated in discriminating between blacks and whites being more than a half stronger discriminating variable than gender traits. It should be noted that gender trait items did somewhat discriminate race (56%). Age at first sexual intercourse was the most correlated factor to race and other variables (83%). When responses to career status items were used to predict the racial identity of subjects, it correctly predicted the racial identity in approximately 85% of the total cases.

A breakdown of how accurately responses to questions about age at first sexual intercourse categorized black and white males is presented in Table Appendix A.2.

Table Appendix A.1

Canonical Discriminant Function Analysis
 Demonstrating the Prediction of Race
 from Responses to Career Items

Actual Group	Number of Cases	Predicted Group Membership	
		1	2
Group 2	19	17 89.5%	2 10.5%
Group 3	25	4 16.0%	21 84.0%

Percent of "grouped" cases correctly classified: 86.36%

Table Appendix A.2

Canonical Discriminant Function Analysis
 Demonstrating the Prediction of Race
 from Responses to Age at First Sexual Intercourse

Actual Group	Number of Cases	Predicted Group Membership	
		0	1
Group 0	23	19 82.6	4 17.4%
Group 1	23	3 13.0%	20 87.0%

Percent of "grouped" cases correctly classified: 84.78%

Appendix B

RELATIONSHIP SURVEY

You are invited to participate in a national study of heterosexual relationships and dating behaviors. This study aims to explore what dating and relationship behaviors are like in the 1980's. You must be within the ages of 23-33 years old to participate in the study, have at least obtained a Bachelor's degree, and be single. You are asked to complete this questionnaire which takes approximately 45 minutes. If you have comments, please use the space provided for listing your comments either about relationships and/or about the questionnaire. All information is confidential, and you are requested to not put your name on any parts of this form. You are also urged to not discuss any of your answers with anyone until you have completed filling out the questionnaire. To insure confidentiality, you may also desire to return your questionnaire to the person you obtained it from in a sealed envelope. The information obtained is for research purposes only. Your participation and prompt response is appreciated.

When filling out the questionnaire, please answer all questions based upon men or women of your ethnic group. Also, use only the following definitions and abbreviations for the following words unless specified to do otherwise.

- Ethnic Group. Ethnic group is restricted to mean any person who belongs to these groupings: African-American, European-American, Asian-American, and Hispanic-American.
- Relationship. A relationship is defined as any exchange with a member of the opposite-sex that exceeds a casual affair or date.
- Date. A date is defined as any activity in which you and a member of the opposite-sex engage.
- NA Not applicable. Do not use this to denote a zero.

THANK YOU!

Please complete the following questionnaire by filling in the blank, circling, or placing a check mark where appropriate. Your participation is appreciated.

Age: _____

Sex: M F

Race: European-American African-American Asian-American Hispanic-American

Marital Status: Single, never married _____
 Divorced _____
 Separated _____

Annual Gross Income: _____

Occupation: _____ If student, where are you currently enrolled?

Education Completed: _____

Degree Major: _____

Name of the city and state in which you spent most of your life: _____

_____ Number of years: _____

City and state you currently reside in: _____

_____ Number of years: _____

Father's Occupation: _____

Mother's Occupation: _____

Father's Gross Annual Income: _____ Mother's Gross Annual Income: _____

Current Marital Status of Parent(s) or at time of Death:

Single, never married _____
Divorced _____
Separated _____
Deceased _____
Married _____

Do you have a Step-parent? Yes No

Which? Stepmother
 Stepfather

Read the following descriptive paragraphs. On each sheet following the paragraphs, there are scales with personality attributes on a continuum. You are to rate the person described in the previous paragraph on these attributes by circling the number that best describes your impression of how desirable the person would be to you if you were considering her for a relationship. The midpoint of each scale indicates a balanced possession of the personality attributes listed on the continuum.

The following paragraphs are descriptions of women in your ethnic group. Disregard age inferences in making your responses.

T. S. majored in retailing in college but dropped out to work for a famous apparel store. T. S. has always been interested in fashion but does not have a career planned. T. S. works to support herself. She has considered entering a management training program at this department store but has not made a definite decision to do so at present. T. S. does like entertaining and spends a lot of time doing so. Most of her leisure time is spent following fashions designed in the meccas of Paris and New York. T. S. collects antiques, too. She likes going to antiques shops and auctions. She is a gourmet cook and collects recipes. T. S. wishes to marry and have children. She does not wish to have a career but would like to devote her time to family life.

Circle the number that best indicates your impression of the person described in the previous paragraph.

1. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
dependent						self-reliant
2. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
affectionate						cold
3. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
shy						assertive
4. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
tender						strong
5. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
moody						cheerful
6. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feminine						mannish
7. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
supportive						competitive
8. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
humble						conceited
9. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
coy						direct
10. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
family-oriented						career-oriented
11. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
unchallenging						intimidating

N. D. works as a licensed social worker in a group practice. She also teaches a few courses as an Adjunct Professor at a couple of the local universities. N. D. enjoys her work and has set many goals that she would like to achieve—publish a book and conduct research. N. D. has a full day but finds time to balance her busy work schedule with home life. She enjoys cooking, sewing, and painting. She entertains a lot and takes delight in doing so. She enjoys dancing and follows various performing arts. In addition to all of the above, N. D. devotes some of her spare time to political causes. N. D. keeps familiar with key political issues. She finds discussing politics exhilarating. N. D. hopes to marry and have children. She enjoys watching most sports and occasionally participates.

Circle the number that best indicates your impression of the person described in the previous paragraph.

1.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
dependent						self-reliant
2.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
affectionate						cold
3.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
shy						assertive
4.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
tender						strong
5.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
moody						cheerful
6.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feminine						mannish
7.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
supportive						competitive
8.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
humble						conceited
9.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
coy						direct
10.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
family-oriented						career-oriented
11.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
unchallenging						intimidating

J. S. obtained a joint MBA/JD from one of the most prestigious Ivy League schools. She currently works for a major investment bank. J. S. likes dancing. She enjoys the theater and likes taking walks to sidewalk arts and crafts exhibits. She loves adventure and experiencing new things. She is also an avid sports fan-football, basketball, and tennis are her favorites. During the season, she keeps abreast of what happens. She likes traveling and has been to many U. S. cities as well as abroad. She can discuss many political and business issues. She has a lot of energy. J. S. desires to marry and have children. She believes that a career and a family are equally important for a woman.

B. T. teaches preschoolers at a community public school. She enjoys her work and is very creative with the children. B. T. teaches the children dance and painting as well as core curriculum. She also has shown them simple pottery techniques. B. T. plays the piano quite well. B. T. plans to continue teaching school until she marries and has a family. Although she plans to return to teaching after she has children, she does hope to take a leave of absence to devote to childrearing. B. T. does not like sports and devotes little time to politics. She enjoys working with children and hopes to spend most of her working years teaching.

Circle the number that best indicates your impression of the person described in the previous paragraph.

1.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
dependent						self-reliant
2.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
affectionate						cold
3.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
shy						assertive
4.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
tender						strong
5.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
moody						cheerful
6.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feminine						mannish
7.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
supportive						competitive
8.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
humble						conceited
9.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
coy						direct
10.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
family-oriented						career-oriented
11.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
unchallenging						intimidating

Make a response to these statements based on your general impressions. Circle or place an X to indicate your response to the following statements. Answer in response to women in your ethnic group only.

1. In general black women's opportunities for obtaining higher education in contrast to men's opportunities are:

- a. significantly fewer
- b. less available
- c. equal
- d. greater
- e. significantly greater

2. Black women's motivation for high prestige jobs is:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
low						high

3. With regard to their careers, black women seem:

- a. disinterested
- b. slightly disinterested
- c. indifferent
- d. moderately invested
- e. extremely invested

4. On the average, black women's earnings in contrast to men's earnings are:

- a. extremely lower
- b. slightly lower
- c. equal to
- d. slightly higher
- e. significantly higher

5. Black women tend to prefer marital goals over career development.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

6. Black women participate in the labor market more often for:

- a. economic reasons only
- b. economic reasons more so than personal fulfillment
- c. economic and personal fulfillment goals
- d. personal fulfillment reasons more so than economic
- e. personal fulfillment

7. Women possess traditional feminine values about women's roles in the family.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

8. List the most important attributes you consider a part of the "female role".

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

9. Women's role in the family is:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
passive						aggressive

10. Women put great importance on their appearance (for example, figure, hair-styling, clothing, and make-up).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

11. Women are receptive to getting to know a male who approaches them at a social event.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree; very suspicious						agree

12. Women are very intelligent.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

13. Relationships in which women have equivalent or more educational and/or career accomplishments tend to promote:

- ___ a. competition
- ___ b. the tendency to be more competitive and decrease the likelihood of the relationship working
- ___ c. uncertain
- ___ d. the tendency to be more understanding and increase the likelihood of the relationship working
- ___ e. support and interest

7. Black women possess traditional feminine values about women's roles in the family.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

8. List the most important attributes you consider a part of the "female role".

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

9. Black women's role in the family is:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
passive						aggressive

10. Women put great importance on their appearance (for example, figure, hair-styling, clothing, and make-up).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

11. Black women are receptive to getting to know a male who approaches them at a social event.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree; suspicious						agree

12. Black women are very intelligent.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

13. Relationships in which black women have equivalent or more educational and/or career accomplishments tend to promote:

- a. competition
- b. the tendency to be more competitive and decrease the likelihood of the relationship working
- c. uncertain
- d. the tendency to be more understanding and increase the likelihood of the relationship working
- e. support and interest

14. More women initiate relationships.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

15. If by chance you and a woman friend discovered that you were competing for the same job, she probably would:

- a. withdraw her application
 b. reluctantly withdraw her application
 c. uncertain
 d. pursue the job but reluctantly
 e. go for job

16. Women view sex as an integral part of their relationships.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

They view it as:

- a. solely for partner's pleasure
 b. more for partner's pleasure
 c. mutually important to self and partner
 d. sexual involvement more for personal pleasure
 e. solely for their pleasure

17. In characterizing women, I think of attributes like gentle, soft, tender, and delicate.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

18. Women will seek a relationship with a more successful man even if presently involved in a good relationship.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

19. Women demand too much in a relationship before they will allow sexual involvement.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

20. Affirmative Action programs give women an unfair advantage in the labor market.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

21. In my relationships, women have generally been:

a.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
supportive						unsupportive

b.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
overbearing			neither			aloof

c.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
unwilling to engage in varied sexual acts						willing to engage in varied sexual acts

d.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
genuine						deceptive; "gamey"

e.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
dependent						self-reliant

f.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
affectionate						cold

g.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
shy						assertive

h.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
tender						strong

i.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
moody						cheerful

j.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
humble						conceited

Please answer the following questions with regard to your experience with women you have had a relationship with from your ethnic group.

1. At what age did you begin dating?
2. The average level of education for a man in contrast to the average for a woman is:
 - a. significantly less than
 - b. less than
 - c. equal
 - d. greater than
 - e. significantly greater than
3. When I am not interested in a serious relationship, I still select women with qualities that I would desire in a serious relationship.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	indifferent	agree	strongly agree

4. If I met someone during my preparation in a career that I felt would potentially lead to a serious relationship, I would:
 - a. not enter into the relationship
 - b. not consider a serious relationship but date
 - c. I don't know
 - d. consider a serious relationship but only upon completion of career goals
 - e. enter into a serious relationship
5. How many relationships have you been involved in since 18 years old?
 - a. 0-5
 - b. 6-10
 - c. 11-15
 - d. 16-20
 - e. 21 or more
6. Women do desire a commitment in a relationship.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	undecided	agree	strongly agree

7. Which of the below levels of education achieved by a woman would make you most uncomfortable if considering a relationship with her?
- a. completed less than high school
- b. completed high school
- c. completed Bachelor level in college
- d. completed Master level
- e. completed Doctorate level
8. What bracket of income would make you uncomfortable with a woman who earned more than yourself?
- a. \$9,000 or below
- b. \$9,001-\$18,000
- c. \$18,001-\$26,000
- d. \$26,001-\$34,000
- e. \$34,001-up
- f. other Please specify: _____
9. How frequently in your relationship have women rather abruptly ended the relationship without their being an argument or explanation?
- a. never
- b. usually not
- c. undecided
- d. usually always
- e. always
10. With most of the women you have dated, what did you anticipate would happen in the relationship?
- a. thought mate would be exploitative
- b. thought mate usually might be insincere
- c. undecided
- d. thought mate would usually be honest about her intents
- e. thought mate would always be honest
11. What type of outcome do you wish for in most of your relationships?
- a. wished that you had never been involved
- b. wished to date but not consistently
- c. undecided
- d. wished for steady relationship
- e. wished for monogamous, committed relationship

12. What have you felt about most of your sexual relationships?

- a. always dissatisfied
 b. usually dissatisfied
 c. undecided
 d. usually satisfied
 e. always satisfied

At what age did you first have sexual intercourse? _____

13. When I was growing up, my parent(s) (or significant adult figures) emphasized a difference between "women you marry" and "those you have fun with".

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	uncertain	agree	strongly agree

14. What was the primary reason most of your previous relationships ended?

- a. not ready for a commitment (career or emotional reasons)
 b. incompatible with mate's interest, friends or sexually incompatible
 c. unknown
 d. different values than your own
 e. separation because of relocation

15. Among qualities for companionship, what is the most important?

- a. woman that respects my wishes always
 b. woman that usually respects my wishes although at times I voluntarily allow things to go her way
 c. woman with whom I can discuss things irregardless of outcome
 d. woman whose wishes I usually respect but occasionally she voluntarily gives up her wishes to satisfy mine
 e. woman whose wishes I always respect and always please

16. Of the women you have had relationships with, most, in contrast to my professional or preparatory work, have been in professions or preparatory studies that are prestiged (higher degree level and/or higher income):

- a. less
 b. somewhat less
 c. comparable
 d. somewhat more
 e. more

17. How well do you usually get to know a woman (her family, political beliefs, value system, personality style, personal goals-career and marital, her other relationships-friends and coworkers, and sexual desires)?
- a. unfamiliar
 - b. less familiar
 - c. uncertain
 - d. slightly knowledgeable
 - e. very knowledgeable
18. What age do you consider optimal for marriage?
- a. 22 years old or below
 - b. 22-25
 - c. 26-28
 - d. 29-31
 - e. 32-35
 - f. above 35 years old
19. How available are opportunities for meeting desirable women?
- a. not available
 - b. usually not available
 - c. undecided
 - d. usually available
 - e. abundant
20. The relationship(s) I am currently involved in is (are) one in which:
- a. she has always dated someone else simultaneously
 - b. she sometimes dates someone else
 - c. both you and she date other people
 - d. you sometimes date someone else
 - e. you always date someone else
 - f. neither of you dates anyone else
 - g. currently not dating
21. What is the average number of dates per month you go on (dates include outings only)? _____
22. How frequently do you see the person(s) you are involved with per month? _____
23. Since you were 18 years old:
- a. What is the longest period you have spent without being involved in a relationship? _____
 - b. What is the longest period you have spent without dating? _____

24. How many times have you been stood up?

- a. never
- b. usually am not
- c. uncertain
- d. usually am
- e. always am

25. Of the women I have dated, most are willing to discuss problems when they arise in the relationship.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	undecided	agree	strongly agree

26. How frequently have you received gifts from women?

- a. never
- b. usually do not
- c. uncertain
- d. usually do
- e. always

27. Have you ever cohabitated with someone?

- a. never
- b. once or twice
- c. 3-5 relationships
- d. 5 or more relationships
- e. considered on occasions but decided against

28. Rank the three primary reasons for cohabitating. (1 is most important; 3 is least

- a. ^{important} mutual wish for more intense relationship
- b. greater sexual access
- c. economically more advantageous
- d. companionship
- e. convenience (saving travel time and other arrangements)
- f. premarital trial
- g. other Please specify: _____

29. Do you have a platonic male friend with whom you confide in?

- a. none
- b. one or two
- c. uncertain
- d. a few
- e. several

30. What type of things do you confide in with your platonic friend?
- a. no sharing about personal life
 - b. limited sharing about personal life
 - c. uncertain
 - d. usually share most things about personal life
 - e. share everything about personal life at least with one male platonic friend
31. Have you had a relationship with a woman from an ethnic group other than yours?
- a. less than 25% of all relationships
 - b. 25% or more but less than 50%
 - c. 50% or more but less than 75%
 - d. 75% or more but less than 100%
 - e. 100%
- If yes, what group(s)? _____
32. Rank the three primary reasons you chose to have a relationship with someone from another ethnic group. (1 is most important; 3 is least important)
- a. do not consider ethnicity a factor in partner selection
 - b. no person in own ethnic group available
 - c. wished to learn more about opposite sex members in other ethnic groups
 - d. personal attraction
 - e. uncertain
 - f. other Please specify: _____
- *33. What is your relationship with your father like?
- a. no relationship; never discuss anything with him
 - b. distant; seldom talk about current events and never discuss personal interest and problems
 - c. uncertain
 - d. talk in general about events and sometime discuss in detail personal interest and problems
 - e. talk in detail about personal and career interest; discuss current events
- *34. What is your relationship with your mother like?
- a. no relationship; never discuss anything with her
 - b. distant; seldom talk about current events and never discuss personal interest and problems
 - c. uncertain
 - d. talk in general about events and sometime discuss in detail personal interest and problems
 - e. talk in detail about personal and career interest; discuss current events
- *If parent is deceased, give the quality of your relationship before death and illness.

RELATIONSHIP SURVEY

You are invited to participate in a national study of heterosexual relationships and dating behaviors. This study aims to explore what dating and relationship behaviors are like in the 1980's. You must be within the ages of 23-33 years old to participate in the study, have at least obtained a Bachelor's degree, and be single. You are asked to complete this questionnaire which takes approximately 45 minutes. If you have comments, please use the space provided for listing your comments either about relationships and/or about the questionnaire. All information is confidential, and you are requested to not put your name on any parts of this form. You are also urged to not discuss any of your answers with anyone until you have completed filling out the questionnaire. To insure confidentiality, you may also desire to return your questionnaire to the person you obtained it from in a sealed envelope. The information obtained is for research purposes only. Your participation and prompt response is appreciated.

When filling out the questionnaire, please answer all questions based upon men or women of your ethnic group. Also, use only the following definitions and abbreviations for the following words unless specified to do otherwise.

Ethnic Group. Ethnic group is restricted to mean any person who belongs to these groupings: African-American, European-American, Asian-American, and Hispanic-American.

Relationship. A relationship is defined as any exchange with a member of the opposite-sex that exceeds a casual affair or date.

Date. A date is defined as any activity in which you and a member of the opposite-sex engage.

NA Not applicable. Do not use this to denote a zero.

THANK YOU!

Please complete the following questionnaire by filling in the blank, circling, or placing a check mark where appropriate. Your participation is appreciated.

Age: _____

Sex: M F

Race: European-American African-American Asian-American Hispanic-American

Marital Status: Single, never married _____
Divorced _____
Separated _____

Annual Gross Income: _____

Occupation: _____ If student, where are you currently enrolled?

Education Completed: _____

Degree Major: _____

Name of the city and state in which you spent most of your life: _____

Number of years: _____

City and state you currently reside in: _____

Number of years: _____

Father's Occupation: _____

Mother's Occupation: _____

Father's Gross Annual Income: _____ Mother's Gross Annual Income: _____

Current Marital Status of Parent(s) or at time of Death:

Single, never married _____
Divorced _____
Separated _____
Deceased _____
Married _____

Do you have a Step-parent? Yes No

Which? Stepmother

Stepfather

Read the following descriptive paragraphs. On each sheet following the paragraphs, there are scales with personality attributes on a continuum. You are to rate the person described in the previous paragraph on these attributes by circling the number that best describes your impression of how desirable the person would be to you if you were considering him for a relationship. The midpoint of each scale indicates a balanced possession of the personality attributes listed on the continuum.

The following paragraphs are descriptions of men in you ethnic group. Disregard age inferences in making your responses.

L. O. freelances as a photographer. His interest in photography developed while in college where he majored in cinematography. L. O. works sporadically. A couple of his photographs have been printed in major magazines and newspapers. L. O. hopes to achieve national prominence as a still photographer and would like to own a gallery some day. L. O. loves films-American and foreign. He spends most of his leisure time following the latest releases or seeing film classics. L. O. also enjoys classical music and gardening. He has numerous indoor plants. L. O. wishes to marry and have children. He would like to have the freedom to travel and not have too many domestic demands.

E. M. received a MBA and works for a major bank. In the brief time he has been employed, he has received three promotions and numerous bonuses. E. M. would like to develop his own small investment bank later in his career or to make a job change to a smaller investment bank or firm where he might obtain more job seniority. E. M. is athletic. He works out at least four times a week and participates in seasonal team sports. E. M. worked abroad for a major American bank for two years. He likes to cook and collects gourmet cookbooks. E. M. also likes the theater and particularly is involved in several community projects. He spends most of his leisure time in politically-related activities. He desires to marry and have children. He would like to invest a considerable amount of his energy in sharing childrearing responsibilities.

Circle the number that best indicates your impression of the person described in the previous paragraph.

1. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
scrawny						athletic

2. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
follower						leader

3. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
passive						aggressive

4. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
unmotivated						ambitious

5. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
inconsiderate						thoughtful

6. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
incompetent						competent

7. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
snobbish						friendly

8. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
childlike						mature

9. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
unlikeable						likeable

10. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
cold						affectionate

11. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
"nerd"						sensuous

K. B. works as a bookkeeper for a small manufacturing firm. K. B. has some long-range goals of working as a self-employed accountant and handling small business' accounts. He also plans to become a certified public accountant. K. B. likes fishing and table games (chess and backgammon). He also does some woodwork during his spare time. He likes sports. He can cook but he prefers not to unless he is barbecuing. He enjoys relaxing at home. He spends time working on his stereo equipment and making small repairs on his car. K. B. also likes television. K. B. hopes to marry. He thinks children are a very important part of a man's life and hopes to invest a lot of time in childrearing.

R. C. practices medicine. He works as a general practitioner. R. C. spends most of his time attending to his patients' care. When he has leisure time, he enjoys sports-particularly watching football. R. C. also likes music. He enjoys everything from classical to rhythm and soul. He plays basketball and tennis. R. C. builds model ships, and he likes boating. R. C. considers children an important part of his life even though he feels he will have limited time to participate in childrearing. R. C. desires to marry and have children. R. C. is a very active member of a medical organization that monitors varied political issues. R. C. likes spending most of his time, though, relaxing at home.

Make a response to these statements based on your general impressions.
Circle or place an X to indicate your response to the following statements.

1. Black men are successful in their careers.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
unsuccessful						successful

2. Black men actively compete for high prestige jobs.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

3. Black men place more importance on their careers than their relationships.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

4. Most black men are competent in their jobs.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

5. Many black men do not inform you if they have a change in their plans (for example, they are going to be late or have to cancel a date).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

6. Black men are not demonstrable with their affection.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

7. I find that most black men have a variety of interest and experiences that stimulate conversations.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

Make a response to these statements based on your general impressions. Circle or place an X to indicate your response to the following statements.

1. Men are successful in their careers.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

2. Men actively compete for high prestige jobs.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

3. Men place more importance in their careers than their relationships.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

4. Most men are competent in their jobs.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

5. Many men do not inform you if they have a change in their plans (for example, they are going to be late or have to cancel a date).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

6. Men are not demonstrable with their affection.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

7. I find that most men have a variety of interest and experiences that stimulate conversations.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

8. Black men are very capable of being supportive to me and understanding of my feelings.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

9. Black men are respectful of your expectations of appropriate dating behaviors.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

10. In developing their careers, the amount of energy black men devote is:

- a. insufficient
 b. less than sufficient
 c. uncertain
 d. sufficient
 e. excessive

11. Many black men date primarily to have a sexual partner.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

12. Most black men as sexual partners are:

- a. emotionally and physically gratifying
 b. physically gratifying but not emotionally
 c. emotionally gratifying but not physically
 d. neither physically or emotionally gratifying
 e. uncertain

13. Most black men do not express their emotions well verbally.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

14. One of the important considerations in a relationship for me is the ability of the man to behave in a socially appropriate manner in public (for example, capable of engaging in conversations, knowledgeable about social etiquette and dress).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

8. Men are very capable of being supportive to me and understanding of my feelings.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

9. Men are respectful of your expectations of appropriate dating behaviors.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

10. In developing their careers, the amount of energy men devote is:

- a. insufficient
- b. less than sufficient
- c. uncertain
- d. sufficient
- e. excessive

11. Many men date primarily to have a sexual partner.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

12. Most men as sexual partners are:

- a. emotionally and physically gratifying
- b. physically gratifying but not emotionally
- c. emotionally gratifying but not physically
- d. neither physically or emotionally gratifying
- e. uncertain

13. Most men do not express their emotions well verbally.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

14. One of the important considerations in a relationship for me is the ability of the man to behave in a socially appropriate manner in public (for example, capable of engaging in conversations, knowledgeable about social etiquette and dress).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

15. In family life, men tend to be:

a.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
uninvolved						involved

b.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
passive						domineering

16. Men have more opportunities for employment and career development.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

17. In relationships, men devote a lot of time to numerous courting behaviors—such as bringing flowers, petting, and verbal affirmations.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

18. Homosexuality among men is extremely prevalent.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

19. On the average, men's opportunities in obtaining higher education, in contrast to women's opportunities, are:

- a. significantly fewer
- b. less available
- c. equal
- d. greater
- e. significantly greater

20. On the average, men's earnings, in contrast to women's earnings, are:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
lower						higher

21. Most men adhere to the traditional masculine role.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

22. List the most important attributes you consider a part of the "male role".

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

23. Black men place great importance on being well-groomed.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

24. Black men are assertive in initiating relationships.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

25. Black men appreciate women who initiate a relationship.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

26. In my relationships, black men generally have been:

a. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
childlike						mature

b. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
passive						domineering

c. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
deceptive; "gamey"						geniune

d. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
inconsiderate						thoughtful

e. _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
snobbish						friendly

22. List the most important attributes you consider a part of the "male role".

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

23. Men place great importance on being well-groomed.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

24. Men are assertive in initiating relationships.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

25. Men appreciate women who initiate a relationship.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
disagree						agree

26. In my relationships, men generally have been:

a.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
childlike						mature

b.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
passive						domineering

c.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
deceptive; "gamey"						geniune

d.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
inconsiderate						thoughtful

e.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
snobbish						friendly

f.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	cold						affectionate
g.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	unpredictable						reliable
h.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	powerless						strong
i.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	indecisive						decisive
j.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	insincere						trustworthy
k.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	insensitive						understanding
l.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	unfaithful						faithful
m.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	"nerd"						sensuous
n.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	boring						intriguing

Please answer the following questions with regard to your experience with men you have dated from your own ethnic group.

1. At what age did you begin dating? (unchaperoned date) _____
2. The average level of education for a woman , in contrast to the average for a man, is:
 - ___ a. significantly less than
 - ___ b. less than
 - ___ c. equal
 - ___ d. greater than
 - ___ e. significantly greater than
3. When I am not interested in a serious relationship, I still select men with qualities that I would desire in a serious relationship.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	indifferent	agree	strongly agree

4. If I met someone during my preparation in a career that I felt would potentially lead to a serious relationship, I would:
 - ___ a. not enter into the relationship
 - ___ b. not consider a serious relationship but date
 - ___ c. I don't know
 - ___ d. consider a serious relationship but only upon completion of career goals
 - ___ e. enter into a serious relationship
5. How many relationships have you been involved in since 18 years old?
 - ___ a. 0-5
 - ___ b. 6-10
 - ___ c. 11-15
 - ___ d. 16-20
 - ___ e. 21 or more
6. Men do not desire a commitment in a relationship.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	undecided	agree	strongly agree

7. Which of the below levels of education achieved by a man would make you most uncomfortable if considering a relationship with him?

- a. completed less than high school
- b. completed high school
- c. completed Bachelor's level in college
- d. completed Master's level
- e. completed Doctorate level

8. What bracket of income would make you uncomfortable with a man who earned less than yourself?

- a. \$9,000 or below
- b. \$9,001-\$18,000
- c. \$18,001-\$26,000
- d. \$26,001-\$34,000
- e. \$34,001-up
- f. other Please specify:

9. How frequently in your relationships have men rather abruptly ended the relationship without their being an argument or explanation?

- a. never
- b. usually not
- c. undecided
- d. usually always
- e. always

10. What did you anticipate would happen in most of your relationships?

- a. thought mate would be exploitative
- b. thought mate usually might be insincere
- c. undecided
- d. thought mate would usually be honest about his intents
- e. thought mate would always be honest

11. What type of outcome do you wish for in most of your relationships?

- a. wished that you had never been involved
- b. wished to date but not consistently
- c. undecided
- d. wished for steady relationship
- e. wished for monogamous, committed relationship

12. What have you felt about most of your sexual relationships?

- a. always dissatisfied
- b. usually dissatisfied
- c. undecided
- d. usually satisfied
- e. always satisfied

At what age did you first have sexual intercourse? _____

13. How many offers for dates have you turned down this year?

- a. none
- b. a few
- c. uncertain
- d. several
- e. many

14. When growing up, what was the frequency of warnings you received about men not having sincere intents in relationships?

- a. none
- b. few
- c. uncertain
- d. frequent
- e. continuous

15. What was the primary reason most of your previous relationships ended?

- a. not ready for a commitment (career or emotional reasons)
- b. incompatible with mate's interest, friends or sexually incompatible
- c. unknown
- d. different values than your own
- e. separation because of relocation

16. Among qualities for companionship, what is the most important?

- a. man that respects my wishes always
- b. man that usually respects my wishes although at times I voluntarily allow things to go his way
- c. man with whom I can discuss things regardless of outcome
- d. man whose wishes I usually respect but occasionally he voluntarily gives up his wishes to satisfy mine
- e. man whose wishes I always respect and always please

- 4
17. How well do you usually get to know a man (his family, political beliefs, value system, personality style, personal goals-career and marital, his other relationships-friends and coworkers, and sexual desires)?
- a. unfamiliar
 - b. less familiar
 - c. uncertain
 - d. slightly knowledgeable
 - e. very knowledgeable
18. What age do you consider optimal for marriage?
- a. 22 years old or below
 - b. 22-25
 - c. 26-28
 - d. 29-31
 - e. 32-35
 - f. above 35 years old
 - g. not interested in ever marrying
19. How available are opportunities for meeting desirable men?
- a. not available
 - b. usually not available
 - c. undecided
 - d. usually available
 - e. abundant
20. The relationship(s) I am currently involved in is (are) one in which:
- a. he has always dated someone else simultaneously
 - b. he sometimes dates someone else
 - c. both you and he date other people
 - d. you sometimes date someone else
 - e. you always date someone else
 - f. neither of you dates anyone else
 - g. currently not dating
21. What is the average number of dates per month you go on (dates include outings only)? _____
22. How frequently do you see the person(s) you are involved with per month? _____
23. Since 18 years old, what is the longest period you have spent without being involved in a relationship or dating? _____

- *24. What is your relationship with your father like?
- a. no relationship; never discuss anything with him
 - b. distant; seldom talk about current events and never discuss personal interest and problems
 - c. uncertain
 - d. talk in general about events and sometimes discuss in detail personal interest and problems
 - e. talk in detail about personal and career interest; discuss current events
- *25. What is your relationship with your mother like?
- a. no relationship; never discuss anything with her
 - b. distant; seldom talk about current events and never discuss personal interest and problems
 - c. uncertain
 - d. talk in general about events and sometimes discuss in detail personal interest and problems
 - e. talk in detail about personal and career interest; discuss current events
26. Do you have a platonic male friend with whom you confide in?
- a. none
 - b. one or two
 - c. uncertain
 - d. a few
 - e. several
27. What type of things do you confide in with your platonic friend?
- a. no sharing about personal life
 - b. limited sharing about personal life
 - c. uncertain
 - d. usually share most things about personal life
 - e. share everything about personal life at least with one platonic friend
28. Have you had a relationship with men from an ethnic group other than your own?
- a. never
 - b. 25% or less of all relationships
 - c. 50% or less of all relationships
 - d. 75% or less of all relationships
 - e. always

If yes, what group(s)? _____

*If parent is deceased, give the quality of your relationship before death and illness.

29. Rank the 3 primary reasons you chose to enter a relationship with someone from another ethnic group? (1 is the most important; 3 is the least important)

- a. do not consider ethnicity a consideration in mate selection
- b. no person in own ethnic group available
- c. wished to learn more about opposite sex members in other ethnic groups
- d. personal attraction
- e. uncertain
- f. other Please specify: _____

30. Have you had relationships with men who are less successful than yourself professionally and/or economically?

- a. never
- b. usually do not
- c. indifferent
- d. usually do
- e. always do

31. Most men are willing to discuss problems when they arise in the relationship.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	undecided	agree	strongly agree

32. How many times have you been stood up?

- a. never
- b. usually am not
- c. uncertain
- d. usually am
- e. always am

33. How considerate do you think men are?

- a. inconsiderate
- b. somewhat inconsiderate
- c. uncertain
- d. considerate
- e. very considerate

34. How frequently have you received gifts from men?

- a. never
- b. usually do not
- c. uncertain
- d. usually do
- e. always

35. Have you ever cohabitated with someone?

- a. never
- b. once or twice
- c. 3-5 relationships
- d. 5 or more relationships
- e. considered but decided against

36. Rank the 3 primary reasons for you cohabitation. (1 is most important; 3 is least important)

- a. mutual wish for more intense relationship
- b. greater sexual access
- c. economically more advantageous
- d. companionship
- e. convenient (saving travel time and other arrangements)
- f. premarital trial
- g. other Please specify: _____

Appendix C

PERSON PERCEPTION

This is a study of person perception. Studies have shown that people do form detailed impressions of others on the basis of a very few cues. The purpose of the present study is to compare person perception accuracy of untrained college students with graduate students in clinical psychology and practicing psychologists. Person perception is a general ability varying among people so that your perceptions may prove to be as accurate as professionals.

A set of standard photographs will be used as the basis of personality inferences. The individuals depicted in the photograph are college students at other universities who are participating in a longitudinal study of personality development scheduled to continue into their middle adulthood. It will be possible to assess the accuracy of your judgment against information currently available on the stimulus persons and also against forthcoming information.

All of your responses are confidential. Do not put your name on any forms. Please complete the following information below.

Age _____

Sex: M F

Picture Set # 1 2 3 4 5 6

Ethnic Group:

African If so, please specify your nationality: _____

Black American If so, what city and state did you spend most of your life? _____

West Indian If so, please specify your nationality: _____

THANK YOU!

INSTRUCTIONS: Carefully examine the photograph. You are to fill in the following rating scales giving your impression of the person pictured. Please complete the scales according to the order of presentation. (Please disregard any references to a paragraph on the rating sheets.)

Circle the number that best indicates your impression of the person described in the previous paragraph.

1.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
scrawny						athletic
2.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
follower						leader
3.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
passive						aggressive
4.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
unmotivated						ambitious
5.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
inconsiderate						thoughtful
6.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
incompetent						competent
7.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
snobbish						friendly
8.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
childlike						mature
9.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
unlikeable						likeable
10.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
cold						affectionate
11.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
"nerd"						sensuous

Please circle your answer. Use unattractive for the left side of the continuum (1) and attractive for the right side (7).

How attractive do you feel these features are?

HAIR

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
unattractive						attractive

EYES

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

LIPS

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

NOSE

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

SKIN COLOR

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

How would you describe these features?

HAIR LENGTH

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
short			medium			long

LIP SIZE

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
thin			medium			broad

NOSE SHAPE

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
thin			medium			broad

SKIN COLOR

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
fair-skinned						dark-skinned

EYE COLOR

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
light			medium			dark

DO NOT WRITE BELOW THIS LINE.

RESEARCHER CODE:

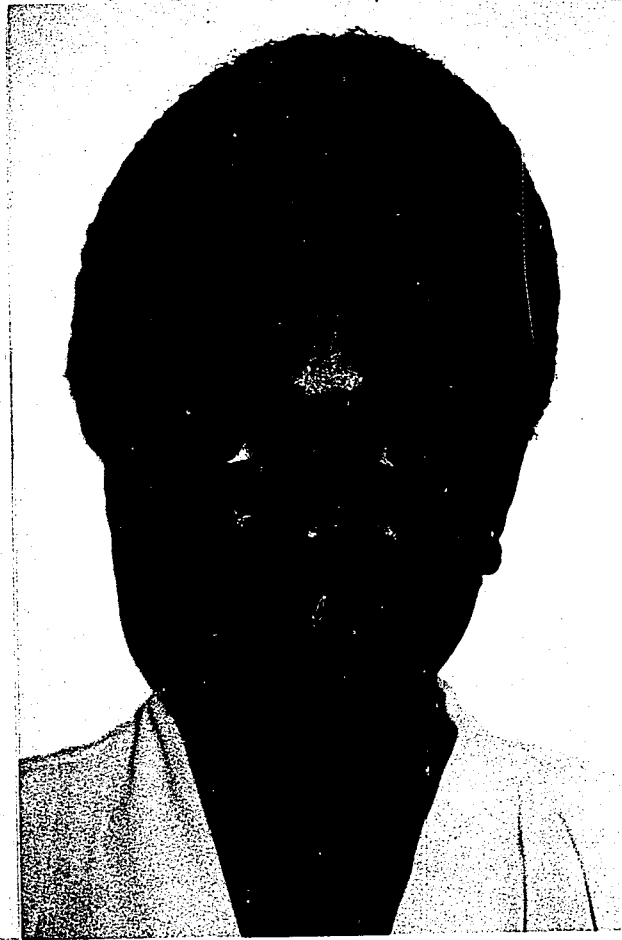
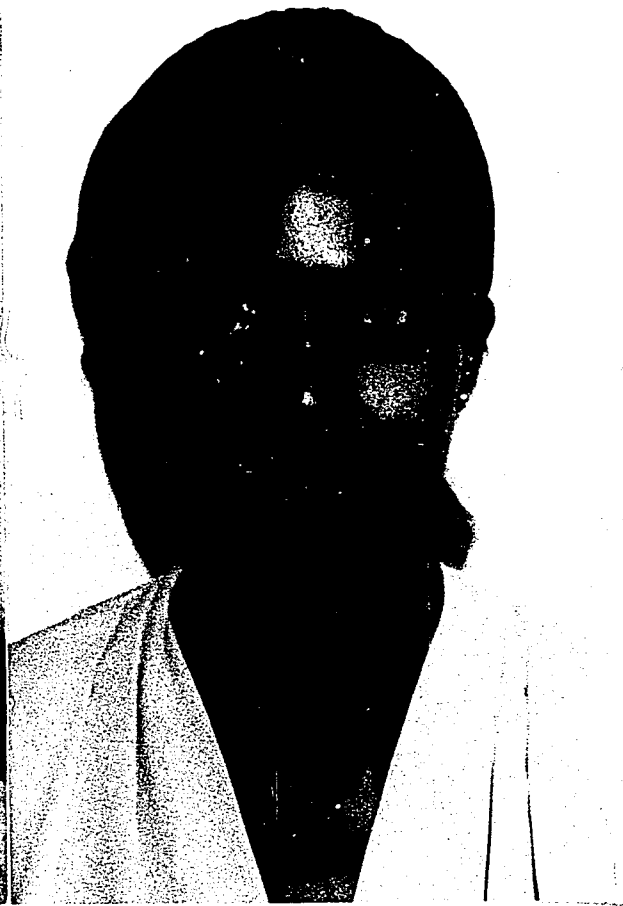
SC

1	2	3	4	5
LS				D

F

1	2	3	4	5
E				A

Appendix D



Oversized photograph is a substitute
for original photograph used in actual
study. Original photograph lost in
the mail.



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