"SHE'S BLACK MORE THAN SHE'S A WOMAN"
A MIXED METHOD ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER AND
PSYCHOLOGICAL OUTCOMES AMONG BLACK FEMALE COLLEGE
STUDENTS

by

Erin T. Graham

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Psychology and Women's Studies)
in the University of Michigan
2009

Doctoral Committee:

      Associate Professor Rosario E. Ceballo, Co-Chair
      Associate Professor Laura P. Kohn-Wood, Co-Chair, University of Miami
      Professor Deborah Keller-Cohen
      Professor Christopher Peterson

To Mom:

I can say "to infinity and beyond…", but really, truly…there are no words.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Laura:

I feel so lucky to have had the pleasure of working with you as my advisor and mentor. Honestly, I could not have asked for a better person to guide me through this journey. You are a wonderful blend of supportiveness and candid honesty. I know that my thinking and my writing have matured under your tutelage; whenever I think of my imaginary Aunt Fanny, I'll think of you ☺

To Rosie:

It's been awesome collaborating with you over the past couple of years. Your passion for your work shows through in your attention to detail. You provide a strong example of how to do things the right way, and you set a tone for excellence that demonstrates your belief in your students' potential. Thank you.

To Chris:

You are a wealth of information. Whether it's positive psychology and research methods or pop culture and random factoids, you are the man! You are a true scholar, an advocate, and so down-to-earth. From my 619 to my dissertation committee, you've made yourself available. I'm humbled to have had access to you as a resource of support.

To Debby:

You complete the fabulous quartet that is my dissertation committee. I had this neat idea about possibly doing discourse analysis, but having you on my committee gave me much- needed guidance that I could not have done without. Thanks for reeling me in! You helped me to hone this "neat idea" into a manageable project without feeling restricted.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Table

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix

ABSTRACT

Employing qualitative and quantitative methods, data were collected from 85 Black female college students to examine whether Black women endorsed sexism in their constructions of gender or, alternatively, resisted sexist ideas. Black women's endorsement of, or resistance against, sexism was also examined in relation to both positive and negative psychological health outcomes. Nonsexist gender constructions that resist female devaluation/subordination and embrace strong gender identity were expected to benefit psychological health, whereas sexist gender constructions that reinforce female devaluation/subordination and minimize gender identity were expected to detract from psychological health. Investigating the psychological health outcomes of how Black women construct gender, especially in ways that resist sexism, was hoped to implicate possible pathways of resilience against gender oppression.

Findings from qualitative interviews revealed that Black women both resisted and reproduced ideas that devalue/subordinate women, indicating moderate endorsement of sexism. Despite the research focus on gender and sexism, race repeatedly emerged as an overriding factor in Black women's self-definition and their perspectives on oppression. Qualitative findings are discussed in relation to contemporary and historical imperatives to accentuate race as well as competitive hostility among Black women.

Quantitative survey findings revealed significant relationships between Black women's constructions of gender and psychological outcomes that partially confirmed study hypotheses. Sexist gender constructions were found to both benefit and undermine

psychological health. Similarly, gender identity was related to both positive and negative psychological outcomes. Potential explanations for the psychological costs and benefits of sexist gender constructions and gender identity are discussed, with a suggested caveat regarding interpretation of study findings as supportive of sexist ideology; findings should not be interpreted to downplay the negative social impact of gender prejudice. Rather, both qualitative and quantitative results demonstrate the pervasiveness and tolerability of contemporary sexism, which have macrolevel consequences for maintaining women's subordination despite some benefits for psychological functioning within the status quo gender hierarchy.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The ways in which Black Americans cope with racial prejudice and

discrimination are important considerations in understanding their mental health

(Neighbors & Williams, 2001); however the distinct challenges related to gender

oppression among Black women are also noteworthy. The 2008 presidential election

highlighted the contrast, and perhaps conflict, between gender and race in American

society. As the sole constituency who saw themselves reflected by two very different

mirrors, Black women in particular were faced with an ultimatum not only between

Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, but between race and gender. Presumably this posed

a unique political dilemma for Black women, as they were faced with a decision between

two historic firsts—a female president or a Black president. Having a female

commander-in-chief presented new opportunities for women's advancement. Likewise,

members of the Black community stood to gain from having a Black person in the oval

office. Perhaps then, Black women were poised to benefit regardless. But did they see it

this way?

Concluding that Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama occupy equivalent status

among Black women is based on the assumption that race and gender issues hold equal

weight for this group. A great deal of scholarship has focused on the status of race and

the salience of racism within the Black community. While race/culture has become more fixed and rigid as an analytical category, gender has been conceptualized as more variable and fluid in recent years (Burman, 2005), seeming to indicate lesser importance of gender and sexism among women of color.

The outcome of the democratic primary, and ultimately of the Presidential election, while attesting to the excellence of Barack Obama's campaign, may also allude to the tension between race and gender. Barack Obama was certainly more popular within the Black community because of race, but was Hillary Clinton *less* popular because of gender? The data for this dissertation were collected in the Fall and Spring of 2008, during the campaign season for the democratic primary, in an effort to elucidate Black women's constructions of gender and the psychological outcomes of sexist (as opposed to nonsexist) ideology.

Though sexism refers to any type of sex-based prejudice, it is typically associated with the devaluation or subordination of women, and is referenced as such in this dissertation. The purpose of the current study is to explore the psychological impact of sexism on Black women. This study seeks to ascertain whether Black women endorse sexism in their constructions of gender or, alternatively, resist sexist ideas. Black women's endorsement of, or resistance against, sexism will also be examined in relation to psychological health.

Employing a mixed methods approach, this study both contributes to and expands upon existing literature on the construction of gender and psychological health. Methods of qualitative inquiry are used to investigate how Black women discuss gender. Quantitative measures are used to assess systematic ways in which gender is constructed

in Black women's lives including gender roles, gender attitudes, sexist language, gender identity, and gender discrimination. The inclusion of quantitative methods is consistent with previous studies that have examined the construction of gender. The current study, however, utilizes a sample of Black women (college students) rather than a predominantly White sample, which is a significant contribution to the literature. Further, a qualitative investigation is expected to reveal unique insights about the construction of gender for Black women that have not been previously identified.

Although recognition of intersecting and multiple identities is critical for understanding the experiences of women of color, particularly with regard to overlapping oppressions (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1991), gender is often overshadowed by race in the study of Black women. A recent PsycINFO search for articles with subject terms of "Black women" paired with "race" yielded 525 citations compared to 353 citations for "Black women" paired with "gender". "Black women" paired with "racism" and "sexism" yielded 166 and 72 citations respectively. The extent to which Black women reproduce and/or resist sexist constructions of gender may have implications for their psychological health. Reproduction of sexism fuels gender oppression, whereas resistance against sexist ideas challenges oppressive relations between men and women. Investigating the psychological outcomes of how Black women construct gender, especially in ways that resist sexism, could implicate possible pathways of resilience against gender oppression.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Intersectionality and Construction of Gender among Black Women

It has been argued that race exerts a "primary and pervasive" influence on the distribution of power among women and men in America, and that this fact has been historically unacknowledged in mainstream feminism due to a focus on the gender experiences of White women (Zinn & Dill, 1996, p. 324). In mainstream feminism, White women's perspectives were assumed to be universal for all women, thereby essentializing womanhood to a single meaning and excluding the perspectives of diverse women of color in the process (Bohan, 1993). As a result, Black women may be hesitant to align themselves with feminism and the women's movement given the centrality of race in shaping their feminist views (Harnois, 2005).

It has also been argued that race and gender are equally salient for Black women and it is the joint impact of these social inequalities that distinguishes their gender perspectives from those of White feminists. There is research to suggest that race and gender in tandem are more important to Black women than either identity alone (Settles, 2006), whereas mainstream feminism has been accused of neglecting the intersection of multiple oppressions. Use of the plural "feminisms" among several women of color scholars is meant to underscore the diversity of perspectives pertaining to women's

experiences and gender consciousness (Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008), including

womanism (Walker, 1983), Black feminism (Collins, 2000), multiracial feminism (Zinn

& Dill, 1996), and third-world feminism (Mohanty, 1991), for example.

There is also research to suggest, however, that more similarities than differences

exist between Black and White women's gender experiences (Settles, Pratt-Hyatt, &

Buchanan, 2008). Therefore, feminism may not be solely applicable to White women,

but is likely to have relevance for Black women as well (White, 2006). The applicability

of feminism to ethnically diverse women may be better understood from a constructionist

perspective on gender. Constructionism attends to the varying contexts that shape how

gender is socially enacted; gender is not understood to reside in individuals but in

interactions that are labeled "masculine" or "feminine" (i.e. gendered) based on the

frequency with which men and women are exposed to them (Bohan, 1993). Differential

exposure to particular interactions based on multiple and intersecting social identities is

acknowledged from a constructionist model. Certainly though, it is not only the

acknowledgement of difference that is at stake, but also the recognition of (and activism

against) unequal power distribution among "different" people (Zinn & Dill, 1996). Yet

this is not to say that a shared experience of womanhood cannot exist among diverse

women or that gender cannot be investigated in its own right.

As Risman (2004) contended, recognition of the multiple ways in which

oppression is simultaneously experienced, need not preclude separate analysis of various

forms of inequality. Rather, it is important to investigate the distinct history of gender

oppression and its current operation, which may differ from the history and operation of

other social inequalities. A solely intersectional focus on the "subjective experience of

interlocking oppressions would have us lose access to how the mechanisms for different kinds of inequality are produced" (Risman, 2004, p. 443).

Sexism and Construction of Gender

Feminist scholars discuss "doing gender," by identifying gender as a social performance enacted by individuals to construct a fundamental division between men and women (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The ways in which gender is "done", however, are not static. Individuals can construct gender in ways that resist traditional power divisions between men and women that reinforce sexism. How gender is constructed among Black women, particularly if it is toward the resistance or reproduction of sexism, is the focus of this dissertation.

As articulated by Glick and Fiske (1996), sexism is not always hostile, but can manifest in ways that may be benevolent toward women while also perpetuating ideas of female weakness or restricting women's roles. Hostile and benevolent sexism have been theorized as separate but related constructs, operating on orthogonal dimensions that both reinforce gender inequality. It is thus possible for a single individual to endorse both hostile and benevolent sexism to varying degrees; high endorsement of both constructs indicates ambivalent sexism, whereas mutually low endorsement indicates nonsexist ideology (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

There are three interrelated components of hostile and benevolent sexism: paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexuality (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Paternalism refers to the dually dominative and protective roles that men assume in relation to women, where women are both subordinated and cherished by men. Gender differentiation refers to the competitive motivation to draw distinctions between men and

women in order to justify their hierarchical power positions; at the same time, however, women are also positioned as complementary to men due to their value as nurturers and companions. Heterosexuality in the ambivalent sexism framework refers to men's ambivalent dependence on women for sex and intimacy, which may also contribute to resentment toward women's circumscribed dominance as sexual gatekeepers. Paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexuality each convey both hostile and benevolent sexism as a result of men's conflicting motivations for domination of and dependency on women…"an unusual situation in which members of a more powerful group are dependent on members of a subordinate group" (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Research suggests that the components of benevolent sexism function to disarm women's resistance to hostile sexism toward their gender (Glick et al., 2000; Sibley, Overall, & Duckitt, 2007). In its benevolent form, paternalism may be viewed as protective (Glick et al., 2000; Moya, Glick, Expósito, de Lemus, & Hart, 2007) or chivalrous (Viki, Abrams, & Hutchison, 2003), prompting women's compliance with the dominative variant of paternalism. Gender differentiation may be viewed as complementary, where women and men are seen as possessing equitable (but not overlapping) advantages and disadvantages (Jost & Kay, 2005), and competition for power/status is minimized. Benevolent sexism, therefore justifies the status quo gender hierarchy by encouraging and rewarding women's participation in a system of male dominance and female subordination.

Hostile and benevolent sexism have been found in association with conservative or traditional ideology (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Feather, 2004; Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997; Lee, Pratto, & Li, 2007; Sibley, Overall, & Duckitt, 2007; Viki,

Abrams, & Hutchison, 2003). Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, and Zhu (1997) provide evidence that benevolence is expressed toward women in traditional gender roles (e.g., nurturers) and hostility is expressed toward women classified as nontraditional (e.g., career women and feminists). Tradition values emphasizing adherence to time-honored cultural customs were positively correlated with benevolent sexism among Australian college students (Feather, 2004). Notably, the same study found a negative correlation between benevolent sexism and benevolence values, suggesting that favorable attitudes toward women in traditional roles are in opposition with values for human welfare or goodwill. Chivalry, conservative delineation of courtship and dating behavior, has been associated with benevolent sexism (Viki, Abrams, & Hutchison, 2003). Conservative orientations toward social dominance, right-wing authoritarianism, and a Protestant work ethic, have been linked with both hostile and benevolent sexism. Christopher and Mull (2006) found that support for hierarchical relationships between social groups (social dominance) was related to hostile sexism among a predominantly White sample of college students. Support for a Protestant work ethic, in which hard work is highly esteemed and perceived failures to contribute are not tolerated, was similarly related to hostile sexism in the same study. Right-wing authoritarianism, indicating support of group cohesiveness and motivation to protect within-group ideology from perceived threats, has been found to contribute to benevolent sexism (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Sibley, Overall, & Duckitt, 2007). In addition, support for conservative ideology may explain findings indicating that benevolent sexism contributes to hostile sexism (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Sibley, Overall, & Duckitt, 2007). Sibley, Overall, and Duckitt (2007) explain that benevolent sexism, when associated with right-wing

authoritarianism, contributed to female college students in New Zealand becoming more hostilely sexist toward other women over time. Thus conservative constructions of gender, even those of a benevolent nature, may compel women to aggressively justify gender inequality for the sake of group cohesion and collective security.

To the contrary, there is also evidence that benevolent sexism may actually be a form of resistance against hostility toward women. In a study examining women's reactions to gender-based hostility from men, White female college students were found to endorse significantly more benevolent sexism, but not hostile sexism, when led to believe that men held negative attitudes toward women (Fischer, 2006). A large global sample of participants from 19 countries similarly demonstrated that women from more sexist nations endorsed more benevolent sexism than women from nations with lower overall sexism (Glick et al., 2000). These findings suggest that exposure to hostile sexism from men does not necessarily beget the same sexist ideology among women, but may incite a partially resistant response in the form of benevolent sexism (Fischer, 2006). As Glick and colleagues (2000) explain, "When men are high in HS, women have a strong incentive to accept BS to gain men's protection, admiration, and affection and as a means of avoiding men's hostility" (p. 773).

Though potentially a form of protective resistance against hostility toward women, benevolent sexism may carry personal drawbacks for women. Dardenne, Dumont, and Bollier (2007) propose that by implicitly suggesting women's inferiority to men, benevolent sexism may contribute to intrusive self-doubt that detracts from working memory as women work to manage intrusive thoughts. In four studies conducted among college-educated and uneducated women in France, they found that exposure to

benevolent sexism, more than hostile sexism, impeded participants' cognitive performance. The relationship between benevolent sexism and cognitive performance was found to be mediated by intrusive thoughts challenging women's sense of competence.

Sexism in a contemporary context may be more subtle and difficult to detect given the taboo surrounding overtly negative attitudes toward women (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). Modern sexists may support discriminatory practices even while appearing to hold unprejudiced beliefs. Swim, Aikin, Hall, and Hunter (1995) characterized modern sexism in terms of denial of present-day discrimination, opposition of women's political/economic demands, and lack of support for policies that benefit women. Although modern sexism is, at least on the surface, an evolved manifestation of prejudice against women, it shares common characteristics with benevolent sexism. Like benevolent sexism, modern sexism is seemingly favorable toward women though deceptively prejudicial. Jackson, Esses, and Burris (2001) added that contemporary sexism is also a matter of respect, which is differentially expressed toward women and men.

Perceptions of gender discrimination also provide information on sexism and the construction of gender. Whereas modern and benevolent sexism subtlety instigate women's collusion with gender inequality, the perception of gender discrimination prompts resistance against sexism. Awareness of sexism has been found to significantly predict feminist activism (Stake, 2007), suggesting that greater perceived discrimination is consistent with nonsexist ideology.

Construction of Gender and Psychological Outcomes

Research investigating the construction of gender in relation to psychological health outcomes is scant, particularly among women. Previous research on this topic has been primarily conducted in the area of gender role conflict among men. The literature has repeatedly linked male gender role conflict with psychological distress (e.g., Good, et al., 1995; Hayes & Mahalik, 2000; Zamarripa, Wampold, & Gregory, 2003). This relationship has been explained to result from adherence to socialized gender roles that restrict human potential (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). In the following review of the existing research on the psychological outcomes of gender construction among women, constructions of gender are defined broadly as any ideas, attitudes, identities, orientations, or stereotypes expressed about men and women.

A review of the literature suggests that traditional constructions of gender are distinguished by conservative views about men and women that reinforce stereotypical femininity and masculinity. In contrast, nontraditional constructions of gender are more liberal with respect to the characteristics attributed to men and women. Traditional constructions of gender are described in this dissertation as sexist because they situate women in subordination to men in a gender hierarchy. This is consistent with the conservative ideology linked with benevolent and hostile sexism (e.g., Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997) as well as with the definition of old-fashioned sexism provided by Swim, Aikin, Hall, and Hunter (1995, p. 199), "endorsement of traditional gender roles, differential treatment of women and men, and stereotypes about lesser female competence".

Previous studies have linked traditional constructions of gender with negative psychological outcomes. In a study of Canadian women's accounts of their health problems, Waters (1993) found that women connected the stress, anxiety, and depression they experienced to gendered caring roles in which they were expected to put others first. Despite recognizing the link between gender roles and poor mental health however, these women tolerated the burden of caring for others and often minimized the resulting psychological distress they experienced as "normal." Similar findings from Borges and Waitzkin (1995) indicated that women's narratives during medical primary care encounters expressed emotional distress related to familial role expectations impacting women (e.g., wife, mother, homemaker). In a community-based study of social factors related to health, holding more traditional attitudes about gender roles was associated with suicidal ideation among Scottish early middle-aged adults (Hunt, Sweeting, Keoghan, & Platt, 2006). Additionally, Grimmell and Stern (1992) found that women tended to idealize stereotypically masculine traits significantly more than feminine traits but described themselves as more feminine. Results also indicated that perceiving one's own femininity as greater than or nearly equal to ideal femininity was related to feelings of hostility. Evidence for the psychological detriment of traditional constructions of gender among Black women comes from only one study. Thomas, Witherspoon, and Speight (2004) found that Black women who endorsed more passive and caretaking roles, consistent with a traditional construction of gender, reported lower self-esteem.

Together these findings seem to indicate that traditional constructions of gender may enforce a rigid, and perhaps psychologically stifling, male-female dichotomy. Women who adhere to traditional gender norms may not feel free to express traits that

have been socially sanctioned as masculine despite their appreciation for masculinity. Moreover, internalizing traditional constructions of gender may be related to some psychological or emotional risk. Grimmell and Stern (1992) concluded that incongruence between gender ideals and self-perceptions is detrimental; however, it could be that acting out roles that reinforce female subordination undermines women's psychological health.

In addition to traditional constructions of gender, modern sexism has also been linked with psychological detriment. Barreto and Ellemers (2005) found that female Dutch university students were reluctant to identify modern sexist views as prejudicial despite reporting greater anxiety in response to modern sexism than old-fashioned sexism. The researchers conclude that the politically correct and seemingly inoffensive language of modern sexism may be especially harmful for women given the likelihood that modern sexist views may undermine psychological health, yet remain unchallenged. Although the psychological detriments of gender discrimination have been consistently demonstrated (Klonoff, Landrine, & Campbell, 2000; Landrine, Klonoff, Gibbs, & Manning, 1995; Pinel, 2004; Schmitt, Branscombe, & Postmes, 2003), it is possible that perceiving gender discrimination may also defend against sexist insults that might otherwise go unrecognized.

Conversely, nontraditional constructions of gender have been associated with positive psychological outcomes. Androgynous and stereotypically masculine women have been found to exhibit fewer depressive symptoms and less anxiety than their stereotypically feminine counterparts (Thornton & Leo, 1992). Related findings from a study of gender role orientation and mental health indicate that high and increasing

masculinity over time is related to decreasing depressive symptoms (Barrett & White, 2002). Therefore, women who endorse nontraditional constructions of gender, marked by either androgyny or masculinity, may fare better in terms of psychological health than more traditionally feminine women. It may also be that the assumed benefits of androgyny are actually driven by the presence of stereotypically masculine characteristics, either with or without concurrent endorsement of stereotypical femininity (Barrett & White, 2002). Femininity may not be detrimental so much as masculinity is beneficial. Perhaps masculinity among women promotes mental health by allowing greater freedom in their identity expression, as these women are apparently not bound by traditional gender stereotypes. Zamarripa, Wampold, and Gregory (2003), however, found that women experienced depressive symptoms and anxiety when they assumed nontraditional gender roles stereotypically associated with men and masculinity. This finding contradicts those linking nontraditional constructions of gender or masculinity among women with better psychological health.

Research on the relationship between nontraditional constructions of gender and psychological outcomes among Black females yields inconsistent findings. Within a sample of Black adolescent girls, Buckley and Carter (2005) found that endorsement of androgyny and masculinity was associated with greater self-esteem, suggesting that nontraditional constructions of gender may promote psychological health among young Black American females similar to findings within other populations (e.g., Barrett & White, 2006; Thornton & Leo, 1992). In addition, Morris (2007) discovered that Black girls' academic performance appeared to be constrained by reprimands from teachers to be less "loud" and assertive in favor of traditional ladylike behavior; such constraints on

acceptable female behavior may indirectly influence Black female psychology by undermining their efforts for success. Another study, however, linked endorsement of loud and assertive roles among Black women with lower self-esteem (Thomas, Witherspoon, & Speight, 2004). Perhaps age differences between these samples might explain these disparate findings. The study of Black women utilized a sample ranging in age from 18 to 63 years-old, whereas participants in the other two studies were age 18 and younger. Older Black women may have internalized negative connotations of nontraditional gender constructions that Black adolescent girls have yet to fully adopt. How then might constructions of gender affect a sample of college-age Black women situated at the nexus of these two developmental stages? The current study will explore whether nontraditional/nonsexist constructions of gender are associated with psychological benefits or risks for young Black women.

Valuing one's gender identity might have psychological benefits for women as well, similar to those commonly associated with racial identity (see Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; Caldwell, Zimmerman, Bernat, Sellers, Notaro, 2002; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000). Yet research on psychological outcomes related to gender identity is limited and inconsistent. Hoffman (2006) reported that positively viewing one's gender identity was related to greater subjective well-being, regardless of how important gender was for defining oneself. Gender identification has also been found to protect against sexist ideas that challenge women's sense of competence and impede their cognitive performance (Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007). Among Black women however, Settles (2006) found that perceived conflict with racial identity was related to depressive symptoms and lower self-esteem whereas perceived conflict with gender

identity was not related to psychological outcomes, suggesting that gender identity matters not for Black women's psychological health. Similarly, an earlier study of racial and gender identity among Black women found that racial identity was associated with psychological well-being but not gender role attitudes (Pyant & Yanico, 1991). These findings appear to suggest that gender identity does not relate at all to psychological outcomes when race is salient. By examining several positive and negative psychological outcomes, the current study explores potential psychological functions of gender identity untapped by previous studies of Black women.

The evidence reviewed here indicates that constructions of gender may be associated with psychological outcomes among Black women, but the direction of this relationship remains unclear, particularly for nontraditional gender constructions. Traditional gender constructions that endorse sexism may be linked with psychological detriments, as indicated by the studies reviewed here, including one sample of Black women. Nontraditional constructions of gender may be psychologically beneficial for young Black women if they can resist internalizing restrictions on the ways in which they do gender.

The majority of studies reviewed here have examined the construction of gender in relation to either negative or positive outcomes. This study examines both negative and positive outcomes of constructing gender in order to obtain a fuller picture of the potential implications that sexism and gender identity may have for Black women's psychological health. From a positive psychology perspective, resistance against sexism and positive identification with gender may promote resilience among Black women.

Possible factors of resilience examined here include hope, self-esteem, life satisfaction, and psychological well-being.

As conceptualized by Snyder et al. (1991), hope is the determination to meet goals (agency) combined with the ability to devise plans for accomplishing set goals (pathways). In the current study, hope may be a factor of resilience for Black women, promoting goal-directed determination and planning to resist sexism. Previous studies on the psychological outcomes of gender construction have not examined hope. Hope may promote empowerment in the context of adversity (Andrews, Guadalupe, & Bolden, 2003), and therefore is an important psychological resource to combat gender oppression.

Self-esteem is the positive or negative evaluation of oneself as a whole, and has been found to be significant contributor to psychological health and well-being (Rosenberg, Schooler, Schoenbach, & Rosenberg, 1995). Gender discrimination has been shown to detract from women's psychological health in part by negatively impacting self-esteem (Fischer & Holz, 2007). As Fischer and Holz (2007) explain, perceptions of sexist discrimination contribute to beliefs that others have negative views of women, which contributes to personally held negative views of women, which contributes to negative views of oneself as an individual woman, which contributes to increased psychological distress. For Black women, both traditional and nontraditional gender construction have been linked with low self-esteem (Thomas, Witherspoon, & Speight, 2004), making it difficult to ascertain if sexism contributes to negative views about oneself in this population. The present study investigates multiple domains of gender construction to gain a better understanding of the relationship between sexism endorsement and self-esteem.

Life satisfaction is an assessment of how one's circumstances measure up to personally derived standards of how one's life should be, and has been proposed as a component of subjective well-being due to the emphasis on personal, not external, judgment (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). Life satisfaction is a good barometer by which to measure outcomes of sexism endorsement in the current study because Black women's quality of life in spite of gender oppression may attest to their psychological resilience. Previous studies on the psychological outcomes of gender construction have not examined life satisfaction. The inclusion of satisfaction with life as a psychological outcome of constructing gender is a significant contribution to the literature, which has largely focused on distress.

Psychological well-being is a positive state of mental health, amounting to more than just the absence of distress. Including psychological well-being as an outcome allows for more precise measurement of mental health, particularly by distinguishing among individuals experiencing minimal psychological distress (Veit & Ware, 1983). Given that the sample of Black women in the current study represents a normative (nonpsychiatric) population, assessment of positive mental health is indicated (Ostroff, Woolverton, Berry, & Lesko, 1996) rather than solely assessing negative outcomes. Previous research has provided inconclusive findings with regard to the relationship between well-being and gender identity. The current study reexamines this relationship and also investigates other constructions of gender in relation to mental health/well-being.

In addition to examining potential resilience factors as outcomes related to gender construction, negative psychological outcomes are also explored consistent with previous

research. Of the few studies on the construction of gender and psychological health outcomes, most have measured psychological distress in terms of depression and anxiety symptoms. The current study examines these outcomes while also including somatization symptoms and perceived stress. Somatization symptoms, while not a primary focus of this study, may accompany depression and anxiety symptoms and enrich detection of psychological distress. Literature on cardiovascular disease has demonstrated that Black women in particular experience physical "weathering" as a result of psychosocial stressors (Lepore et al., 2006; Warren-Findlow, 2006), and that this health deterioration is not explained by poverty (Geronimus, Hicken, Keene, & Bound, 2006). These findings suggest that both somatization and stress are important to consider as outcomes in Black women's psychological health. Perceived stress is included as an outcome to explore if overwhelmed feelings and coping resources may relate to the construction of gender. Further, sexism has been found to be a gender-specific stressor negatively influencing women's psychological health (Klonoff, Landrine, & Campbell, 2000). Therefore, sexist gender construction may influence the extent to which Black women appraise their lives as stressful.

Reproducing and Resisting Sexism

Discourse exerts a powerful, though perhaps covert, influence on psychology. It has been argued that discursive practices shape the psychological process of identity formation. Individuals position themselves in relation to ongoing social discussions, and in the process, construct identities through discourse (Bamberg, 2004a; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Thus, identity is a key site for examining the pervasive psychological influence of discourse.

The discourse about any given topic is often dominated by particular ideas that have gained the overriding status of "common sense" over time (Wetherell, 1998). Literally, common ways in which people make sense of the world are used to justify the positions individuals assume in social discussions. Once a particular understanding is established with an audience, individuals can use this common ground as a launchpad for making a variety of claims about the social world (Wetherell, 1998). Bamberg (2004a, 2004b) used the term *master narratives* to describe these dominant ideas in language. The language about gender, for example, is dominated by sexist narratives. Therefore, ideas pertaining to female subordination may be prevalent in discussions of gender.

The fact that master narratives dominate a topic of discussion does not mean that they are always supported by language. Although "it is impossible to fully escape the normalizing confines of language", individuals also strategically use language to further personal and political agendas (McCall, 2005, p. 1777). Therefore, people can assume discursive positions that reproduce and/or resist master narratives. With gender discourse as an example, sexism can be discussed in such a way as to condone and/or resist the subordination of women. Although the dominant idea of sexism toward women may still

be pervasive in gender discourse, a given individual may discuss sexist ideology in accordance with his or her own agenda. In this way, sexist ideology in gender discourse can be resisted despite its dominance.

<div align="center">Analyzing Discourse</div>

The analytic strategies used for the qualitative data in this study consist of content analysis with depth as well as breadth. In order to derive this detailed analysis, two approaches are undertaken, first categorizing content based on emergent themes then later examining how emergent themes are articulated and clarified through participants' conversational choices. The second level of analysis borrows from strategies used in discourse analysis; however, this is not a discourse analysis given that language and wording are examined to a much lesser extent in this study. Approaches to discourse analysis are reviewed to frame the in-depth content analysis used here. Also, perhaps due to the conglomeration of qualitative methods used here, the themes that emerge are not mutually exclusive as in traditional content analysis. Rather, there is overlap among some themes, using multiple categorizations to account for contradictions, alternate meanings, and other complexities in the data.

Three types of discourse analysis have commonly been described in the methodological literature: conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis, and positioning analysis. The first two approaches have often been discussed in opposition to one another due to different ideas about how to interpret the meanings of a given discourse. Positioning analysis incorporates ideas from both conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis to examine social discourse at three levels.

Regardless of the particular approach, analysis of discourse involves examining content as well as going beyond content to examine its function (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Rather than solely accounting for content-based themes that emerge from the text, deliberate actions taken by the speaker to establish a particular position are accounted for in discourse analysis. That is, a discursive investigation places significance on what people are doing with their words in addition to what is said.

In attempting to understand the actions behind words, the discourse analyst asks, "why this utterance here?" (Wetherell, 1998), or phrased differently, "what is the speaker trying to achieve in his or her discussion of a certain topic?" This question is a foundational aspect of discourse analysis, though it can be answered in different ways. One technique is examining the explicit features of a discussion to see how the speaker makes meaning of the topic and arrives at particular conclusions. Another technique is examining what the speaker does not say, specifically noting if there are any glaring oversights or obvious silence around certain issues. Therefore, answering the central question of "why this utterance here?" can involve examining both the explicit and implicit features of a discussion.

A conversation analytic approach to discourse analysis examines the explicit features of a discussion. The ways in which speakers themselves understand the topic of discussion are the focus of conversation analysis (Schegloff, 1997). The analyst closely adheres to what the speaker is saying, and seeks to represent only the speaker's orientation in the analysis. In this way, the analyst remains objective and open to the ideas that emerge from the discourse. Ideas outside the immediate context of the

discussion are not imposed on the discourse in order to explain it. Rather, any remarks *about* the discourse can be explicitly observed *in* the discourse.

Critical discourse analysis, on the other hand, attends to the implicit features of a discussion. Speakers' explicit ideas are significant to the extent that they point to the larger social context. The social context may not be explicit in the actual discourse under investigation, but relevant to understanding it nonetheless. For example, knowledge of gender and race relations may help explain Black women's discussions of their relationships with one another, whether or not they explicitly discuss gender and race. Critical discourse analysis thus extends beyond the text to consider how localized discussions of a topic may confirm or contradict widespread patterns that have been identified by social theory (Billig, 1999a, 1999b; Wetherell, 1998).

In an attempt to quell the debate between conversation analysts and critical discourse analysts, Schegloff (1997) suggests a combined methodology that sequences both approaches.   In the proposed sequence, conversation analysis is first used to understand the explicit ideas of the speaker, free from any ideas derived from social theory. Once the perspective of the speaker is clear, it is then possible to critically and/or politically address the discourse utilizing social theory. Conversation analysis can thus set the stage for critical discourse analysis.

Not unlike the sequencing approach offered by Schegloff, positioning analysis outlines a strategy for analyzing discourse that incorporates the objectivity of conversation analysis along with the social commentary of critical discourse analysis. According to Bamberg (2004b), speaker positioning can be analyzed at three levels: (1) narrative content and character description, (2) discursive action toward intended

audience, and (3) identity construction vis-à-vis master narratives, where the first two

levels of positioning can be used to develop the third. The first level of positioning refers

solely to the content of the discourse, with particular attention to themes that emerge and

how characters are depicted. The second level takes the interaction between speaker and

audience into account, considering how the speaker means to portray his/herself to the

audience and how these intentions shape his or her arguments. These first two levels of

speaker positioning are consistent with a conversation analytic approach, where the

analyst does not "speak beyond the data" based on the presumed relevance of the larger

social context, but instead focuses on speakers' conversational choices that demonstrate

their understanding of a topic. The third level of positioning refers to the identity that the

speaker creates by participating in the discourse, such that the speaker's evolving sense of

self can be inferred in relation to relevant master narratives. Positioning analysis at the

third level is akin to critical discourse analysis, wherein social theory can be used to

identify master narratives that speakers utilize when constructing arguments (explicitly)

and identities (often implicitly) through discourse. Depending on the particular positions

(e.g., resistance) taken by speakers, particularly at the third level, discourse analysis can

potentially divest master narratives of their dominance.

<div style="text-align:center">The Present Study</div>

As part of a mixed methods approach, the present study utilizes discourse analytic

techniques to perform an in-depth thematic analysis of the ways in which Black female

college students construct gender in relation to sexist ideology. Like race, gender is

based on a socially constructed system of oppression with implications for psychological

health. Gender thus represents a useful analytic tool for studying psychological outcomes

(Stewart & McDermott, 2004). When considered as a category of analysis in the psychological literature on Blacks however, gender has been characterized in at least two ways that are problematic: as a relatively insignificant addendum to race/culture or as an overarching category that perpetuates male dominance across race/culture (Burman, 2005). These issues are circumvented by shifting gender to the center of the analysis and examining gender discussions from a perspective sensitive to women's experiences that is expected to reveal an association between psychological outcomes and sexism.

The women in this study are also at a critical developmental period in their lives, emerging adulthood. This period between adolescence and adulthood is when identity begins to crystallize and a more stable sense of self comes into view (Arnett, 2000). Previous research on constructions of gender and psychological outcomes has focused either on adult women or adolescent girls, while young women transitioning into adulthood have scarcely been studied.   By investigating how college-age Black women construct their female identities in their discussions of gender, at a critical period of identity development—emerging adulthood, this dissertation addresses a neglected area of research.

This dissertation further contributes to the literature by utilizing mixed methods to investigate the construction of gender and psychological outcomes. Previous research has used either quantitative or qualitative methods to study gender construction. Quantitative studies have focused on how gender is constructed through roles and attitudes, for example, demonstrating a relation to measures of psychological health. Qualitative studies have examined the construction of gender through discourse, but have not related the discussion of gender to psychological health. In the present study,

quantitative survey methods will be used to compare findings with previous studies of gender roles and gender attitudes, while qualitative interview methods will be used to further examine how Black women talk about gender, which cannot be obtained from standardized, self-report measures.

Borrowing from the three-level positioning method articulated by Bamberg (2004b), an in-depth thematic analysis is used to examine qualitative interviews with Black college women. Participants' discussions of gender and how their arguments are developed in the context of an interview with a Black female researcher will be analyzed. This investigation is expected to provide information on the identities Black college women construct in their discussions of gender and how these relate to sexist ideology, specifically seeking to ascertain if participants' gender discussions reproduce or resist prevailing sexist discourse.

The following research questions and hypotheses guide the present study:

1. Qualitative – *How is gender constructed among Black women in relation to sexism?*

2. Quantitative – *What is the relationship between the construction of gender and psychological outcomes among Black women?*

   a. Nonsexist/nontraditional construction of gender, as indicated by stronger gender identity, lower endorsement of sexist roles and attitudes, and greater support of nonsexist language is expected to benefit psychological health. Sexist/traditional construction of gender, as indicated by weaker gender identity, greater endorsement of sexist

roles and attitudes, and less support of nonsexist language is expected to detract from psychological health.

b. Perceived gender discrimination is investigated as a possible contributor to positive psychological health by promoting resistance against sexism; however no specific hypotheses are made in relation to psychological outcomes given previous findings associating gender discrimination with psychological detriments.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants and Recruitment

In order to obtain a diverse representation, the study sample consisted of 85 Black American women attending one of two college institutions; a predominantly White university (PWU) in the Midwest, and a historically Black university (HBU) in the Southern region. There were no a priori hypotheses regarding potential differences between the two samples on relevant study variables; however the samples were first analyzed separately to detect differences that may affect the aggregated findings. Participants were recruited from introductory psychology courses at the PWU and from the university student center at the HBU. Psychology student participants at the PWU were compensated with experimental credit hours. For HBU participants recruited at the university student center, a university-authorized kiosk was set-up to provide monetary compensation following on-site participation. Paid participants received $5 for completing the study survey.

Procedure

Participants completed an interview and a survey pertaining to their constructions of gender and psychological outcomes. Qualitative interviews were conducted with participants from the introductory psychology courses to minimize attrition between the

survey and interview portions; participants who receive required experimental credit are presumed to be less likely to no-show for scheduled interview appointments than those electing to participate for payment. The duration of the interview was approximately 1-hour and was audio-recorded. The interviews were later transcribed in their entirety by a hired transcriptionist. A 30-minute, written survey was administered to all study participants and consisted of measures assessing psychological symptoms, well-being, self-esteem, hope, life satisfaction, perceived gender discrimination, gender roles, gender attitudes, gender identity, and sexist language attitudes.

Measures

Perceived Gender Discrimination

Construction of gender through discrimination experiences was measured by 15 items[1] developed by Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, and Owen (2002). These items assessed two areas, perceptions of discrimination against women as a group and personal experiences with gender discrimination. Items pertaining to group gender discrimination assessed both prejudice and privilege related to being a woman. Personal gender discrimination items solely assessed prejudice. Items assessing female privilege were reverse-coded so that higher scores on the overall scale indicated greater perceived gender discrimination. Responses were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) "Strongly Disagree" to (5) "Strongly Agree," with a midpoint of (3) "Neither Agree Nor Disagree." Sample items include: "Women as a group have been victimized by society" (group prejudice), "Women have received preferential treatment because of their gender" (group privilege), and "I have personally been a victim of sexual discrimination"

---

[1] To facilitate ease of responding, several survey measures were modified from their original versions to a five-point Likert scale.

(personal discrimination). Internal consistency for items assessing group gender discrimination was relatively low in this sample ($\alpha = .60$). Items assessing personal gender discrimination had strong internal consistency ($\alpha = .82$).

Gender Identity

Construction of gender through identity was measured by 4 items[1] assessing the extent to which participants viewed their gender positively: "I value being a member of my gender group," "I am proud to be a member of my gender group," "I like being a member of my gender group," and "I believe that being a member of my gender group is a positive experience" (Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002). Responses were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) "Strongly Disagree" to (5) "Strongly Agree," with a midpoint of (3) "Neither Agree Nor Disagree." Items assessing gender identity had very high internal consistency in this sample ($\alpha = .95$).

Sexist Gender Roles

Construction of gender through male and female roles was measured by the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory[1] (ASI) (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The ASI consists of 22 items pertaining to the roles of men and women and their relationships with one another. Items on the ASI are divided into two subscales assessing hostile and benevolent sexism. Glick and Fiske (1996) noted that sexism is not always hostile in nature; rather it is also expressed through benevolent acts and references in which female subordination is implied. Sample ASI items include: "Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them" (hostile sexism) and "Women should be cherished and protected by men" (benevolent sexism). Responses were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) "Strongly Disagree" to (5) "Strongly Agree," with a midpoint of (3) "Neither Agree Nor

Disagree." Inter-item consistency for the hostile sexism and benevolent sexism subscales of the ASI were acceptable, Cronbach's alpha coefficients of .76 and .82 respectively.

Modern/Covert Sexist Attitudes

Construction of gender through attitudes was measured by the Modern Sexism Scale[1] (MSS) (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). The MSS consists of 8 items pertaining to the opportunities available to women and the treatment of women in contemporary American society. Items on the MSS assess covertly sexist attitudes, which are relevant to the way in which prejudice is often expressed in today's modern social context. Sample MSS items include: "Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States" and "It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities." Responses were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) "Strongly Disagree" to (5) "Strongly Agree," with a midpoint of (3) "Neither Agree Nor Disagree." Inter-item consistency for the MSS was relatively low in this sample, with a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .65.

Sexist Language

Construction of gender through language was measured by the Inventory of Attitudes Toward Sexist and Nonsexist Language (IASNL) (Parks & Roberton, 2000). The IASNL consists of 21 items, divided into three sections, assessing beliefs about sexist language and willingness to use nonsexist language. A definition of sexist language is provided within the measure to control for any variance in respondents' personal definitions. Responses in the three sections are measured on three different 5-point scales. In the first section, responses pertaining to beliefs about language can range from (1) "Strongly Disagree" to (5) "Strongly Agree." The second section asks

participants to identify sexist words and phrases, where responses range from (1) "Not at all Sexist" to (5) "Definitely Sexist." The third section asks participants to indicate how willing they are to use nonsexist words and phrases in place of standard sexist language, where responses range from (1) "Very Unwilling" to (5) "Very Willing." Each scale has a midpoint of (3) "Undecided." Sample items include: "Worry about sexist language is a trivial activity" (Section I), "People should care about all mankind, not just themselves" (Section II), and "How willing are you to use the word 'server' rather than 'waiter' or 'waitress'?" (Section III). Inter-item consistency for the IASNL was acceptable in this sample, with a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .78.

Discussion of Gender

In this study, individual qualitative interviews were used to examine Black women's constructions of gender through language. The interview consisted of questions in three domains of gender construction: discrimination experiences, identity, and relationships. The format of the interview was semi-structured; although standard questions were asked of each participant, follow-up questions varied based on spontaneous responses from individual participants. Initial questions within each domain of the interview protocol were designed to elicit responses that did not lead participants in any particular direction and tended to be more open-ended, while standard follow-up questions were increasingly direct in order to obtain more detailed information. Spontaneous follow-up questions, on the other hand, tended to be more meta-cognitive and queried about the way in which participants responded in order to clarify seemingly paradoxical positions. Some standard questions from each domain include: "What are some of the primary challenges or obstacles that you feel Black women have to face?"

(discrimination experiences), "What does it mean to you to be a Black woman?"

(identity), and "How would you describe your relationships *with other Black women*?"

(relationships).

Positive Psychological Outcomes

Four measures were used to assess positive psychological outcomes: The Hope

Scale[1] (Snyder, et al., 1991), the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale[1] (RSES) (Rosenberg,

1965), the Satisfaction With Life Scale[1] (SWLS) (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin,

1985), and the Mental Health Inventory[1] (MHI) (Veit & Ware, 1983). The Hope Scale

consists of 12 items measuring two components of hope, pathways and agency, with 4

items included as fillers. The pathways component refers to the ability to develop

productive strategies for dealing with a problem. The agency component refers to the

motivation to use problem solving strategies. Participants are asked to indicate the extent

to which a series of statements about their problem solving habits are true or false with

responses ranging from (1) "Definitely False" to (5) "Definitely True," with a midpoint

of (3) "Neither True Nor False." Inter-item consistency for the Hope scale was strong in

this sample (α = .81). RSES consists of 10 items measuring self-esteem. Participants

respond based on general feelings about themselves. Inter-item consistency for the RSES

was strong (α = .83). The SWLS consists of 5 items measuring life satisfaction.

Participants respond based on their thoughts about the overall quality of their lives. Inter-

item consistency for the SWLS was acceptable (α = .78). Responses on both the RSES

and the SWLS were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) "Strongly Disagree" to

(5) "Strongly Agree," with a midpoint of (3) "Neither Agree Nor Disagree." The MHI

consists of 38 items assessing psychological distress and well-being based on frequency.

Participants are asked to indicate how often they have experienced psychological symptoms over the past month. Responses on the MHI were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) "Never"/"None of the Time" to (5) "Always"/"All of the Time," with a midpoint of (3) "Sometimes"/"Some of the Time." The MHI also includes six items assessing cognitive functioning over the past month. Inter-item consistency for the MHI was quite high ($\alpha = .96$).

For all positive psychological outcome measures, higher scores (reverse-coded when necessary) indicate better mental health. Sample items include: "I can think of many ways to get out of a jam" (Hope-pathways), "I energetically pursue my goals" (Hope-agency), "I feel that I have a number of good qualities" (RSES), "In most ways my life is close to my ideal" (SWLS), "During the past month, how often did you feel isolated from others" (MHI-psychological distress), "During the past month, how much of the time have you felt loved and wanted?" (MHI-psychological well-being), and "How much of the time, during the past month, did you react slowly to things that were said or done?" (MHI-cognitive functioning).

Negative Psychological Outcomes

Two measures were used to assess negative psychological outcomes: the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI) (Derogatis, 2000) and the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) (Cohen, Kamarck, & Mermelstein, 1983). The BSI consists of 18 items measuring severity of psychological distress in three areas, depression, anxiety, and somatization. Participants are asked to indicate how much they have been bothered by psychological symptoms in the past week. Responses on the BSI were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) "Not at All" to (5) "Extremely", with a midpoint of (3) "Moderately".

Inter-item consistency for the BSI was high (α = .90). The PSS consists of 14 items

measuring frequency of overall stress. Participants are asked to indicate how often they

have felt stressed in a variety of situations over the past month. Responses on the PSS

were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from (0) "Never" to (4) "Very Often", with a

midpoint of (2) "Sometimes". Inter-item consistency for the PSS was relatively low (α =

.65). For both the BSI and PSS, higher scores (reverse-coded when necessary) indicate

negative psychological health. Sample items include: "Feeling no interest in things"

(BSI-depression), "Feeling tense or keyed up" (BSI-anxiety), "Numbness or tingling

parts of your body" (BSI-somatization), "In the last month, how often have you felt

difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?" (PSS).

Analytic Strategy

Qualitative Analysis Plan

For the purpose of data reduction, a select number of questions from the interview

protocol were selected for qualitative data analysis. Those questions were expected to

provide the most relevant information related to Black women's construction of gender

(research question #1) in three domains: discrimination experiences, identity, and

relationships. The specific topics covered by these interview questions were (1)

challenges facing Black women, (2) images and stereotypes about Black women, (3)

personal meanings of Black womanhood, (4) gender and race identities, and (5)

relationships with men and women.

Qualitative data were then analyzed using a modified version of the tri-level

positioning method presented by Bamberg (2004b). Because participants were asked to

respond to specific questions rather than provide full narrative accounts (i.e., stories with

a beginning, middle, and end), interview data were first analyzed for question-specific themes instead of overall story development and character description. The interviews were then analyzed with regard to how emergent themes were developed by participants to articulate their particular understandings of gender and sexism. Finally, the themes articulated by participants were triangulated with prevailing gender discourse in order to deduce the ways in which participants constructed identities in relation to sexist ideology.

Thirty-three interviews were transcribed and analyzed. Each interview transcript was read several times by the researcher focusing separately on emergent themes and how themes were developed by participants. Eight questions were the focus of thematic analysis:

1. What are some of the primary challenges or obstacles that you feel Black women have to face?

2. What words or images come to mind when you think about Black women? Any stereotypes?

3. What does it mean to you to be a Black woman?

4. Are you as proud to be a woman as you are to be Black? Why or why not?

5. Political platforms aside, Hillary Clinton or Barack Obama? Why?

6. Not including romantic relationships, do you prefer to spend time with men, women, neither, or both equally?

7. How would you describe your relationships *with men*?

8. How would you describe your relationships *with other women*?

Although these questions were the focus of analysis, interview content from preceding and succeeding discussions were also reviewed. This was done to ensure that participants' responses were not taken out of context.

First, transcripts were examined for themes that emerged in response to the selected eight questions. Common themes were catalogued. Next, transcripts were re-examined with attention to the functions of participants' responses. Rhetorical strategies participants used were identified in order to further clarify the themes they articulated by examining their conversational choices and goals. Finally, participants' responses to each question were considered in sum to deduce their positions on the construction of gender. Based on the themes discussed regarding the experiences and identities as Black women and how participants chose to articulate these themes to achieve particular goals, it was inferred whether participants reproduced or resisted sexist gender constructions.

Quantitative Analysis Plan

Because participants were recruited from two different university settings, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was used to determine if any significant differences existed between the two samples. Sample differences were managed by controlling for location in subsequent analyses. Hierarchical linear regression analyses were used to address research question 2, which examined the relationship between the construction of gender and psychological outcomes. It was hypothesized that (1) sexist gender construction would be inversely associated with psychological health, and (2) nontraditional gender construction would be associated with better psychological health. Six hierarchical regression models were used to analyze the relationships of each gender construction domain to positive and negative psychological outcomes. The background

variables for location, age, GPA, mother's education, and family income were entered at the first step of each model in order to control for demographic effects that might contribute to the variance in psychological outcomes. In the first regression model, overall perceived gender discrimination was entered at the second step after controlling for demographics. In the second model, perceived gender discrimination was examined based on its self-directed and group-directed components, which were entered at the second step to determine if the type of gender discrimination might make a difference in psychological health outcomes. The third model examined the contribution of gender identity at the second step. Similarly, sexist gender roles, sexist attitudes, and sexist language attitudes were entered at the second step of the fourth, fifth, and sixth regression models, respectively.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Qualitative

Thematic Content

Challenges Facing Black Women

The purpose of this topic was to ascertain if Black women might discuss gender, particularly sexism, as a primary challenge in their lives.[2] The six most prevalent themes pertaining to challenges facing Black women are summarized in Table 4.1. Several participants cited double minority status as a major obstacle in their lives, noting that Black women have two strikes against them based on both race and gender. These challenges were typically described in an additive manner in which participants identified racism and sexism as separate experiences of prejudice.

Challenge theme one: Double minority status. While the majority of participants (70%) endorsed the dual challenges of being both Black and female, few women discussed gender/sexism in isolation as was often the case with race/racism. In fact, several participants specifically addressed the greater salience of race in comparison to gender, attributing this dynamic to the greater prevalence of racism within society. A

---

[2] This interview topic elicited extensive discussion from participants, and thus generated a substantial amount of data. The six themes from this discussion are detailed in the following several pages and an abbreviated summary is provided in Table A1. Thematic content for the other four interview topics required less detail given the relative brevity of participants' responses.

race- and gender-based rank structure was described as placing Black women at greater disadvantage due to their double minority status. Within this hierarchy, race holds the most weight in determining privilege and disadvantage, with Whites perceived to be at the top and Blacks at the bottom. Gender prejudice was sometimes discussed as a secondary burden that may exacerbate experiences of racism, and for some participants, was not perceived as a factor at all.

> *I think that because we are Black that we have to face more or overcome more obstacles than the normal woman would because we have basically 2 strikes against us because we're Black and that we are a woman so we have to fight, um, extremely hard to get to, um, places that men are or Caucasian or whoever, um, type of race or woman has to be because we are looked at as the race that more than likely won't make it. – #28*

> *Um, race and gender like together is like a double whammy because like it's more acceptable for like White males to be like top choice and then like it's kind of like a pool for everyone else…like a choosing pool like men, White men have like the top preference and then it kind of stems from there like between, um, White women, and then like Black men and Black women. – #18*

> *I think first the biggest one is being Black, you know. And it's like we're already put down here. We're already lower than like, I guess, you can say, um, I don't want to say the White man. You know what I'm saying? But we're already like*

inferior…And then the fact that we are women on top of that like makes us even more inferior so it's like I think that comes first… – #38

Only one participant discussed gender prejudice as a distinct social challenge outside the context of race. She articulated stereotypes about women's prescribed roles as sexual objects and obedient housewives, regardless of race. She also explained how these stereotyped roles are perpetuated in the media, accepted by her peers, and acted upon.

…overcoming stereotypes and just like the images that people see on TV; people need to know like those images don't apply to all women. Cause a lot of people get put into like sort of a box because of how they are portrayed in the media and it's not necessarily reflects them as a person or what they believe…Just the more of the "all girls want guys attention" type of stereotypes and how they expose their bodies or how their bodies are supposed to be exposed like that's what a woman is or what a woman should do…Just the average, the stay at home mom is what all women should be; how they should be submissive to men and not really have a voice. I think those are a lot of stereotypes that women have to go through…like I have guys like constantly trying to talk to me or I've been grabbed in inappropriate ways and it's just like you have to take a stand then because that's not right. And just because you see something on TV or you're allowed to do it with other girls doesn't necessarily mean you'll be allowed to do it with the next… – #26

Challenge theme two: Sexual objectification. Other participants also discussed the challenges of gender stereotypes, but related these stereotypes to race as well (18%). They mentioned the publicized image of Black women as sexually promiscuous. Further, these participants appeared to perceive that the sexual objectification of Black women had as much (if not more) to do with race as with gender.

I've heard stories like about people here saying things about Black people or like Black women. And I'm just like...I never really had to deal with it, you know. But like nothing personal towards me, just in general...Like Black girls here are like easy or like they chase athletes or like they're sluts. - #32

...I think the hardest struggle could be you know just the discrimination part you know as far as Black women or how they are portrayed in videos. To me I don't see it as a negative thing as much, you know, how people try to portray it. I think it's a race thing as well. Like, you'll see a White woman in video but she wouldn't be a video hoe but you see a Black woman in video...It's like why are they different? Both girls are in the video...I just see discrepancies just like that like it's the woman part and then they put the color aspect with it as well. I think it's even worse for Black women because you have both of the minorities... – #27

Challenge theme three: Perceptions of inferiority. Both race and gender were also used to explain challenges presented by the perception of Black women as inferior, a common sentiment among study participants (36%). The women expressed that others look down on Black women due to presumptions that they are less capable, less qualified,

less intelligent, less deserving—less than their male and non-Black counterparts. Many women mentioned the challenges of having to prove themselves, particularly in academic settings, by making a greater effort to demonstrate their competence. Some participants seemed to indicate that positive impression management is often not easy due to the negative reputations that precede Black women.

> *I've faced challenges because I feel in a lot of situations that I walk into like in the classroom people expect me to be dumb or expect me to have only gotten here because of affirmative action, you know. People have said that sort of thing and it makes me feel like I have to prove myself. Well, I felt like this more previously but now I don't really feel that way anymore like I have to prove myself and work harder and show them that "yeah, I'm here not because someone handed something to me and that I am just as capable as you are…" – #31*

> *…we have to strive harder to get to where everybody else is…as far as being in a big university, there are a lot of people who look at you like you're not supposed to be here or you don't belong here. "My Caucasian friend or my other friendship could be here rather than you" or something like that…That's the kind of perception you can get from other people especially when you walk past them and they look at you like "what's she doing here? Do you go here? Are you lost?" Or something like that. - #28*

> *…Me and my friends always say like in engineering it's like mostly you know White males and it's just like, okay, we got to do better than them. We got to do*

better than them. And I know I shouldn't have to feel that way. I know I should just want to do good just because I want to do good just because they want to do good. But it's just like just because I'm Black and just 'cause I'm a woman and just 'cause I'm at this university, I just feel that I always got to do my best even though I should just do it anyway, but you know. - #42

Challenge theme four: Unequal opportunity. In the workforce, participants described what they perceived as more subtle messages of inferiority that were challenges for Black women (27%). Participants did not mention explicit remarks from others about their presumed incompetence in the workplace so much as they discussed disparities in wages, job acquisition, and career advancement. The women seemed to connect disproportionate opportunities for upward mobility to an apparent implication that Black women are less valued in the workforce. Participants endorsing this theme discussed the predominant role of race in determining status in the workforce.

…Black women are still…receiving less money than White women on the dollar every day. And I also feel like when they are going in for jobs that their race is looked at. People say that it is not. But really people are looking at if they are women and if they are African American women and some women, African American women are being turned down for jobs because of their race. - #21

I think um some of the obstacles that Black women face are job placement like how in the executive world, you know, having that high powered position. I think it's very unlikely for a Black woman to have that position than it is for a Black

male or even for a White female and a White male. Like I think that's how it goes and like in society as a whole, I think, that's how people like treat their respect. I think it's the White male, the White female then it's the Black male and then it's the Black woman. - #17

Challenge theme five: Neglected heterogeneity. Some participants presented challenges based on characterizations that are not inherently negative, but neglect the heterogeneity of Black women (15%). These characterizations were not completely rejected by participants. Rather, they questioned the predominance of these images in the public's view of Black women. Further, they expressed discontent with the expectations for all Black women to behave in accordance with such limiting characterizations and their efforts to break free of social expectations.

…I think we're seen as people that are always like cooking, or always doing somebody's hair…and that…that's not all we can do. Like we're equal to any other woman doing any other thing… - #01

…I remember when I first came here I wouldn't eat watermelon or fried chicken at all…It took me 'til like the end of freshmen year to eat it…I think that they would just think it was really typical of me and something they should have expected anyway. Even though, you know, everyone like most people eat watermelon and fried chicken all over the world not just here. - #31

Challenge theme six: Class-based obstacles. In addition, some participants discussed obstacles related to class that affect Black women (12%). These included single motherhood, poverty, and educational disadvantages. They articulated the struggles that some Black women face not only to thrive in academic settings for example, but even to survive within lower class communities. Furthermore, the lasting impact of an underprivileged background was discussed with regard to Black women's endeavors to attain higher education given less preparation and resources than many of their peers.

> *Well um from my background like I come from a under privileged, you know under represented city…so that's a major obstacle. And then you know for me to be an African American you know who's under privileged, you know low class and all that, you know it's definitely like obstacles in my path…And then like coming from a disadvantaged high school without the support that was needed to be here, it's hard. It was hard. You know my first semester was terrible. I mean I thought I was doing good because you know I feel like I had the study skills. You know I did B.R.I.D.G.E. I feel like was prepared. But I got here and it was totally different…I mean in high school you know you just, either you had it or you didn't. But in college you know it's not like 24-7 studying but you know it's hard-core studying like. Like you have to have those skills to study. And I feel like I have them now. I just don't feel like I had them the first semester. But I feel like it came from me not being fully prepared from high school…You know lack of supplies um lack of like resources that's here. You know you get the stuff and it's*

*like what do you do? You know, you don't know how to utilize all of it. And it's
just so much just coming at you. - #11*

*… if you were a student of [inner Midwestern city] it's less money in the school
systems so um you're already on a different level so to speak from students who
come from schools where there are more money or there is more money invested
and usually those are White neighborhoods and you come to a University like
[this] you're already sometimes at a disadvantage um when it comes to education
and things like that. - #23*

Querying about the challenges facing Black women was expected to reveal
information about the extent to which participants discussed gender-based obstacles as
primary experiences in their lives. Though results indicate that Black women identified
with challenges related to both race and gender, often in tandem, racist experiences were
frequently described as distinctly pervasive. Sexist experiences were commonly
discussed as an additional burden that exacerbated experiences of racism for Black
women.

Other themes revealed in participants' discussions of the primary challenges faced
by their demographic group largely pertained to the specific implications of race in
multiple domains of Black women's daily lives. They discussed the meaning of race for
the sexual objectification of Black women, presumptions of Black women's inferiority,
limited opportunities for Black women, and the neglected heterogeneity of Black women.
In addition, the particular implications of class were mentioned by some participants

outside the context of race, with regard to the disadvantages Black women experience in education and resources due to underprivileged backgrounds.

Several of the race-based challenges from this discussion allude to stereotypes that ultimately come to influence Black women's lives through social perception. When queried about the primary challenges in their lives, many participants cited the role of perception in dictating how Black women are treated by others in accordance with particular stereotypes (i.e., promiscuity, inferiority, and homogeneity). Coincidentally, this discussion transitions into the next, which pertains to the words, images, and stereotypes cited by participants with regard to Black women. The next section, however, is expected to provide information about the prevalence of stereotypes in participants' own discussions of Black women, not necessarily specific to any particular challenges they perceive. The extent of content overlap between these two sections may indicate the degree to which negative stereotypes influence both social perception of and self-perception among Black women.

Images and Stereotypes about Black Women

The purpose of this topic was to get a sense of the initial thoughts or images that come to mind for Black women about their demographic group, and whether these ideas depicted positive or negative representations of Black women. Certainly, it is understood that participants' responses may have been tempered (or intensified) by the context of the interview as well as the identity of the researcher. Still, the data are expected to shed some light on the images that Black women discuss in relation to themselves. Of the 13 most prevalent themes, eight depict negative images of Black women ("angry Black woman", promiscuity, ghetto, exploitive video images, ignorance, outspoken/loud, bad

attitude, sexual objects) and five depict positive images (beauty, strength, motherly, intelligence, entertainers). Yet when asked what words or images come to mind about Black women, the first description mentioned by most participants was a positive one, despite the greater number of negative images mentioned overall.

Some of these images were both positive and negative. For example, while Black female entertainers such as Alicia Keys and Beyoncé were mentioned in a positive light, the image of Black women as entertainers was described by some participants as limiting the scope of what Black women can do. Being loud was also described both positively and negatively in the sense that some participants discussed Black women as assertive and outspoken whereas others linked loudness with having a bad attitude or rudeness.

I think that Black women are usually more outspoken than any other demographic which I think I'm definitely an example. But, I think, it's a good thing… more often than not if there's a loud group of people, they will be Black women. To me, I find it humorous just because it's just a characteristic that . . . well, it's a characteristic I have. I just happen to be loud. I don't know if it's because I'm Black or a woman. I just happen to get loud so I don't know. That's definitely a characteristic that I assign to that group. - #40

Although negative images and stereotypes about Black women were most prevalent in number, participants' *initial* responses most often reflected positive qualities such as strength and intelligence. Thus it appears that many participants responded in opposition to negative stereotypes, while also demonstrating that images of Black women as promiscuous, ghetto, and angry, for example, are still quite salient in their minds. In

addition, ambivalence surrounding the discussions of Black women as loud and as entertainers appears to indicate how some participants chose to embrace and positively redefine potentially negative stereotypes whereas others tended to distance themselves from such images.

Meaning of Black Womanhood

The purpose of this topic was to compare the initial images participants evoked to describe Black women with the definitions they provided about their demographic group upon further consideration of the meaning of Black womanhood to them personally. Responses indicated that participants frequently distinguished between the pervasive images of Black women within society, often described as negative, and their own stated definitions of Black womanhood, which were always positive. Four of the five positive images initially used to describe Black women (beauty, strength, motherly, and intelligence) were congruent with participants' own definitions. However, participants also defined the meaning of Black womanhood in relation to struggle, which is a nuance that was not as apparent in their discussion of the initial images that come to mind about Black women.

> *I think it means you have to be like a stronghold. You know? I mean I think that's like traditionally from like slavery. You have to be like the strong one. You have to hold it down no matter what. You know? I mean I think that's why it's so celebrated, you know, 'cause like Black women don't shy away when things happen. When challenges come up you know it's like we don't have to run and get "Oh, let me go see if my husband can do this." Or you know "What am I going to do without him?" Like we do what it takes. My grandma always said,*

"We don't always have to do what we want to do, but we always do what we have

to do." I think that's like the motto for being a Black woman, 'cause you 'gon do

what you have to do. - #08

I love being a Black woman. Like I don't know, I feel that being a Black woman,

it challenges you. I think it challenges you to a certain point to be able to fight

for something that you really want and I feel like if I was not a Black woman I

wouldn't be the person I am today. - #03

The most prevalent themes for the meaning of Black womanhood were:

intelligence, beauty, strength, independence, self-definition, having to prove oneself,

determination, perseverance, self-pride, and positively representing the Black

community. In general, participants seemed to reflect upon the struggles Black women

must endure in order to achieve success. They also commonly expressed admiration for

the staying power and resilience that generations of Black women have demonstrated in

response to the obstacles they have faced. In fact, several participants expressed pride in

the struggles associated with Black womanhood, noting that Black women are among the

strongest in the world as a result.

Gender vs. Race Identification

At the time of data collection, the historic race between Hillary Clinton and

Barack Obama for the 2008 democratic presidential nomination was in full swing.

Coincidentally, one of the socio-political questions introduced by the Democratic primary

race was also germane to the current study: what is the relative importance of race and

gender for Black women?   Though the hierarchical positioning of race above gender was

revealed at various points throughout the interviews, two questions were asked to directly

explore Black women's identification with gender compared to race. Participants were

asked if they were as proud to be women as they were to be Black and if they identified

more with Hillary Clinton or Barack Obama. Participants were asked to discuss their

identification with these political figures regardless of political platforms. Although the

latter question does not specifically address the implications of race and gender with

regard to Black women's identities, it was used as a tool to assess convergent validity of

participants' responses. While the first question more explicitly pertains to the

comparative positions of race and gender for Black women, potential effects of social

desirability were considered given the transparency of the question's content. Asking

participants to discuss which of these prominent political figures most appealed to them

for personal rather than political reasons was thus expected to offset potential social

desirability effects through more implicit inquiry. On several occasions, the wording of

the second question was later rephrased to highlight the comparison between a White

female, with whom Black women share a gender identity, and a Black male, with whom

they share a race identity (e.g., "If you did not know anyone personally, who would you

sit with at the cafeteria, a White female or a Black male?"). Rephrasing was often

necessary in order to clarify the researcher's interest in obtaining information about

participants' identification with the race/gender of the political figures and to re-direct

participants from responding to the question based on their political views.

With regard to pride in gender versus race, the vast majority of participants (76%)

stated that they were equally proud to be women as they were to be Black.   A

considerable minority of participants (18%) indicated that they were more proud to be Black than to be women, while a couple participants reported that they were unsure. None of the participants reported greater pride in being a woman than in being Black.

Although participants were asked both about their race/gender pride and about the political figure they identified with most in order to elicit information pertaining to the same underlying question, results indicate frequently disparate responses to the two questions. While most participants indicated equal race and gender pride, the majority (61%) still reported greater identification with Barack Obama over Hillary Clinton. Participants relating more to Hillary Clinton (18%) in their discussions were fewer in number than those indicating that they were undecided (21%). All undecided participants except one reported equal pride in both race and gender. Thus, the majority of participants articulated considerably less identification with Hillary Clinton's gender compared to Barack Obama's race, despite expressing equal pride in their race and gender identities.

> *Yeah just because um, I would say because he's Black, and I feel like he knows you know what's going on in the Black population…Coming from upper class, middle class, lower class it don't matter. I feel like you can always relate to the people of your own color. - #11*

> *I think I would vote for Barack Obama just because he's Black. And I just feel that we deserve to have equal opportunity. I just think that Black people deserve to be President. I know a woman may… I don't know if a woman per se can*

handle being the President, but I just think a Black man can. I don't know if we're ready for a woman President yet. - #14

I think I would probably say Barack Obama maybe first and foremost because he's Black. I believe that, you know, with Hillary, okay, but she's a White woman and, you know, sometimes the only people who can help you are the people that look like you or maybe the people who understand what you are going through so I think I would identify with Barack Obama first....Although she is a woman, she's a Caucasian woman so sometimes Caucasian women have a higher level than Black women. They have had in history a higher level than Black women although they are women. - #20

Not surprisingly, women with more pride in race invariably reported greater identification with Barack Obama, though one participant was sure to explain that her choice was not based on race.

Barack but not because he's Black. I don't know a lot about either of their politics. Barack to me seems like he's all about hope and he really believes that if you want a bad thing to turn around, you can turn it around. And, I don't know a whole lot about Hillary, but I don't get that vibe from her. She seems really serious all the time and I don't relate to it. I just don't...I would prefer someone who seems a little more light hearted like Barack...I would never vote for someone no matter what it was. I would never vote for someone just because of their appearance. - #40

When asked about her identification with a White female versus a Black male, however, the same participant endorsed gender over race. Although it is worth mentioning that she did so reluctantly.

> *I would probably go...assuming I don't have the option to just sit by myself, um probably a White woman because I...that's what I'm used to as far as school goes. I went to like a 95% White school so I'm just more used to being around White people more often than Black people so that's probably why I would sit next to her...if I couldn't sit by myself. - #40*

Gender and Relationships

The purpose of the following three interview topics was to explore how participants discussed their interpersonal interactions in relation to gender. An investigation of both male and female relationships allowed for comparison between participants' descriptions, which was expected to provide more telling information about the ways in which Black women position themselves in relation to one another. In order to distinguish between relationships with romantic partners and relationships with men and women in general, separate questions were asked about each type of relationship. If participants discussed solely romantic relationships, they were later queried specifically regarding their friendships.

Relationships with men. Participants indicated that their relationships with men were generally laid back, fun/carefree, less volatile, and were often more abundant than their female relationships. Several participants discussed identifying more strongly with men as well as having close male friendships and close relationships with male family

members.   A few participants mentioned that some of their male friends may have been initially interested in dating, suggesting the possibility of ulterior motives within male-female friendships. In discussing their relationships with men, participants frequently contrasted these against their relations with women. They used words such as "more" and "better" to establish a distinction between their male and female interactions, wherein male relationships were often favored.

> *I think my friendships with guys are more simple just because like…I guess more often than not I have more in common or I have more of the same interests as them so it's more of a lighthearted, more funny joke time. With girls, sometimes I feel like I need to fit into their…be something that I'm not so that I'll fit in, so pretend like I care what brand clothes you're wearing or pretend that I understand what you're saying when you talk about makeup or that I care that, I don't know, that Jodi doesn't like Jane. I have to pretend a lot. With the guys I just feel more comfortable saying "I don't like this TV show" and then everything else is moved on. It's not like we need to make a big drama out of it. - #40*

> *I think I have more guy friends. Like I have a lot of friends that are girls but I think I like guys better…they're more relaxed and chill. They're not really catty and don't talk about people behind their backs and stuff…Some girls are like that and kind of, um, what's the word, um, like see other girls as competition or things like that. Guys don't really care. They just want to have fun. - #39*

Relationships with women. Participants frequently used negative descriptors to characterize their relationships with other women. They indicated that women were "catty", nosy/gossipy, competitive, and emotional/dramatic in accordance with stereotypical femininity. Several participants clarified that they do have some close female relationships, but that they are generally distant with women. Keeping distance from other women was often explained as a protective means to avoid the various problems that women create in their interactions.

> *…I don't really get close to a lot of females like that. I just don't, I mean like a lot of time there's drama and I just don't like dealing with all that stuff. Like I have only four girl best friends…like a lot of girls up here you know they date the guys up here so I don't like getting involved with that kind of stuff…Like I just never want to be put in a situation where somebody says like, "oh you going to pick his side. You must like him". I just don't…I just rather not be a part of that and then like…I don't know I just feel like too much of, you know, being around like females is just like, a headache, you know it's too much drama, gossip, everything. - #11*

> *…I think that they're not so good. Even like family relationships…my mother and me do not get along. Um I have one female, like one true female friend that I can say um will be my friend forever, you know? Yeah, we have a very good friendship, but for the most part, I don't really get along with females…" - #23*

Um, never really had a lot of female friends...I keep my group kind of real small...my mom always said if I have 2 or 3 good friends than you're doing good, so I believe I have 3 great friends and I have a few good friends here at school too and that's it. The less people the better. Less drama. Less problems, you know. Keep it small...I don't want to generalize but the girls I went to high school like are catty. They fight over boys and gossip. I don't like to be around that so I keep my circle small on purpose. - #32

Some participants reported close connections with other women. They indicated that they felt more comfortable with women or that they could open up more with one another than with men. In contrast to participants who distanced themselves from women, others stated that they had many female friends and enjoyed the company of other women. Furthermore, a few participants explicitly mentioned that they did not find women to be especially "catty". A couple of these participants remarked on the equal tendency for both men and women to exhibit dramatic, competitive, and/or juvenile behavior, albeit perhaps in different forms. One participant indicated that such behavior is an artifact of same sex friendships. Others discussed commentary they have heard from others' about supposed "cattiness" among females. Without completely rejecting the notion of female cattiness, one participant indicated that her experience with women has not been as such. Another elaborated that cattiness is a personality-based variable, not a gender-based one.

For the most part, fine. And I know that everyone always says girls are like really catty and stuff like that but I don't really see that because most of my friends

aren't. Because I guess I pick friends who aren't really catty and things of that nature. For the most part it is okay. It's good. You know we laugh, we talk. And then you have our group of friends that you can share almost anything with so that really matters. - #30

I'd say I have pretty good relationships with other women. I'm not one of those girls who's like "I hate women. I hate females. They are so petty." One of my friends she's just like that. She's like, "That's why I don't ever talk to girls". That kind of thing...I just listen to her rant...she says females bring so much drama with them and they always want to start a lot of drama. I think that like men and women both like to be involved in drama and, you know, stir it up. But I don't feel like I'm a drama-bringing person...I think it just depends on who you're around. It doesn't matter if it's a girl or a boy, man or woman, whatever. Some people are more dramatic. Some people get bored and they just want to start up some drama or they like to see other people go through things so that they feel a little better. Like, I did have a bad experience because I think about this a lot. I was best friends with 3 girls. We were friends from 3rd grade until 10th grade in high school. It's like they started . . . Throughout our friendship we did have a lot of that drama and kind of rivalry and kind of hierarchy in our group or something. One person would almost be like kind of the outcast in the group. - #31

Relationship preference. Participants were also explicitly asked about their preference for male or female relationships; however they were also given the option to choose neither or both. The majority of participants (48%) reported no preference in spending time with men or women. Participants who reported that they prefer to spend time with one gender over the other most often chose men (27%) over women (18%).

Theme Development through Conversational Choices

Challenges Facing Black Women

In analyzing the conversational choices participants made in response to query about the primary challenges faced by Black women, two patterns were observed. First, juxtaposition was commonly used to contrast and/or compound race and gender oppressions. Second, interpersonal division was demonstrated consistent with social psychology principles of group-based inclusion and exclusion.

Juxtaposition. The concepts of race and gender were contrasted against one another in an apparent effort to convey the greater salience of the former. Race and gender oppressions were also compounded to convey the synergistic impact of living as a double minority. Interestingly, though the conversational choices to contrast and compound oppressions appear to be divergent forms of juxtaposition, participants often used them together. While the impact of gender seemed to be minimized in order to distinguish race as most influential on Black women's lives, gender oppression was nevertheless used strategically to magnify race oppression. Despite its relative inconsequence separate from race, gender was discussed as a significant moderator of racist experiences.

Um, still sexism, I think, in a workplace …and I think that's for any woman but for a Black woman you also have the stereotype of what a Black woman is. She has an attitude problem....She's gonna be wearing her hair all crazy and, you know, it's certain stimulus attached to certain hairstyles, what's corporate and what's not. Um, she's prone to have an attitude and even more so because she's Black more than she's a woman. So not only will she be on her period and be upset, she's a Black woman so she's gonna be just terrible…not at her job, just terrible to deal with because she's Black, she has an attitude. She's a Black woman on her period; it's just, you know, it's out of control. - #16

Interpersonal Division. The social psychological phenomenon of interpersonal division based on in-group and out-group membership was observed in participants' discussion of the challenges faced by Black women. The in-group consisted of Black women and often the Black community at large; however, the out-group was not clearly defined. Rather, participants made ambiguous references to other "people" who exhibit prejudice toward Black women and Blacks in general. They provided examples within educational and work contexts, but attributed these specific experiences to a generalized population of others. This generalized representation was used to convey the message that "they" do not understand "us".

…it's other people because a lot of people admit, especially women and Black women in particular because a lot of people don't think that women are capable of doing certain things…Blacks are capable of doing certain things so I think the most challenging things for Black women is just other people because we always have to prove that we can do something. - #06

Images and Stereotypes about Black Women

Stereotypes about Black women were often discussed in a confrontational tone. Through questioning and challenging, participants confronted either the internalization of stereotypes among Black women or the imposition of stereotypes from outside sources. Confrontation was thus employed with regard to both internal and external conflict with stereotypes.

Confrontation with external stereotypes. Externally imposed stereotypes were confronted with either all-out rejection or with positive ideas to counterbalance negative societal perceptions of Black women. Confrontation by rejection involved speaking out against prescriptive stereotypes that dictate how Black women are expected to behave. Other participants did not necessarily reject known stereotypes about Black women, but confronted negative stereotypes more subtly by evoking their own positive representations.

> *…if you look at the image you get from videos and stuff, they—some people that go to our school like they never had an encounter with a Black person so they'll take it from the video "Oh, this is how they act." They'll come to the school and they're like "You're not supposed to act like that. You're supposed to act like the people in the video. You're supposed to be half clothed."…or they see in the movies how Blacks are hotheaded so they say we are hotheaded and they try to get the image of "Oh, I don't want to talk to her because she might curse me out or she might be ghetto". They don't even know what that is and they assume it relates to African Americans when it actually refers to the place….Being ghetto is not a characteristic. It just refers to a place. - #28*

Black women – strong, the back bone of the family pretty much. My mom is definitely the back bone of my family and my grandma. Let's see, then you have the stereotype like the angry black women....The whole hood rat, hootchie mamas, stuff like on BET. I'm like oh, this is so terrible. Some people really act like this in real life but why put it on TV so the whole world thinks that everybody acts like that, you know. - #41

Sometimes I might think about Black women in terms of my mother. Um, responsibility. Maybe some words or images that might come to my mind are classy, respectful, respected, um, maybe some images in terms of the music industry....Sometimes the bad ones because that's mostly what is being put out in the music and, um, maybe, um, some women who are positive like Alisha Keyes. I really like her music. Mary J. Blige. - #21

Confrontation with internalized stereotypes. Participants who confronted the internalization of stereotypes among Black women focused less on the presence of these perceptions within society and more on the susceptibility of their peers for being negatively influenced. They expressed disappointment with other Black women for buying in to social perceptions that limit their potential. They distanced themselves from negative stereotypes and articulated desires for their peers to do the same.

…you have some women who know who they are and what they won't do and won't accept. You have others who don't really know who they are and they subscribe to what they see others who, you know, who also don't have a clue.

Like I don't know, I just thought about Flavor of Love. I'm just thinking about those girls just the typical stereotype of what people view Black women as. And they fit the, you know, girl who was kind of out there in high school. That's who they fit. Like they all wear the same thing. They all like the same shoes. They all wear the same hairstyles. So they don't really know who they are…. And they're, you know, weak-minded because they don't know who they are and therefore they don't, they kind of put themselves out there. - #16

Meaning of Black Womanhood

Three patterns were observed with regard to the ways in which participants chose to define Black womanhood. Two of these patterns were directly tied to race. First, some participants perseverated on race at the neglect of gender in defining their identities as Black women. Second, some participants compared Black women's strength and experiences of oppression with those of other racial groups. A third pattern observed in the approach used by several participants to define Black womanhood was to enumerate the multiple responsibilities and qualities possessed by Black women.

Perseveration on race. Despite being asked about the personal meaning of both race and gender for defining their identities as Black women, a number of participants primarily or solely discussed race identification. The decision to highlight race was made explicit by some participants who minimized the meaningfulness of gender and generalized their statements to include the Black community at large. Other participants exclusively provided race-based responses with no apparent acknowledgement of gender in their discussion of the meaning of Black womanhood. Both groups of participants

perseverated on the discussion of race as indicated by the act of equating Black

womanhood with being Black.

> *I love being Black. I don't know. I just feel like with all the things people think*
> *we're not supposed to do like I just want to be one of those examples that, you*
> *know, goes away from the stereotype because I just don't want to be . . . I don't*
> *want people to look at Black women like they can't do anything. I'm proud to be*
> *Black because I want to do big and beautiful, wonderful things and I want people*
> *to see that. - #13*

> *I don't know how to word this but when I think of myself I think of Black more so*
> *than a woman. I put more emphasis I guess on the fact that I'm Black than I'm a*
> *woman. It's unconscious but I do. So, I guess, all I can . . . I don't know. I just*
> *see like myself just as a minority no matter where I am more often than not I'm*
> *going to be the minority. That is kind of how I define I guess my . . . I guess that's*
> *how I define me as a Black woman, a minority....Well, I guess, okay, Black*
> *woman, 2 different minorities. I'm a racial minority at times and a gender*
> *minority so I feel like Black culture or the fact that Blacks were and are*
> *oppressed is talked about more than women no matter what race. - #40*

Racial comparison. Some participants defined Black womanhood by comparing

strength and experiences of oppression across racial groups. They indicated that Black

women and Black people encounter the greatest obstacles and have demonstrated the

most strength of all the races. Although racial comparisons were occasionally made with

respect to women alone (e.g. Black women compared to White, Latino, and Native American women), gender was not directly addressed as a determining factor for Black women's strength or discrimination experiences; rather, race was implicated as the driving force that both introduces oppression and fosters strength among Black women.

And I think that, out of all the races, that Black women might have the most strength, because we've been through some horrible, horrible things. So, I think that's my biggest pride about being Black. It's like, I'm like I'm stronger than you no matter how you try to put it. It's like…go through slavery? I don't think so!.... I love it, because it's like, there's nobody out here like…us. Nobody. I mean, you have the Holocaust, and a lot of Jewish people, you have Native American men and women, but, and you have the Hispanic men and women, but nobody's, for four-hundred years. The Holocaust didn't last that long. - #01

Enumerating responsibilities or qualities of Black women. Several participants enumerated the various responsibilities carried by Black women and the qualities they possess to shoulder such responsibilities. In a list-like manner, they articulated that Black women must be multi-talented, by necessity. The use of an enumerative list appeared to serve the function of either overwhelming the listener with a picture of Black women's responsibilities, or inspiring awe regarding Black women's many positive qualities. As opposed to encapsulating Black womanhood within a single definition, participants appeared to convey that to be a Black woman is to be versatile.

…a Black woman…she needs to be phenomenal. She needs to be able to take care of her children. She needs to be…She has to be a doctor, a mother, a

worker, and an employee. She needs to have, of course, class....I just feel like a Black woman has so many things she just had to be. She had to fight for her rights. She has to you know, just keep the house nice looking. She has to earn the money. - #03

I also feel that as a Black woman I'm representing my people in everything I do. That's a huge responsibility. I feel it's my responsibility to be articulate, to be able to communicate my thoughts, to be able to challenge people, to be able to stand up for myself, my people. -#10

Gender vs. Race Identification

Three patterns were observed in participants' discussions of the relative importance of their race and gender identities. First, participants frequently justified their pride in race or gender and their decisions to prioritize either race or gender in their political candidate choices, not only by building up their own cases, but also by arguing against the alternative. Second, some participants initially established a position prioritizing one identity or the other, but later questioned this decision. Lastly, some participants made conspicuous omissions in discussing their identification with race and gender, wherein they simply did not acknowledge evident gaps in the rationale for prioritizing one identity over the other.

Oppositional Justification. Several patterns of opposition were observed as participants aimed to justify ideas about race and gender identification. First, racial pride was justified in opposition to gender pride. Second, pride in being a woman was justified

in opposition to being a man. Lastly, the most frequent opposition was between Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, as participants justified their choices of either political candidate based on race and gender arguments. Though participants often began with a focus on reasons for their support of either candidate, they soon incorporated reasons for not supporting the other. Participants created oppositions in articulating views about race and gender in an apparent effort to strengthen their opening arguments as well to make sense of their choices of one position over the other. Often by presenting a thesis, opposing the antithesis, and reiterating the thesis, they systematically outlined a rationale for their positions, as if to justify these viewpoints in the context of potential counter-arguments.

> *I think I would vote for Barack Obama just because he's Black. And I just feel that we deserve to have equal opportunity. I just think that Black people deserve to be President. I know a woman may... I don't know if a woman per se can handle being the President, but, I just think a Black man can. I don't know if we're ready for a woman President yet....I just think that men know how to handle that better, know how to handle any type of situation like that better than a woman. Although, Bill Clinton, although that's um her husband or whatever. I don't know. I feel that it'll be like he's back in office, but I just think that a Black should be able to handle that....Just handling anything, wars and anything related to that. I don't know it just doesn't seem like she could handle that all alone. I just think a Black man should be able to. - #14*

Undoing established position. Rather than defending their positions on race and gender (or Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton), several participants slightly retreated from their positions after working through counter-arguments. Unlike the other group, these participants appeared to acknowledge the rationale of opposing viewpoints to a greater extent and demonstrated more openness to being convinced by an alternative position. They did not attempt to justify their stated positions, but instead questioned themselves and capitulated to the opposing rationales that they were able to imagine. These participants thus appeared to undo their established positions by talking themselves out of, or at least away from, the viewpoints they initially articulated.

I'd probably say I can relate to Barack more…you haven't seen any Black people that much in the Senate and the House and then as far as President, never a Black person, man or woman. So, I guess I'm more anxious to see a Black person run the country more than I am a woman, but at the same time women should have been accepted to that role a long time ago, you know, because we're equally as good as White men or men in general. - #30

Probably Barack just because he is African American. He knows the struggle of an African American more than Hillary would. But, in the same sense, she knows the struggle of a woman, race aside. So, um, I don't know. I haven't decided anything about that. I feel that both of them are the underdogs, you know. Nobody wants a Black President and nobody wants a woman President so I don't know. - #32

Prominent omission. Some participants appeared to disregard alternative viewpoints when establishing their own positions with regard to race and gender. They discussed the implications of race for social status and identity, but did not make mention of gender (or any other social category) in a similar regard. Although the reasoning remains unclear, the choice of these participants to focus exclusively on race appears to convey the message that gender is inconsequential relative to race.

I think I'm more proud to be Black because....You represent men and women. You're representing the whole people, not just the sex. Do you know what I'm saying? Not just a category of your people. You represent your people as a whole and wherever you go, anything you say or do, it reflects on your people. The way you dress. Things like that. People say "Okay, she's Black. Here's this little representation of Black people. Right here." - #38

I think I would probably say Barack Obama maybe first and foremost because he's Black. I believe that, you know, with Hillary, okay, but she's a White woman and, you know, sometimes the only people who can help you are the people that look like you or maybe the people who understand what you are going through so I think I would identify with Barack Obama first....Although she is a woman, she's a Caucasian woman so sometimes Caucasian women have a higher level than Black women. They have had in history a higher level than Black women although they are women. - #20

Gender and Relationships

Two main patterns were observed in participants' discussions of their preferences with regard to male and female relationships. Compartmentalization was used to establish gendered boundaries for appropriate interaction with males and with other females. Generalization was used to characterize differences between men and women. Thus, both compartmentalization and generalization served similar purposes in demarcating male and female roles as separate and/or opposing.

Compartmentalization. Some participants compartmentalized their relationships with men and women. They distinguished the nature of their social interactions and conversations by gender, noting that their male and female relationships fulfilled different interpersonal needs. Although some of these participants did indicate a gender preference, they discussed their relationships with men and women in an even-handed manner. They conveyed appreciation for both genders, albeit for different reasons and to varying degrees.

> *I rather go out with all my girlfriends than go out with all my guy friends because it's like kind of weird to go to a club with all your guy friends. Just not a pretty picture....So it's kind of hard to go out with guy friends but if it's to the movies or something or bowling or something then it's okay....It's nice to go skating or whatever. - #28*

> *...in the dorms we always have every night girl talk...things that you still can't say to guys but I still enjoy being around guys and hanging out like going out in groups like with guys and girls....just like different feelings like that you have as a*

girl and guys like hurting you and guys don't always understand and girls have been through the same thing... - #22

Generalization. Other participants made generalizations about men and women, which they used to highlight oppositional gender differences. They discussed men in a generally positive light in opposition to women who were generally described negatively, or described positively only as exceptions to the rule. While some of these participants acknowledged some overlap in men and women's behavior, gender similarities were minimized in an apparent effort to emphasize the pervasiveness of their established generalizations and to further justify their preferences for male company.

...I don't really get along with Black women because they need to be so defensive, and I'm very defensive and confrontational. But men on the other hand, not all, some I know some argumentative men, but they are not very argumentative, not very confrontational, and not very easily offended, the males that I know at least. So, I would rather hang out with a guy any day. - #23

...just from my experiences, men are more laid back. They don't like drama and I know almost every single girl I know says she doesn't like drama but her actions always speak like differently than that. Guys are like laid back and they don't...I feel like they have each other's, male friends have each other's back more than female friends do in small things like he says, she says stuff. It's just kind of like they're able to get together, talk about it for a few minutes, figure out what is true, what isn't true, and then move on with the friendship as opposed to girls

where it's just kind of like the cattiness continues and people will be your friend when you're around but as soon as you walk away they're a completely different person. - #40

To summarize, in this initial analysis, thematic content from interview material revealed that participants often (1) prioritized race as a primary challenge in their lives, (2) initially evoked mostly negative representations of Black women in discussion of salient images and stereotypes, (3) positively defined Black womanhood for themselves in relation to strength and overcoming struggle, (4) explicitly expressed equal race and gender pride while also identifying with Barack Obama over Hillary Clinton, and (5) described men more favorably than women while also indicating no preference for either gender. It may be somewhat surprising that faith, religion, or spirituality did not emerge as themes in any of the aforementioned discussions, particularly in the context of defining Black womanhood. The centrality of religion and spirituality within the Black community at large (Mattis, 2001; Taylor, Chatters, Jayakody, & Levin, 1996) and the religious involvement and importance of spirituality for Black women in particular have been noted in previous research (Heath, 2006; Shorter-Gooden, 2004), yet Black women's spirituality was not a factor in this study. Perhaps due to the narrowly focused investigation of participants' perspectives on gender and race, neither religion nor spirituality appeared to be salient in how these female college students defined their identities as Black women.

Upon further analysis, participants' patterned conversational choices during the interview revealed additional information about the ways in which they represented their

constructions of gender: (1) strategic juxtaposition as well as interpersonal division of in- and out-group were used to emphasize racial challenges facing Black women, (2) confrontation was used to oppose stereotypes about Black women, (3) perseveration, comparison, and enumeration were used to define Black womanhood in terms of race and/or to garner admiration for Black women, (4) justification, undoing, and omission were used to negotiate gender and race identities, and (5) compartmentalization and generalization were used to differentiate male and female roles/relationships. The themes participants discussed and the conversational choices they made to develop particular themes jointly provide information about Black women's identity construction in relation to prevailing gender discourse regarding sexism against women (female subordination/devaluation), detailed in the discussion section.

<p align="center">Quantitative</p>

The majority of participants were in their first or second year of college, with a mean age of 19.15 years. Participants from the predominantly White university (PWU) were typically younger than those from the historically Black university (HBU) by 0.84 years. Indicators of socioeconomic status revealed greater financial and educational resources among HBU participants compared to those at the PWU. The majority of participants in the overall sample reported an annual family income between $21,000 and $40,000 and had mothers with Bachelor's level college degrees, suggesting middle class backgrounds. Mean comparisons between the PWU and HBU samples are presented in Table 4.2.

Results from an analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed significant differences between the PWU and HBU samples on several study variables (see Table 4.2). Sexist

gender roles ($F[1,83] = 4.902$, $p = .030$), perceived stress ($F[1,83] = 6.565$, $p = .012$), and

psychological distress ($F[1,82] = 5.898$, $p = .017$) were significantly higher among

participants at the HBU. Life satisfaction ($F[1,83] = 7.674$, $p = .007$) and mental

health/well-being (MHI) ($F[1,83] = 6.658$, $p = .012$) scores were significantly higher

among participants at the PWU. These findings indicate that HBU participants reported

more sexist gender roles and negative psychological health compared to PWU

participants. Moreover, PWU participants reported more positive psychological health.

Although significant differences were observed between HBU and PWU participants, the

samples were combined because of the small number of total participants. In order to

mitigate discrepancies between the two samples, location was entered as a control

variable in all regression analyses.

Preliminary descriptive analyses revealed a slightly abnormal distribution for

sexist language attitudes across the aggregate sample, indicating high kurtosis in the data.

Total IASNL scores were thus divided into two groups in order to normalize the

distribution prior to performing regression analyses. Groups were determined based on a

median split between participants endorsing more negative attitudes toward nonsexist

language (n = 44; IASNL scores = 48-63) and those endorsing more supportive nonsexist

language attitudes (n = 41; IASNL scores 64-101).

All regression analyses were performed hierarchically by first entering relevant

demographic variables into an initial model and subsequently entering the study's

independent variables to investigate the relationship between constructions of gender and

psychological outcomes. Hierarchical regression was performed in order to discern the

degree to which each independent variable contributed to the variance in psychological

outcomes, apart from the confounding demographic influences of location, age, grade point average (GPA), and socioeconomic status (SES) indicators (i.e., annual family income and mother's education). Correlations among study variables are presented in Table 4.3. The results of hierarchical regression analyses are reported below, organized by independent variable.[3]

<center>*Perceived Gender Discrimination*</center>

The amount of gender discrimination participants perceived against themselves and their gender group was assessed using 15 items developed by Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, and Owen (2002). Perceptions of self- and group-directed gender discrimination were analyzed both separately and in sum as they related to psychological outcomes. Perceived gender discrimination did not contribute significantly to the variance in any of the assessed psychological outcomes when controlling for demographic factors (i.e., location, age, GPA, and SES indicators). Specifically, neither hope, self-esteem, perceived stress, psychological distress, life satisfaction, nor mental health/well-being was explained by participants' perceptions of gender discrimination toward oneself, toward women as a group, or overall. These findings indicate that perceived gender discrimination did not contribute to positive psychological health as explored in this study; nor did perceived gender discrimination contribute to psychological detriment in this sample of Black female college students as demonstrated by previous research.

---

[3] Only significant regression analyses for the study's independent variables are tabled in the Results section. Non-significant regression analyses are tabled in Appendix A.

Gender Identity

Participants' positive identification with their gender was assessed using four items, also developed by Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, and Owen (2002). Preliminary analyses of response frequency revealed a ceiling effect; such that nearly half the sample received the highest possible score after all four items were totaled, indicating highly positive gender identity. To mitigate this effect, gender identity was transformed from a continuous variable into a dichotomous categorical variable. Participants were again classified based on a median split, between stronger gender identification (n = 47; gender ID scores = 19-20) and weaker gender identification (n = 38; gender ID scores = 4-18), and then entered into regression analyses (see Table 4.4).

Gender identity was found to be associated with hope and psychological distress, but not with self-esteem, perceived stress, life satisfaction, or mental health/well-being. When controlling for demographics, gender identity significantly contributed to the variance in hope ($R^2 = .22$, $F = 3.33$, $p = .01$). Gender identity was also an independent contributor to hope, such that greater identification with gender was uniquely associated with more hope ($\beta = .30$, $p = .01$). Paradoxically, a similar relationship was found with psychological distress symptoms. Higher identification with gender was uniquely associated with greater psychological distress ($\beta = .25$, $p = .04$). Moreover, the magnitude of this relationship was such that the amount of variance explained by the model only reached statistical significance after hierarchically adding gender identity when already controlling for demographic factors ($R^2 = .19$, $F = 2.68$, $p = .02$).

Altogether, these findings indicate that the hypothesized relationship between gender identity and psychological outcomes was partially confirmed. Consistent with

study hypotheses, stronger identification with gender was related to hope in a positive direction. The observed relationship of gender identity to psychological distress, however, was contrary to study hypotheses. Other psychological outcomes of self-esteem, perceived stress, life satisfaction, and mental health/well-being were not at all explained by gender identity.

<center>*Sexist Gender Roles*</center>

Endorsement of sexist gender roles was assessed by the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The two subscales on the ASI, benevolent sexism and hostile sexism, were each analyzed as they related to psychological outcomes. As displayed in Table 4.5, results of hierarchical regression analyses revealed that benevolent sexism was independently associated with more hope ($\beta = .24$, $p = .05$), higher self-esteem ($\beta = .34$, $p = .01$), and less perceived stress ($\beta = -.33$, $p = .01$) when controlling for demographic factors, whereas hostile sexism did not contribute to any of these psychological outcomes. Moreover, the variance in self-esteem ($R^2 = .18$, $F = 2.14$, $p = .05$) and perceived stress ($R^2 = .20$, $F = 2.47$, $p = .03$) could not be explained by demographic factors alone; rather, each of these regression models only became statistically significant with the inclusion of sexist gender roles. Demographic factors, however, did explain the variance in hope to a significant degree, even before adding sexist gender roles to the model ($R^2 = .15$, $F = 2.49$, $p = .04$).

The variance in psychological distress symptoms, on the other hand, was explained by hostile sexism but not benevolent sexism. Hostility with regard to women was related to greater psychological distress ($\beta = .26$, $p = .05$). Again, the variance explained by the model could not be attributed to demographic factors alone and reached

statistical significance only after sexist gender roles were taken into account. Gender

roles did not account for life satisfaction ($R^2 = .13$, $F = 1.53$, $p = .17$) or mental

health/well-being ($R^2 = .16$, $F = 1.93$, $p = .08$).

The hypothesized relationship between the endorsement of sexist gender roles and

psychological outcomes was partially supported by the observed findings. While hostile

sexism was associated with negative outcomes specifically with regard to psychological

distress (consistent with study hypotheses), benevolent sexism was unexpectedly linked

with positive psychological outcomes across several variables (i.e., hope, self-esteem,

and perceived stress). These findings suggest that benevolently sexist gender roles may

offer psychological benefits for Black women. In contrast, gender roles reinforcing

hostile sexism may be detrimental to psychological health.

Modern/Covert Sexist Attitudes

Covertly sexist attitudes toward women relevant to a contemporary social context

were assessed using the Modern Sexism Scale (MSS) (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter,

1995). Covert sexist attitudes were not found to independently contribute to hope ($\beta = $

$.10$, $p = .39$) or life satisfaction ($\beta = .19$, $p = .11$) when controlling for demographic

factors. Demographics did contribute significantly to variations in these outcomes; where

hope was explained by grade point average ($\beta = .24$, $p = .04$) and mother's education ($\beta = $

$-.35$, $p = .01$) demographics, life satisfaction was explained by grade point average ($\beta = $

$.23$, $p = .04$) and location ($\beta = -.33$, $p = .01$) demographics.   Standardized beta

coefficients indicate that having a higher GPA contributes to greater hope and life

satisfaction. Having a less educated mother contributed to greater hope. Attending the

PWU contributed significantly to more life satisfaction. Neither sexist attitudes nor

demographic factors contributed significantly to the variance in self-esteem ($R^2 = .10$, $F = 1.37$, $p = .24$), perceived stress ($R^2 = .11$, $F = 1.50$, $p = .19$), psychological distress symptoms ($R^2 = .15$, $F = 2.04$, $p = .07$), or mental health/well-being ($R^2 = .13$, $F = 1.76$, $p = .12$).

Based on these findings, the hypothesized relationship between covertly sexist attitudes and psychological outcomes was not confirmed. Sexist attitudes did not uniquely contribute to the observed psychological outcomes when demographic factors were taken into account. The results obtained here indicate that demographic factors contribute to hope and life satisfaction among Black female college students, but modern/covert sexist attitudes does not.

Sexist Language

The Inventory of Attitudes Toward Sexist and Nonsexist Language (IASNL) (Parks & Roberton, 2000) was used to assess participants' views with regard to the use of more gender neutral language. After transformation due to non-normal distribution, regression analyses were performed using the trichotomized distribution of IASNL scores, yielding no significant findings in relation to psychological outcomes. Similar results were obtained when IASNL data was re-analyzed as a continuous variable in subsequent regression analyses. Therefore, sexist language attitudes were found to have no impact on the psychological outcomes of the sample assessed in this study.

To summarize, significant relationships were found linking two domains of gender construction with psychological outcomes, though not always in the expected direction. Findings indicate that the construction of gender through identity and sexist

gender roles can both benefit and undermine psychological health. Stronger gender identity was related to greater hope, but unexpectedly to more psychological distress as well. Psychological distress was also related to sexist gender roles of a hostile nature. Benevolently sexist gender roles, on the other hand, were surprisingly related to several positive psychological outcomes.

Table 4.1

Summary of Themes for Challenges Facing Black Women

Theme	Definition	Example
Double minority status	Joint challenges of being both Black and female, typically with primary emphasis on racism and secondary discussion of gender prejudice	I think first the biggest one is being Black, you know. And it's like we're already put down here. We're already lower than like, I guess, you can say, um, I don't want to say the White man. You know what I'm saying? But we're already like inferior…And then the fact that we are women on top of that like makes us even more inferior so it's like I think that comes first… – #38
Sexual objectification	Publicized image of Black women as sexually promiscuous, due in large part to race	…I think the hardest struggle could be you know just the discrimination part you know as far as Black women or how they are portrayed in videos. To me I don't see it as a negative thing as much, you know, how people try to portray it. I think it's a race thing as well. Like, you'll see a White woman in video but she wouldn't be a video hoe but you see a Black woman in video…It's like why are they different? Both girls are in the video…I just see discrepancies just like that like it's the woman part and then they put the color aspect with it as well. I think it's even worse for Black women because you have both of the minorities… – #27
Perceptions of inferiority	Presumptions that Black women are inferior, necessitating greater effort in order to prove competency	I've faced challenges because I feel in a lot of situations that I walk into like in the classroom people expect me to be dumb or expect me to have only gotten here because of affirmative action, you know. People have said that sort of thing and it makes me feel like I have to prove myself. Well, I felt like this more previously but now I don't really feel that way anymore like I have to prove myself and work harder and show them that "yeah, I'm here not because someone handed something to me and that I am just as capable as you are…" – #31

Theme	Definition	Example
Unequal opportunity	Impediments to Black women's advancement, particularly related to racial disparities in the workforce that send subtle messages of inferiority	I think um some of the obstacles that Black women face are job placement like how in the executive world, you know, having that high powered position. I think it's very unlikely for a Black woman to have that position than it is for a Black male or even for a White female and a White male. Like I think that's how it goes and like in society as a whole, I think, that's how people like treat their respect. I think it's the White male, the White female then it's the Black male and then it's the Black woman.- #17
Neglected heterogeneity	Expectations for Black women to fulfill stereotypical roles that are not inherently negative, but restrictive nonetheless	…I think we're seen as people that are always like cooking, or always doing somebody's hair…and that…that's not all we can do. Like we're equal to any other woman doing any other thing… - #01
Class-based obstacles	Limited financial, educational, and support resources available to Black women, placing them at a disadvantage compared to their more privileged counterparts	… if you were a student of [inner Midwestern city] it's less money in the school systems so um you're already on a different level so to speak from students who come from schools where there are more money or there is more money invested and usually those are White neighborhoods and you come to a University like [this] you're already sometimes at a disadvantage um when it comes to education and things like that. - #23

Table 4.2

Mean Comparisons for Predominantly White University (n=37) and Historically Black

University (n=48) Samples

	Scale range	Mean	SD	*F*	*p*
Hostile sexism	11-55			3.24	.08
PWU		30.32	5.54		
HBU		32.73	6.50		
Benevolent sexism	11-55			3.81	.05
PWU		33.97	7.01		
HBU		36.94	6.90		
Modern/Covert sexism	8-40			3.29	.07
PWU		17.05	3.35		
HBU		18.52	3.95		
Sexist language	21-105			.05	.82
PWU		64.19	10.01		
HBU		64.69	9.68		
Perceived gender discrimination (Total)	15-75			1.57	.21
PWU		42.35	5.88		
HBU		44.17	7.15		
Perceived gender discrimination (Group)	9-45			.00	.10
PWU		27.57	3.08		
HBU		27.56	3.89		
Perceived gender discrimination (Personal)	6-30			2.68	.11
PWU		14.78	4.74		
HBU		16.60	5.33		
Gender identity	4-20			3.29	.07
PWU		18.35	2.23		
HBU		17.15	3.54		
Hope	12-60			.77	.38
PWU		33.59	4.41		
HBU		32.83	3.61		
Self-esteem	10-50			.89	.35
PWU		43.05	6.08		
HBU		41.77	6.35		
Perceived stress	0-56			6.57	.01
PWU		18.62	5.38		
HBU		21.50	4.94		
Psychological distress	18-90			5.90	.02
PWU		27.89	7.400		
HBU		33.38	12.08		
Life satisfaction	5-25			7.67	.01
PWU		18.89	3.13		
HBU		16.73	3.87		
Mental health/well-being	38-190			6.66	.01
PWU		149.68	20.08		
HBU		136.69	25.02		

Table 4.3

Correlations among Study Variables

	HS	BS	MS	SL	PGD total	PGD group	PGD personal	Gender identity	Hope	SE	PS	PD	LS	MH/WB
Hostile sexism (HS)	---													
Benevolent sexism (BS)	.46**	---												
Modern sexism (MS)	.11	.16	---											
Sexist language (SL)	-.20	-.11	-.23*	---										
PGD total	.03	.09	-.15	.36**	---									
PGD group	-.19	-.08	-.23*	.28*	.65**	---								
PGD personal	.18	.17	-.04	.28*	.85**	.15	---							
Gender identity (GI)	-.04	.11	-.02	.20	-.04	.00	-.05	---						
Hope	-.09	.13	-.00	.07	.03	-.05	.07	.27*	---					
Self-esteem (SE)	-.12	.19	-.18	.00	-.07	.01	-.10	.14	.51**	---				
Perceived stress (PS)	.01	-.16	-.02	.05	.06	-.08	.13	-.22*	-.36**	-.42**	---			
Psychological distress (PD)	.23*	.056	.10	.11	.21	.04	.24*	.11	-.22*	-.41**	.49**	---		
Life satisfaction (LS)	-.12	-.07	.07	.05	-.11	-.07	-.09	.22*	.44**	.25*	-.52**	-.26*	---	
MH/WB	-.18	-.05	.08	-.17	-.22*	-.07	-.24*	.12	.36**	.44**	-.73**	-.74**	.55**	---

*p < .05, **p < .01

Note: PGD = perceived gender discrimination, MH/WB = mental health/well-being

Table 4.4

Hierarchical Regression for Gender Identity Contributing to Psychological Health Outcomes

Variable Entered	Hope			Self-esteem			Perceived stress			Psych Distress			Life Satisfaction			MH/WB		
	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β
Step 1:	.15*			.09			.11			.13			.13			.13		
Location			-.15			-.09			.30*			.36**			-.31*			-.36**
Age			.02			-.08			.04			-.05			.07			-.01
GPA			.23*			.13			-.14			.12			.22			-.01
Mother's education			-.33*			-.24			-.07			-.03			.05			.06
Family income			.24			-.02			.02			-.14			-.03			.07
Step 2:	.22**	.07*		.14	.05*		.11	.00		.19*	.05*		.14	.01		.13	.00	
Gender identity			.30*			.25*			.01			.25*			.12			-.01

*p ≤ .05, **p ≤.01

Note: GPA = grade point average, MH/WB = mental health/well-being

Table 4.5

Hierarchical Regression for Sexist Gender Roles Contributing to Psychological Health Outcomes

Variable Entered	Hope			Self-esteem			Perceived stress			Psych Distress			Life Satisfaction			MH/WB		
	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β
Step 1:	.15*			.09			.11			.13			.13			.13		
Location			-.15			-.09			.30*			.36**			-.31*			-.36**
Age			.02			-.08			.94			-.05			.07			-.01
GPA			.23*			.13			-.14			.12			.22			-.01
Mother's education			-.33*			-.24			-.07			-.03			.05			.06
Family income			.24			-.02			.02			-.14			-.03			.07
Step 2:	.20*	.05		.18*	.09*		.20*	.09*		.18*	.05		.13	.01		.16	.04	
Hostile sexism			-.04			-.21			.08			.26*			-.08			-.21
Benevolent sexism			.24*			.34**			-.33**			-.10			.06			.14

*$p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$

Note: GPA = grade point average, MH/WB = mental health/well-being

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Qualitative

Identity Construction Vis-à-vis Sexism

Challenges Facing Black Women

The qualitative portion of this study examined participants' constructions of

gender in the context of an interview about their discrimination experiences, identities,

and relationships. With regard to participants' discussion of the primary challenges

facing Black women, their conversational choices were used to develop thematic content

about the significance of race. Conversational choices revealed the *process* by which

race-based themes emerged when participants discussed Black women's primary

challenges. Participants initiated discussions of challenges about double minority status,

but chose to juxtapose challenges presented by racism and sexism in such a way as to

emphasize race. The prioritization of race found here is consistent with other findings

supporting the ethnic-prominence hypothesis, wherein women of color are more likely to

perceive discrimination based on race as opposed to gender (Levin, Sinclair, Veniegas, &

Taylor; 2002). Findings from the current study, however, also support the double

jeopardy hypothesis, wherein the joint impact of both racism and sexism contributes to

greater discrimination perceived by women of color than by ethnic minority men or

White women belonging to only one minority group (Levin, Sinclair, Veniegas, & Taylor; 2002). It is interesting that participants chose to mention gender, but then minimized its impact on their lives. The minimization of gender may suggest that participants established positions that perhaps did not reproduce sexism, but consented to the status quo of sexist inequality. Although Levin and colleagues (2002) found no evidence in support of the double jeopardy hypothesis for Black women, findings from the present study suggest some resistance against sexism on the part of Black women as indicated by participants' discussion of gender challenges at all.

Images and Stereotypes about Black Women

Although the thematic content of images and stereotypes about Black women was mostly negative, further analysis revealed that participants confronted negative representations of Black women in their conversational choices. Thus, further analysis contextualized thematic content from the first pass of qualitative coding to suggest that the women did not accept the negative representations of Black women with which they were apparently inundated. They certainly accessed negative stereotypes and images quite readily and, in fact, more frequently than positive ideas about Black women, which may have seemed to indicate adoption of negative representations. Their resistance against stereotypes through confrontation, however, demonstrates participants' agency in choosing not to align with ideas that limit Black women's heterogeneity. In this sense, participants made conversational choices to oppose sexism by rejecting stereotypes and images that devalue Black women.

Meaning of Black Womanhood

Positive themes of strength and resilience were typically mentioned to define the meaning of Black womanhood. Analysis of conversational choices revealed that participants largely attributed the strength they associated with Black womanhood to racial factors. They specifically focused on the meaning of being Black with little attention to the meaning of being female, and highlighted Black women's strength compared to women of other racial groups. Thus, participants again prioritized race over gender as they did when discussing the challenges facing Black women. In discussing the meaning of Black womanhood, however, the minimization of gender was not as prevalent. Participants focused on racial meanings of Black womanhood, but less frequently used gender minimization to emphasize the significance of race. In other words, participants did not minimize gender so much as they advocated for race with regard to the meaning of Black womanhood. It is difficult to deduce what this may mean for their positions in relation to sexism. If Black women define Black womanhood solely in terms of race, then does this mean they do not care about gender or sexism?

Gender vs. Race Identification

Thematic content regarding gender and race identification showed inconsistencies between participants' explicit and implicit discussion of their identities as Black women. While the women explicitly expressed equal pride in their Black and female identities, they implicitly expressed stronger identification with race by indicating that they personally related to Barack Obama as a Black man more than to Hillary Clinton as a White woman. Analysis of the conversational choices participants made in this discussion confirmed that their expressed identification with race and gender was

certainly less than clear-cut. Rather, they negotiated their Black and female identities in the immediate context of the qualitative interview. Analysis of participants' conversational choices revealed conflict with alternative arguments that they either addressed (through justification or undoing) or ignored (through omission). Again, the meaning of these data for understanding participants' perspectives in relation to sexism is unclear. The apparent inconsistencies in thematic content and the problems participants encountered in trying to negotiate their positions suggest that race and gender identification is not static for Black women, but flexible and possibly context-dependent.

Participants' positions on sexism are also complicated by inconsistent identification with race and gender. If Black women are equally proud of their race and gender identities, then the endorsement of sexism seems unlikely. On the other hand, the way in which many participants justified their weak identification with Hillary Clinton in terms of female inadequacy (e.g., for Presidential responsibilities) does seem to support sexism. The current study's findings are consistent with previous research demonstrating that Black women's political views are predominantly influenced by race (Gay & Tate, 1998). Yet other findings that Black women's gender identification can reduce race identification when women's political interests conflict with Black community interests (Gay & Tate, 1998) was not supported here. Rather, this sample of Black women was generally swayed by interests of the Black community even when race and gender politics were at odds. Falk and Kenski (2006) provided evidence that preference for a male or female President is largely influenced by individual differences in the political issues viewed as most critical to the nation, regardless of demographics or party affiliation. When war and national security were deemed as political priorities, a male

President was preferred due to perceptions of women being relatively ill-equipped to lead during wartime. Both in previous research and in the present study, perceived discrepancies in men's and women's abilities to effectively manage Presidential responsibilities served to reinforce sexist restrictions that mostly impact women's advancement.

It might be argued that the very act of posing a question to Black women regarding their relative identification with race versus gender actually imposes a dichotomy, and that this forced choice may explain the prioritization of race above gender within this sample of Black college women. In asking participants if they equally identified with race and gender, however, they were given the opportunity to discuss their Black and female identities uniformly and/or in concert. It appeared that these Black college women were prone toward a dichotomized view of race and gender, particularly in which being Black superseded being a woman, despite having the option not to choose one identity over the other.

Gender and Relationships

Inconsistencies were also observed in the thematic content about gender and relationships. In general, participants described men more positively and women more negatively, but reported no preference for spending time with either gender. Their conversational choices to differentiate the respective roles of men and women may offer some clarification of inconsistent thematic content. In particular, participants' compartmentalization of preferred male and female interactions highlights the importance of context in determining gender preference. Though they described men more positively, this may have been in reference to the specific context of informal socializing,

in which males are understood as more sociable whereas women create a more tense social atmosphere. In other contexts such as going to nightclubs or when discussing intimacy, female relationships seemed to be preferred. Participants' reported lack of gender preference may have been in consideration of the multiple contexts of their relationships with men and women. Still, some participants did appear to attribute negative characteristics to the general population of women across multiple contexts while making positive generalizations for men, suggesting strong reproduction of sexism.

Based on the thematic content introduced by Black women in discussing the construction of gender and the conversational choices they made to communicate to the researcher during the qualitative interview, they constructed identities that indicate moderate endorsement of sexism. This assessment is derived from the range of positions taken by participants in relation to ideas that devalue/subordinate women, which included consent, mild resistance, rejection, and strong reproduction. A clear position on sexism could not be discerned from participants' discussion of the meaning of Black womanhood. The four abovementioned positions seem to cancel out one another; consent and mild resistance in opposition at one end of the continuum with rejection and strong reproduction in opposition at the other. It is thus inferred that this sample of Black women both resisted and reproduced sexism in constructing identities with regard to notions of gender discussed in the qualitative interview.

Notably, participants repeatedly referred to race in their discussions, assuming identities that emphasized the importance of being Black for their experiences of oppression and self-definition. In contrast to race and racism, participants conveyed that gender and sexism held less importance for their identities and experiences. Such a

position is consistent with the sociopolitical zeitgeist during the time of the 2008

democratic primary, in which race was particularly salient within the Black community

due to Barack Obama's campaign for Presidential office. The contemporary context of

"Obamania" and "Barack the vote" rejuvenated strong sentiments of Black pride that

perhaps rendered gender less relevant for Black women.

Historically, Black women may have relegated gender in favor of race to avoid

becoming marginalized from Black men, who may feel threatened by their allegiance to

women's interests (Lorde, 1984). From this perspective, race and gender are pitted

against each other in an either-or (as opposed to both-and) relationship, where support of

Black community is predicated upon prioritizing race. Critiques of mainstream feminism

that position race as "primary and pervasive" in shaping Black women's experiences

(Zinn & Dill, 1996) may serve to protect racial allegiance, with the consequence of

weakening gender alliances with White women especially. Feminism may be unpopular

among Black women in part because it is associated with division of the Black

community.

Romanticized notions of community may also explain the privileging of race over

gender among Black women. According to Burman (2005), gender has taken a

subordinate position to race due to ethnic minority concerns with portraying their racial

communities in a positive light by keeping potentially stigmatizing matters (e.g., violence

against women) private. Gender and women's issues presumed to pose a threat to

antiracist causes are thus suppressed in the "absence of other narratives and images

portraying a fuller range of Black experience" (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1256). The practice

of gender minimization among Black women in the current study seems consistent with

this explanation, also given participants' efforts to reject and counter negative stereotypes about Black women. It may be that race was prioritized above gender in order to defend against an abundance of negative depictions of the Black community, which is highly valued by Black women.

Why Black women would construct identities that actually endorse sexism to a moderate degree, however, is not clear solely based on contemporary and historical imperatives to accentuate race. Moreover, the comfort with which some participants endorsed sexist ideas is perplexing. Rockquemore (2002) suggested that competition for marriageable Black men results in hostility among Black women, which may offer some explanation for the findings here indicating partial endorsement of sexism. Educated and successful Black men in particular may be perceived as precious commodities, thereby shaping how Black women understand gender and sexism. Oppression against women may be of little consequence compared to the marked racial injustices against Black men as evidenced by disproportionately high rates of incarceration (Nealy, 2008).   The preciousness of educated Black men is likely most apparent within the university setting, where young Black men are beginning to realize their potential as scholars and professionals. Black female college students may thus support and befriend their precious male counterparts on the one hand, while harboring competitive antagonism toward other females. The larger cultural context of American individualism may also foster competitiveness and contribute to hostile sexism (Lee, Pratto, & Li, 2007). Psychological outcomes associated with sexist (traditional) and nontraditional constructions of gender are discussed next to further elucidate the meaning of endorsing sexism for Black women.

Quantitative

Surprisingly, these quantitative data did not demonstrate a relationship between perceived gender discrimination and either positive or negative psychological outcomes. An exploratory investigation of perceived gender discrimination as a possible protective factor for psychological health was conducted in this study. Although no a priori hypotheses were made in this regard, it was theorized that perceiving gender discrimination, while possibly undermining psychological health on the one hand, might also be of some benefit by promoting resistance and resilience against sexism. During the qualitative interview, several participants discussed appreciation for their struggles because of the strength Black women have cultivated as a result. Perhaps this appreciation for struggle may provide some explanation for why perceived gender discrimination was not associated with negative psychological outcomes as in previous studies. It may be the case that gender discrimination is viewed as a challenge that fortifies Black women's mental toughness, such that sexism has less of an impact on psychological health. In addition, perceiving gender discrimination against oneself as well as against women as a group may promote a sense of solidarity in shared sexist oppression perhaps promoting empowerment and rendering perceived challenges of sexism less daunting.

Given this study's qualitative findings regarding the minimal impact of gender compared to race for challenges facing Black women, the lack of quantitative findings linking gender discrimination to negative psychological health in this sample is somewhat less surprising. Yet these null results are in contrast to findings from other studies associating experiences of gender discrimination with depression, anxiety, and

somatization symptoms (Landrine, Klonoff, Gibbs, & Manning, 1995; Klonoff, Landrine, & Campbell, 2000) as well as lower self-esteem (Pinel, 2004; Schmitt, Branscombe, & Postmes, 2003). The discrepancy between the results from the current study and earlier findings may be due to differences in the measures used to assess gender discrimination. In particular, the difference between perceived versus experienced gender discrimination may be substantial, such that perceptions of sexism may be significantly less pronounced than actual sexist experiences and not of great enough severity to contribute to psychological distress.

While strong identification with gender was expected to be related to positive psychological outcomes similar to racial identity, an opposite relationship was found linking gender identity with psychological distress. In the context of qualitative findings regarding some Black women's preference for male relationships (that is, if they articulate a preference at all), the association between gender identity and psychological distress may be better understood. Several participants negatively characterized their female relationships and articulated efforts to distance themselves from other women. Identification with gender may therefore be associated with psychological distress if the gender with which one identifies is perceived negatively.

Although gender identity was found in association with psychological distress, it was also positively associated with hope. While hope, in and of itself, is not an indicator of psychological health, it is related in a beneficial direction to a number of positive and negative psychological health outcomes (including psychological distress). Therefore, gender identity, through a mediated relationship with hope, appears to be indirectly beneficial for psychological health, while directly contributing to psychological distress

as well. Again using qualitative findings to extrapolate meaning from the quantitative results, perhaps the relationship between gender identity and hope can be explained by Black women's decision to value themselves at a higher standard than the stereotypes that threaten to constrain their identities. Some participants discussed the internalization of stereotypes among Black women and expressed desires for their peers to break free of these limiting characterizations, which may be indicative of their hope for overcoming prejudicial restrictions of their potential.

One of the most unexpected findings pertained to the associations found between sexist gender roles and psychological outcomes. While gender roles indicating hostile sexism were linked with psychological distress, as hypothesized, those indicating benevolent sexism were surprisingly linked with a number of positive psychological outcomes. Thus, ideas supporting a traditional construction of gender that positively reinforces women's docility and delicacy in relation to men's dominance and strength appear to offer some psychological benefits. This is in contrast to findings from other studies associating traditional construction of gender with detrimental psychological outcomes (Borges & Waitzkin, 1995; Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007; Grimmell & Stern, 1992; Hunt, Sweeting, Keoghan, & Platt, 2006; Waters, 1993). Moya, Glick, Expósito, de Lemus, and Hart (2007) suggested that some women may have a positive reaction to restrictions placed on their roles, which may be viewed as protective. This sense of feeling protected and valued by men may contribute to the psychological benefits of benevolent sexism found here.

An alternative explanation is that benevolent sexism may be less about feeling protected by men as much as about self-protection in response to hostile attitudes toward

women. In a study examining the function of benevolent sexism for women, Fischer (2006) found that participants endorsed more benevolent sexism when presented with information about men's negative attitudes toward women. Further, participants did not react to male hostility with hostile sexism, suggesting that the women did not adopt or internalize men's negative attitudes. The current study's findings linking hostile sexism with psychological distress and benevolent sexism with psychological health indicators may also support the self-protective function of benevolent sexism. In addition, Fischer (2006) explains that benevolent sexism may function as a means of protest. From this perspective, benevolent sexism, though prejudicial and restrictive of women's roles, might be understood as partial resistance against sexism rather than solely reproduction.

Despite the potentially negative impact of gender identity and the potentially positive impact of benevolent sexism, the results of this study should not be considered to advocate complacency with the status quo gender hierarchy. Rather, the findings here seem to demonstrate the pervasiveness of contemporary sexist ideology, such that it is endorsed even among educated Black women. That these women were able to clearly articulate and speak out against challenges of racism suggests that they are not unaware of the potential for experiencing prejudice. Yet their positioning of gender as a subordinate category of injustice and their occasional collusion with sexist ideology suggests that sexism is somehow tolerable for Black women. While tolerating benevolent sexism appears to have some psychological benefits perhaps by rendering gender inequality more manageable, the social consequences for maintaining women's subordination to men also warrant attention. These consequences should not be ignored just because gender inequality can be psychologically tolerated.

Limitations

Although the potentially protective function of traditional constructions of gender should be considered based on the findings from this study, certain limitations may have also influenced the results. In particular, there may have been some problems in measurement of the study's independent variables among this sample of Black women. On the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI), items assessing benevolent sexism may be related to esteem for women rather than sexist ideas about women's and men's roles. Among nonstudent men, Glick and Fiske (1996) found benevolent sexism to be predictive of positive attitudes and images about women. Perhaps the endorsement of benevolent sexism among the Black women in this sample is similarly related to positive views of women, which may not necessarily be founded upon support of female subordination to men. Several women in this sample highlighted the importance of strength in defining Black womanhood, which would seem to contradict apparent endorsement of sexist ideas about women's weakness or inferiority compared to men. Particularly among Black women, endorsing ideas that call for cherishing and protecting women may have more to do with the value for appreciation and respect than with a sexist orientation. Findings suggesting the protective function of benevolent sexism for Black women should be interpreted with caution, considering the possibility that observed psychological benefits may be related to esteem for women rather than benevolently sexist ideas.

Another possibility is that benevolent sexism may be employed by Black women in an effort to empower Black men and restore their sense of masculinity. The culture and history of the Black community is such that Black women have come to embody

notions of strength and self-reliance with the perhaps unintended consequence of emasculating Black men. Historically, Black women have taken on the role of matriarch (Liggan & Kay, 1999; Woodard & Mastin, 2005) by necessity due to the absence of paternal male figures dating back since the forced separation of Black families during slavery. Moreover, despite gender-based wage disparities and glass ceiling effects, Black women have continued to make strides in educational attainment compared to Black men (Bertaux & Anderson, 2001; Cross & Slater, 2001). In essence, Black women may not perceive gender inequality or feel threatened by supposed male dominance given their status as matriarchs, and increasingly, as educated career women (e.g., this sample of Black female college students). Benevolent sexism among Black women may therefore indicate an acknowledgment that Black men have been denied opportunities to care for women and families, either through work or at home, and a desire for these opportunities to be restored. Moreover, benevolent sexism may also reflect a desire to be taken care of in light of the pervasive absence of this option for many Black women. From this perspective, the concept of benevolent sexism is again problematized by the meaning it may hold for Black women compared to some other communities of women, who may not have had the opportunity or the imperative to take on dominant familial and social roles.

Other measurement concerns may have emerged related to covert sexist attitudes. College-age women may be more sensitive to gender issues assessed by the Modern Sexism Scale (MSS), possibly responding based on social desirability (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). Lack of significant findings regarding covert sexism may be due to participants' awareness of the political correctness of certain responses on the MSS,

obscuring the relationship to psychological outcomes. In addition, relatively low inter-item consistency for the MSS in this sample of Black women suggests that items measuring modern/covert sexist attitudes did not acceptably cohere with one another as conceptualized, which also may have influenced study findings.

The lack of empirical support for a relationship between sexist language and psychological outcomes seems to suggest that words have little bearing on Black women's psychology. Alternatively, null findings may be related to the difference between attitudes toward sexist language and actual usage. Parks and Roberton (2000) discussed the possible applicability of the IASNL for predicting sexist language behavior. Perhaps use of sexist language may demonstrate an association with psychological outcomes not detected based on sexist language attitudes alone.

The group of Black women in this study was a sample of convenience. Study participants were recruited from introductory psychology courses and a university student center, with incentives for course credit or monetary compensation.   These findings may not be generalizable to all Black women given the possibility that extrinsic incentives may have influenced participants' responses. Moreover, Black female college students may construct gender differently than non-student Black women, particularly given greater sensitivity to modern/covert sexism (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995) and perhaps greater interest in impression management when discussing their constructions of gender with a Black female researcher. A community sample, particularly including mature Black women who may endorse more traditional gender constructions and may be less concerned with appearing to be politically correct, might reveal more apparent

consequences of endorsing sexist ideology that are difficult to discern in a young college sample.

Lastly, the findings here may be influenced by certain circumstances that are difficult to replicate, including the historical context of the 2008 Presidential campaign, the interaction between researcher and participant during each qualitative interview, and the researcher's interpretation of the data. The results of this investigation are limited to the perspectives voiced by a sample of Black female college students from two universities during a particular historical period. The perspectives of these participants cannot be generalized to other populations of Black women. Still, these findings contribute to an understanding of how gender is constructed among Black female college students and potential outcomes for psychological health. In addition, this investigation raises questions about the meaning of gender and race for these Black women, which may interrogate established concepts of benevolent sexism and intersectionality.

Future Directions

In many ways, this investigation of the psychological outcomes of Black women's construction of gender resulted in more questions than answers. Qualitative findings indicated that Black women endorse both sexist and nonsexist constructions of gender, while quantitative findings produced some puzzling relationships between measures of gender construction and outcomes of psychological health. Hope, in particular, was a surprisingly important outcome in this study, with links to two of the independent variables hypothesized to influence psychological outcomes, gender identity and sexist gender roles. Constructing gender in ways that indicate stronger identification with being a woman and greater endorsement of benevolent sexism appears to promote greater hope

among Black women. Perhaps this is no coincidence given the significance of hope for

Barack Obama's campaign in the 2008 Presidential election. Obama refers to "The

Audacity of Hope" in his book of the same title, and it seems that the findings here

corroborate this description of hope. By embracing a stronger and more favorable female

identity, some Black women may remain hopeful despite the challenges they face. A

useful avenue for future research is to investigate factors that maintain hope amidst

adversity and oppression. Further investigation of how hope can continue to flourish,

particularly in contexts of chronic adversity, may contribute to a better understanding of

resilience.

Another consideration is whether differences between the historically Black

university (HBU) and predominantly White university (PWU) samples had a significant

influence on this study's findings. HBU participants reported more sexist gender roles

and negative psychological outcomes than PWU participants. Sample differences may

indicate the prevalence and detriment of sexist ideology among Black female college

students attending HBUs. Perhaps sexist ideology is more rampant when racial

differences are not a factor. Black women at PWUs may be more aware of their minority

status given that they are considerably fewer in number relative to the total student body.

As a result, they may be more likely to seek community with other Black women, in

support of their psychological health. Black women at HBUs, on the other hand, may not

feel the need to nurture connections with one another due to less minority group salience.

Further, they may view other Black women as competition (Rockquemore; 2002),

possibly contributing to sexist ideology and undermining psychological health.

The sample differences that emerged between PWU and HBU participants in this study reiterate that Black women are not homogenous. Indeed a primary complaint among interview participants was that the heterogeneity of Black women is often ignored in favor of restrictive stereotypes. These findings demonstrate that Black female college students have varied perspectives on gender as well as different states of psychological health; yet it is not clear how differing university settings may come to bear on these observed differences among Black female college students. There may be an unmeasured source of variance associated with the university setting that accounts for some of the differences found between PWU and HBU participants. For example, familiarity with women's studies and feminist theory may be one such intervening factor that influences Black female college students' perspectives on gender. A review of course offerings yielded 90+ courses pertaining to gender or women's studies at the PWU compared to 20+ courses at the HBU. The availability of women's studies courses may impact young Black women's consciousness of gender issues and sexism. Future research with Black female college students should obtain a wider sampling of institutions in order to ascertain the magnitude of any location effects as well as to assess the generalizability of the findings reported here. In the future, exploring environmental differences between PWUs and HBUs, such as exposure to women's studies, may help to clarify perspectives on gender as a subordinate identity.

The possibility of differences in perspectives on gender across contexts begs the question of whether intersectionality as a concept is sufficient to explain Black women's social identities and experiences of oppression. Intersectionality assumes a unified experience of multiple social identities regardless of location. From this perspective,

one's race and gender identities are not understood as separate from one another, but as inextricably intertwined. However, the finding of more sexist gender roles among HBU participants compared to Black college women at a PWU may suggest that consciousness of gender and sexism can be muted depending on context. The fundamental assumption that multiple social identities intersect and influence one another is also challenged when one identity, in this instance race, is simultaneously made prominent while others are muted.

Although this investigation focused on the intersection between race and gender, an important yet understudied third identity is class. Identification by class may be especially relevant for young college students transitioning from high school and perhaps highly attuned to status comparisons with their peers. Given the inherent complexity of conducting a simultaneous investigation of race, gender, and class, perhaps future research might specifically examine Black women's perspectives on the operation of class in their lives, as was attempted in the present study's focus on gender.

Conclusion and Implications

Utilizing mixed methods, this study investigated the construction of gender among Black women and related outcomes for psychological health. Results showed that Black women construct gender in ways that endorse sexism to a moderate degree, either by capitulating to ideas that maintain women's subordination or by actively participating in the current gender hierarchy. In several instances, race and racism was a key factor in the minimization of gender and sexism. The tension between race and gender was especially apparent in participants' discussions of the primary challenges they face and their Black and female identities. While they discussed double minority status and

articulated equal pride in being Black and female, the significance of race for creating challenges and building strength of character was repeatedly emphasized.

The quantitative portion of this study focused more directly on Black women's attention to gender and sexism to determine the psychological outcomes of attending to discrimination against women, identifying with being a woman, and sexist gender constructions. Attention to gender and sexism did not contribute to psychological outcomes among the Black women in this study. Hostile sexism was expectedly related to psychological distress, but that benevolent sexism was associated with positive psychological health, however, complicates the picture of traditional gender constructions in relation to psychological detriment. In the current study, benevolent sexism was protective for Black women, and may be consistent with a positive self-image and self-respect rather than acquiescence to female subordination.

The study of gender and sexism has both personal implications for Black women as well as macrolevel implications for gender inequality. This research highlights the slippery slope from focusing on racism and Black community interests to neglecting sexism and women's interests. Further, how neglect of sexism can evolve into sexist participation was also demonstrated in this study. On a personal level, endorsing sexism may alienate Black women from one another, which may contribute to personal alienation from their own female identities. From a macrolevel perspective, women's endorsement of sexism serves to maintain the status quo gender hierarchy and impedes women's advancement.

Appendix A

Non-Significant Regression Analyses

	Hope			Self-esteem			Perceived stress			Psych Distress			Life Satisfaction			MH/WB		
Variable Entered	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β
Step 1:	.15*			.09			.11			.13			.13			.13		
Location			-.15			-.09			.30*			.36**			-.31*			-.36**
Age			.02			-.08			.04			-.05			.07			-.01
GPA			.23*			.13			-.14			.12			.22			-.01
Mom education			-.33*			-.24			-.07			-.03			.05			.06
Family income			.24			-.02			.02			-.14			-.03			.07
Step 2:	.15	.00		.09	.01		.11	.00		.15	.01		.13	.00		.15	.03	
PGD total			.06			-.08			.05			.12			-.07			-.17

*p ≤.05, **p ≤.01

	Hope			Self-esteem			Perceived stress			Psych Distress			Life Satisfaction			MH/WB		
Variable Entered	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β
Step 1:	.15*			.09			.11			.13			.13			.13		
Location			-.15			-.09			.30*			.36**			-.31*			-.36**
Age			.02			-.08			.04			-.05			.07			-.01
GPA			.23*			.13			-.14			.12			.22			-.01
Mom education			-.33*			-.24			-.07			-.03			.05			.06
Family income			.24			-.02			.02			-.14			-.03			.07
Step 2:	.16	.01		.10	.01		.12	.01		.16	.02		.13	.01		.16	.03	
PGD group			-.05			.01			-.05			-.02			-.08			-.06
PGD personal			.11			-.10			.09			.16			-.03			-.16

*p ≤.05, **p ≤.01

	Hope			Self-esteem			Perceived stress			Psych Distress			Life Satisfaction			MH/WB		
Variable Entered	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β
Step 1:	.15*			.09			.11			.13			.13			.13		
Location			-.15			-.09			.30*			.36**			-.31*			-.36**
Age			.02			-.08			.04			-.05			.07			-.01
GPA			.23*			.13			-.14			.12			.22			-.01
Mom education			-.33*			-.24			-.07			-.03			.05			.06
Family income			.24			-.02			.02			-.14			-.03			.07
Step 2:	.16*	.01		.10	.02		.11	.00		.15	.02		.16*	.03		.13	.00	
Modern sexism			.10			-.14			-.04			.13			.19			.05

*p ≤.05, **p ≤.01

	Hope			Self-esteem			Perceived stress			Psych Distress			Life Satisfaction			MH/WB		
Variable Entered	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	β
Step 1:	.15*			.09			.11			.13			.13			.13		
Location			-.15			-.09			.30*			.36**			-.31*			-.36**
Age			.02			-.08			.04			-.05			.07			-.01
GPA			.23*			.13			-.14			.12			.22			-.01
Mom education			-.33*			-.24			-.07			-.03			.05			.06
Family income			.24			-.02			.02			-.14			-.03			.07
Step 2:	.15	.00		.10	.01		.11	.00		.14	.00		.13	.00		.13	.00	
Sexist language			.05			-.10			-.01			.04			.05			-.05

*p ≤.05, **p ≤.01

Appendix B

Interview Protocol

Opening Remarks:

First I want to thank you for agreeing to participate in this study and for allowing me to interview you. Just to give you a little background information on who you'll be talking to for the next hour and a half, I was raised in Detroit. I graduated from NYU and now I am a 4th year doctoral student in Psychology and Women's Studies, and this is my dissertation project so it's very near and dear to my heart. As a Black woman, I have some personal ideas about what experiences, views, frustrations, etc. many of us may share, but of course I don't want to assume that my experiences and beliefs are necessarily the norm. So I am really interested in learning about *your* particular experiences as a Black woman in American society and how *you* view the world. That's my goal in conducting this interview.

This is a semi-structured interview, which means there are some specific questions that I will ask you related to your views and experiences; however, this interview is also dictated by you and what you want to share. You should feel free to go with a question I ask you for as long as you would like. Also, you should always try to answer the question by providing as much detail as possible. This should be like a conversation in its flow and feel. However, you will probably do most of the talking and reconstructing of your experiences and thoughts about those experiences. As the interviewer, my role will be to listen and guide you with some questions.

Do you have any questions for me before we start?

As mentioned in the consent form, I will be recording our conversation so that I can talk with you freely, without trying to write down everything that you say. So let me turn the recorder on so we can begin. (TURN AUDIO RECORDER ON)

Experiences:

What are some of the primary challenges or obstacles that you feel Black women have to face?

Have you (or someone you know) faced these challenges? *If yes*, what was that experience like? How have you (or they) dealt with these challenges?

If unknown: What experiences (if any) have you had with prejudice or discrimination (e.g. growing up, high school, college/work)? *If none*, do you think that prejudice or discrimination is a concern in your life? Why or why not?

How have you dealt with these experiences? Have you been discouraged (or motivated)?

Identity & Perceptions:

What words or images come to mind when you think about Black women? Any stereotypes?

What does it mean to you to be a Black woman?

Are you proud to be a Black woman? Why or why not? Is it ever a burden to be a Black woman?

Are you as proud to be a woman as you are to be Black? Why or why not?

Do you see your race and gender identities as separate from each other? *If yes*, do you see yourself as a Black person first and a woman second or vice versa?

Political platforms aside, Hillary Clinton or Barack Obama? Why?

What first impression do people get of you? Does being a Black woman influence people's impressions?

Do you think other people's impressions of you are consistent with how you see yourself?

Relationships:

How would you describe your relationships *with people outside of your race*? Can you tell me about a positive/negative relationship you have with someone outside of your race?

Do you prefer to spend time with people of your own race or perhaps not of your race?

How would you describe your relationships *with romantic partners*? Any patterns or types?

Not including romantic relationships, do you prefer to spend time with men, women, neither, or both equally?

How would you describe your relationships *with men*? *If discusses only romantic relationships,* How would you describe your friendships with men?

How would you describe your relationships *with Black men*? How do your relationships with men outside of your race compare?

How would you describe your relationships *with other women*?

How would you describe your relationships *with other Black women*? How do your relationships with women outside of your race compare?

Can you identify with (or relate to) other Black women? Why or why not?

Worldviews:

What is your outlook on the world?

How does a person achieve happiness or success within the world that you describe?

Do you follow that philosophy in your day-to-day life? *If no*, why not?

Would you call yourself an optimist, pessimist, neither, or both? Why or why not?

Study Participation:

How have you felt about sharing your views of the world and experiences during this interview?

Do you have any questions you want to ask me before we end?

Closing Remarks:

Thank you so much for your participation in this study. I greatly appreciate your help. Is it okay to contact you in the future about other research involving Black women? Thanks again.

Appendix C

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the *degree to which you agree or disagree* with each statement using the provided scale.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over the men, under the guise of asking for "equality."	1	2	3	4	5
3. In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist	1	2	3	4	5
5. Women are too easily offended.	1	2	3	4	5
6. People are not truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Feminists are seeking for women to have more power then men	1	2	3	4	5
8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Men are incomplete without women.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.	1	2	3	4	5

16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.	1	2	3	4	5
17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.	1	2	3	4	5
21. Feminists are making unreasonable demands of men.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix D

Modern Sexism Scale

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the *degree to which you agree or disagree* with each statement using the provided scale.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.	1	2	3	4	5
3. It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television.	1	2	3	4	5
4. On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.	1	2	3	4	5
6. It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in America.	1	2	3	4	5
7. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix E

Inventory of Attitudes Toward Sexist/Nonsexist Language

Please use the following definition in completing this questionnaire:
Sexist language includes words, phrases, and expressions that unnecessarily differentiate between females and males *or* exclude, trivialize, or diminish either gender.

SECTION I: **For the following expressions, choose the descriptor that most closely corresponds with your beliefs about language.**

	Strongly Disagree	Tend to Disagree	Undecided	Tend to Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Women who think that being called a "chairman" is sexist are misinterpreting the word "chairman."	1	2	3	4	5
2. We should not change the way the English language has traditionally been written and spoken.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Worry about sexist language is a trivial activity.	1	2	3	4	5
4. If the original meaning of the word "he" was "person," we should continue to use "he" to refer to both males and females today.	1	2	3	4	5
5. When people use the term "man and wife," the expression is not sexist if the users don't mean it to be.	1	2	3	4	5
6. The English language will never be changed because it is too deeply ingrained in the culture.	1	2	3	4	5
7. The elimination of sexist language is an important goal.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Most publication guidelines require newspaper writers to avoid using ethnic and racial slurs. So, these guidelines should also require writers to avoid sexist language.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Sexist language is related to sexist treatment of people in society.	1	2	3	4	5
10. When teachers talk about the history of the United States, they should change expressions, such as "our forefathers," to expressions that include women.	1	2	3	4	5

11. Teachers who require students to use nonsexist language are unfairly forcing their political views upon their students.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Although change is difficult, we still should try to eliminate sexist language.	1	2	3	4	5

Reminder:
Sexist language includes words, phrases, and expressions that unnecessarily differentiate between females and males *or* exclude, trivialize, or diminish either gender.

SECTION II: **Are the underlined words and phrases in the following sentences sexist?**

	Not at all Sexist	Probably not Sexist	Undecided	Somewhat Sexist	Definitely Sexist
13. People should care about all <u>mankind</u>, not just themselves.	1	2	3	4	5
14. The belief that frogs will give you warts is just <u>an old wives' tale</u>.	1	2	3	4	5
15. If a child wants to play the piano well, <u>he</u> must practice hard.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Alice Jones should be <u>chairman</u> of our committee.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION III: **Choose the descriptor that most closely describes <u>you</u> in the following situations.**

	Very Unwilling	Reluctant	Undecided	Somewhat Willing	Very Willing
17. When you are referring to a married woman, how willing are you to use the title "Ms. Smith" rather than "Mrs. Smith"?	1	2	3	4	5
18. How willing are you to use the word "server" rather than "waiter" or "waitress"?	1	2	3	4	5
19. How willing are you to use the expression "husband and wife" rather than "man and wife"?	1	2	3	4	5
20. How willing are you to use the term "camera operator" rather than "cameraman"?	1	2	3	4	5
21. How willing are you to use the title "flight attendant" instead of "steward" or "stewardess"?	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix F

Perceived Gender Discrimination

Below is a series of statements about women as a group as well as your personal experience as a woman in contemporary society. Please indicate the *degree to which you agree or disagree* with each statement using the provided scale.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Women as a group have been victimized by society.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Women as a group regularly encounter sexism.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Prejudice and discrimination against women exists.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Women as a group have been victimized because of their gender.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Women in general have had opportunities that they wouldn't have gotten if they were men.	1	2	3	4	5
6. There are privileges that women have had that they would not have received if they weren't women.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Women have received some kinds of advantages due to their gender.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Good things have happened to women because of their gender.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Women have received preferential treatment because of their gender.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I have personally been a victim of sexual discrimination.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I consider myself a person who has been deprived of opportunities because of my gender.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I feel like I am personally a victim of society because of my gender.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I have personally been the victim of sexual harassment.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I regularly encounter sexism against my gender.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Prejudice against my gender group has affected me personally.	1	2	3	4	5

16. I value being a member of my gender group.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I am proud to be a member of my gender group.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I like being a member of my gender group.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I believe that being a member of my gender group is a positive experience	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix G

Hope Scale

Below is a series of statements about views and experiences that people may have. Please indicate the degree to which each statement is *true or false for you* using the provided scale.

	Definitely False	Somewhat False	Neither True Nor False	Somewhat True	Definitely True
1. I can think of many ways to get out of a jam.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I energetically pursue my goals.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I feel tired most of the time.	1	2	3	4	5
4. There are lots of ways around any problem.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I am easily downed in an argument.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I can think of many ways to get the things in life that are most important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I worry about my health.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Even when others get discouraged, I know I can find a way to solve the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
9. My past experiences have prepared me well for my future.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I've been pretty successful in life.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I usually find myself worrying about something.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I meet the goals that I set for myself.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix H

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

Below is a series of statements concerning your general feelings about yourself. Please indicate the *degree to which you agree or disagree* **with each statement using the provided scale.**

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	1	2	3	4	5
2. At times, I think I am no good at all.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I certainly feel useless at times.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4	5
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix I

Perceived Stress Scale

Below is a series of statements about your feelings and thoughts during the *last month*. Although some of the questions are similar, there are differences between them and you should treat each one as a separate question. The best approach is to answer each question fairly quickly. That is, don't try to count up the number of times you felt a particular way, but rather choose the alternative that seems like a reasonable estimate. Please indicate *how often you felt or thought a certain way* using the provided scale.

	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
1. In the last month, how often have you been upset because of something that happened unexpectedly?	0	1	2	3	4
2. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?	0	1	2	3	4
3. In the last month, how often have you felt nervous and "stressed"?	0	1	2	3	4
4. In the last month, how often have you dealt successfully with irritating life hassles?	0	1	2	3	4
5. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were effectively coping with important changes that were occurring in your life?	0	1	2	3	4
6. In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?	0	1	2	3	4
7. In the last month how often have you felt that things were going your way?	0	1	2	3	4
8. In the last month, how often have you found that you could not cope with all the things that you had to do?	0	1	2	3	4
9. In the last month, how often have you been able to control irritations in your life?	0	1	2	3	4
10. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were on top of things?	0	1	2	3	4
11. In the last month, how often have you been angered because of things that happened that were outside of your control?	0	1	2	3	4
12. In the last month, how often have you found yourself thinking about things that you have to accomplish?	0	1	2	3	4
13. In the last month, how often have you been able to control the way you spend your time?	0	1	2	3	4

14. In the last month, how often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?	0	1	2	3	4

Appendix J

Brief Symptom Inventory

Below is a series of problems and complaints that people sometimes have. Please indicate *how much each problem has bothered or distressed you* during the *past week*, including today using the provided scale.

	Not at All	A Little Bit	Moderately	Quite a Bit	Extremely
1. Faintness or dizziness	1	2	3	4	5
2. Feeling no interest in things	1	2	3	4	5
3. Nervousness or shakiness inside	1	2	3	4	5
4. Pains in heart or chest	1	2	3	4	5
5. Feeling lonely	1	2	3	4	5
6. Feeling tense or keyed up	1	2	3	4	5
7. Nausea or upset stomach	1	2	3	4	5
8. Feeling blue	1	2	3	4	5
9. Suddenly scared for no reason	1	2	3	4	5
10. Trouble getting your breath	1	2	3	4	5
11. Feelings of worthlessness	1	2	3	4	5
12. Spells of terror or panic	1	2	3	4	5
13. Numbness or tingling parts of your body	1	2	3	4	5
14. Feeling hopeless about the future	1	2	3	4	5
15. Feeling so restless you could not sit still	1	2	3	4	5
16. Feeling weak in parts of your body	1	2	3	4	5
17. Thoughts of ending your life	1	2	3	4	5
18. Feeling fearful	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix K

Satisfaction With Life Scale

Below is a series of statements about your life. Please indicate the *degree to which you agree or disagree* **with each statement using the provided scale.**

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.	1	2	3	4	5
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I am satisfied with my life.	1	2	3	4	5
4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.	1	2	3	4	5
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix L

Mental Health Inventory

Below is a series of statements about how you feel and how things have been with you during the *past month*. Please indicate the response that comes closest to the way you have been feeling using the provided scales.

	Extremely Unhappy	Generally Unhappy	Neither Happy Nor Unhappy	Generally Happy	Extremely Happy
1. How happy have you been with your personal life during the past month?	1	2	3	4	5

	Not Bothered at All	Bothered Just a Little	Bothered Some	Bothered Quite a Bit	Extremely Bothered
2. How much have you been bothered by nervousness, or your "nerves," during the past month?	1	2	3	4	5

	No, Never	Yes, Once	Yes, a Couple Of Times	Yes, Fairly Often	Yes, Constantly
3. During the past month, did you ever think about taking your own life?	1	2	3	4	5

	Not Depressed at All	A Little Depressed	Somewhat Depressed	Quite Depressed	Extremely Depressed
4. During the past month, how depressed (at its worst) have you felt?	1	2	3	4	5

	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Always
5. During the past month, how often did you feel there were people you were close to?	1	2	3	4	5
6. During the past month, how often has feeling depressed interfered with what you usually do?	1	2	3	4	5
7. How often have you felt like crying during the past month?	1	2	3	4	5
8. During the past month, how often did you feel that others would be better off if you were dead?	1	2	3	4	5

9. During the past month, how often did you get rattled, upset, or flustered?	1	2	3	4	5
10. How often during the past month did you find yourself having difficulty trying to calm down?	1	2	3	4	5
11. During the past month, how often did you feel isolated from others?	1	2	3	4	5

	None of the Time	A Little of the Time	Some of the Time	Most of the Time	All of the Time
12. How much of the time, during the past month, did you have difficulty reasoning and solving problems; for example, making plans, making decisions, learning new things?	1	2	3	4	5
13. During the past month, how much of the time have you generally enjoyed the things you do?	1	2	3	4	5
14. How much of the time, during the past month, has your daily life been full of things that were interesting to you?	1	2	3	4	5
15. During the past month, how much of the time have you felt loved and wanted?	1	2	3	4	5
16. How much of the time, during the past month, have you been a very nervous person?	1	2	3	4	5
17. During the past month, how much of the time did you have difficulty doing activities involving concentration and thinking?	1	2	3	4	5
18. During the past month, how much of the time did you feel depressed?	1	2	3	4	5
19. During the past month, how much of the time have you felt tense or "high-strung"?	1	2	3	4	5
20. During the past month, how much of the time have you been in firm control of your behavior, thoughts, emotions, feelings?	1	2	3	4	5
21. During the past month, how much of the time did you become confused and start several actions at a time?	1	2	3	4	5
22. During the past month, how much of the time did you feel that you had nothing to look forward to?	1	2	3	4	5
23. How much of the time, during the past month, have you felt calm and peaceful?	1	2	3	4	5

24. How much of the time, during the past month, have you felt emotionally stable?	1	2	3	4	5
25. How much of the time, during the past month, have you felt downhearted and blue?	1	2	3	4	5
26. How much of the time, during the past month, did you feel left out?	1	2	3	4	5
27. During the past month, how much of the time did you forget, for example, things that happened recently, where you put things, appointments?	1	2	3	4	5
28. During the past month, how much of the time did you feel that your love relationships, loving and being loved, were full and complete?	1	2	3	4	5
29. During the past month, how much of the time has living been a wonderful adventure for you?	1	2	3	4	5
30. How much of the time, during the past month, have you felt so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer you up?	1	2	3	4	5
31. During the past month, how much of the time have you felt restless, fidgety, or impatient?	1	2	3	4	5
32. During the past month, how much of the time have you been moody or brooded about things?	1	2	3	4	5
33. How much of the time, during the past month, did you have trouble keeping your attention on any activity for long?	1	2	3	4	5
34. During the past month, how much of the time have you been anxious or worried?	1	2	3	4	5
35. During the past month, how much of the time have you been a happy person?	1	2	3	4	5
36. During the past month, how much of the time have you been in low or very low spirits?	1	2	3	4	5
37. How much of the time, during the past month, have you felt cheerful, lighthearted?	1	2	3	4	5
38. How much of the time, during the past month, did you react slowly to things that were said or done?	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix M

Consent Forms

<u>Subject Pool Participants</u>

This study examines the influence of gender beliefs on Black women's well-being. Previous research has found that gender beliefs influence how people perceive the world and interact with others, but little research has been done to see whether gender beliefs also affect well-being. This study seeks to determine if certain gender beliefs actually help Black women to overcome everyday challenges they face in the world in order to live healthy and satisfying lives.

This is a two-part study in which you will be asked a variety of questions. The first part will consist of written questionnaires for you to complete, while the second part will be in a spoken interview format. There will be requests for basic demographic information such as your age, ethnicity, and family income as well as more in-depth questions about your mood, experiences, attitudes, and coping strategies. The questionnaires will require about 30 minutes to complete and the interview will take about 1.5 hours. You will receive .5 credit hours for completing the questionnaire and 1.5 credit hours for completing the interview, for a total of 2 credit hours of compensation.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose to withdraw from the study at anytime without penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise be entitled. This study involves little to no risk to you, and participation may provide you with greater insight into yourself and your way of interacting within American society. Some questions ask you to reflect on difficult experiences you may have had, which could cause feelings of discomfort; however you can choose not to answer any question and you can feel free to pause or stop at any time. You may also ask questions before you begin and/or during the course of your participation.

All information collected will remain confidential to the extent provided by federal, state, or local law. However, the Institutional Review Board or university officials responsible for monitoring this study may inspect these records. An exception to confidentiality would be report of any ongoing incidences of child abuse or intention to harm yourself or someone else. Only the members of this research team will have access to the information you provide during this study. The records kept for this project will <u>not</u> include any personal information about you that could allow others to identify you. Anonymous data obtained may be presented in manuscripts, published research reports, and/or academic meetings and conferences.

If your responses indicate a risk for significant distress we will provide you with referral information for mental health services in the area. If your answers indicate that you are at immediate risk for hurting yourself or others, we will stop the study and contact emergency services.

One copy of this document will be kept together with the research records of this study. Also, you will be given a copy to keep. If you have additional questions about this study later or if you are interested in obtaining copies of reports based on study findings, you may contact the principal investigator, Erin Graham, M.S. (contact information at end of document).

Should you have questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the Institutional Review Board, 540 E. Liberty Street, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, 734-936-0933, irbhsbs@umich.edu

I have read and understand the information provided in this consent form. The researcher has offered to answer any questions I may have concerning the study. I hereby consent to participate in the study.

_____
Printed Name

_____
Consenting Signature

_____
Today's Date

Consent for audio-recording: Please sign below if you are willing to have your interview audio-recorded. Audio-recordings will be stored securely at the University of Michigan for an indefinite period of time and only Erin Graham and her research team will have access to them. Furthermore, your name will not appear on the label of the audio-recording itself.

_____
Signature

_____
Today's Date

Researcher Contact Information:
Erin Graham, M.S.
Doctoral Candidate
University of Michigan
Department of Psychology
530 Church Street
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1043
734-353-9524
erintg@umich.edu

Faculty Advisor:
Laura P. Kohn-Wood
Associate Professor
University of Michigan
Department of Psychology
530 Church Street
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1043
734-647-3877
lpkohn@umich.edu

Paid Participants

This study examines the influence of gender beliefs on Black women's well-being. Previous research has found that gender beliefs influence how people perceive the world and interact with others, but little research has been done to see whether gender beliefs also affect well-being. This study seeks to determine if certain gender beliefs actually help Black women to overcome everyday challenges they face in the world in order to live healthy and satisfying lives.

As part of this study you will be asked a variety of questions, some of which will be in the form of written questionnaires for you to complete while others will be asked in a spoken interview format. These include requests for basic demographic information such as your age, ethnicity, and family income as well as more in-depth questions about your mood, experiences, attitudes, and coping strategies. The questionnaires will require about 30 minutes to complete and the interview will take about 1.5 hours. For the purposes of this study, only a limited number of interviews will be conducted with interested participants; however everyone will be asked to complete the written questionnaire. You will receive $5 for completing the questionnaire. Those interested in participating in the interview portion will receive additional compensation in the amount of $15 once the interview is completed. If you decide to stop the interview before it is finished, you will be compensated for one third the dollar amount ($5).

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose to withdraw from the study at anytime without penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise be entitled. This study involves little to no risk to you, and participation may provide you with greater insight into yourself and your way of interacting within American society. Some questions ask you to reflect on difficult experiences you may have had, which could cause feelings of discomfort; however you can choose not to answer any question and you can feel free to pause or stop at any time. You may also ask questions before you begin and/or during the course of your participation.

All information collected will remain confidential to the extent provided by federal, state, or local law. However, the Institutional Review Board or university officials responsible for monitoring this study may inspect these records. An exception to confidentiality would be report of any ongoing incidences of child abuse or intention to harm yourself or someone else. Only the members of this research team will have access to the information you provide during this study. The records kept for this project will <u>not</u> include any personal information about you that could allow others to identify you. Anonymous data obtained may be presented in manuscripts, published research reports, and/or academic meetings and conferences.

If your responses indicate a risk for significant distress we will provide you with referral information for mental health services in the area. If your answers indicate that you are at immediate risk for hurting yourself or others, we will stop the study and contact emergency services.

One copy of this document will be kept together with the research records of this study. Also, you will be given a copy to keep. If you have additional questions about this study later or if you are interested in obtaining copies of reports based on study findings, you may contact the principal investigator, Erin Graham, M.S. (contact information at end of document).

Should you have questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the Institutional Review Board, 540 E. Liberty Street, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, 734-936-0933, irbhsbs@umich.edu

I have read and understand the information provided in this consent form. The researcher has offered to answer any questions I may have concerning the study. I hereby consent to participate in the study.

_____
Printed Name

_____
Consenting Signature

_____
Today's Date

Consent for audio-recording: Please sign below if you are willing to have your interview audio-recorded. Audio-recordings will be stored securely at the University of Michigan for an indefinite period of time and only Erin Graham and her research team will have access to them. Furthermore, your name will not appear on the label of the audio-recording itself.

_____
Signature

_____
Today's Date

Researcher Contact Information:
Erin Graham, M.S.
Doctoral Candidate
University of Michigan
Department of Psychology
530 Church Street
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1043
734-353-9524
erintg@umich.edu

Faculty Advisor:
Laura P. Kohn-Wood
Associate Professor
University of Michigan
Department of Psychology
530 Church Street
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1043
734-647-3877
lpkohn@umich.edu

REFERENCES

Andrews, A. B., Guadalupe, J. L., & Bolden, E. (2003). Faith, hope and mutual support: Paths to empowerment as perceived by women in poverty. *Journal of Social Work Research and Evaluation, 4,* 5-18.

Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist, 55,* 469-480.

Bamberg, M. (2004a). Narrative discourse and identities. In J. C. Meister, T. Kindt, W. Schernus, & M. Stein (Eds.), *Narratology beyond literary criticism.* Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Bamberg, M. (2004b). We are young, responsible, and male: Form and function of 'slut-bashing' in identity construction in 15-year-old males. *Human Development, 47,* 331-353.

Barreto, M., & Ellemers, N. (2005). The perils of political correctness: Men's and women's responses to old-fashioned and modern sexist views. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 68,* 75-88.

Barrett, A. E., & White, H. R. (2002). Trajectories of gender role orientations in adolescence and early adulthood: A prospective study of the mental health effects of masculinity and femininity. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 43,* 451-468.

Bennett, G. G., Merritt, M. M., Sollers, J. J., III., Edwards, C. L., Whitfield, K. E., Brandon, D. T., & Tucker, R. D. (2004). Stress, coping, and health outcomes among African-Americans: A review of the John Henryism hypothesis. *Psychology & Health, 19,* 369-383.

Bertaux, N. E., & Anderson, M. C. (2001). An emerging tradition of educational
achievement: African American women in college and the professions, 1920-
1950. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 34,* 16-21.

Billig, M. (1999a). Conversation analysis and the claims of naivety. *Discourse & Society,
10,* 572-576.

Billig, M. (1999b). Whose terms? Whose ordinariness? Rhetoric and ideology in
conversation analysis. *Discourse & Society, 10*, 543-582.

Bohan, J. S. (1993). Regarding gender: Essentialism, constructionism, and feminist
psychology. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 17,* 5-21.

Borges, S., & Waitzkin, H. (1995). Women's narratives in primary care medical
encounters. *Women & Health, 23,* 29-56.

Bracero, W. (1998). Intimidades: Confianza, gender, and hierarchy in the construction of
Latino-Latina therapeutic relationships. *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health, 4,*
264-277.

Buckley, T. R., & Carter, R. T. (2005). Black adolescent girls: Do gender role and racial
identity: Impact their self esteem? *Sex Roles, 53*, 647-661.

Burman, E. (2005). Engendering culture in psychology. *Theory & Psychology, 15*, 527-
548.

Caldwell, C. H., Zimmerman, M. A., Bernat, D. H., Sellers, R. M., Notaro, P. C. (2002).
Racial identity, maternal support, and psychological distress among African
American adolescents. *Child Development, 73,* 1322-1336.

Cohen, S., Karmarck, T., Mermelstein, R. (1983). A global measure of perceived stress.
Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 24, 385-396.

Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment.* (2nd edition). New York: Routledge.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43,* 1241-1299.

Cross, T., & Slater, R. B. (2001). The troublesome decline in African-American college student graduation rates. *Journal of Black in Higher Education, 33,* 102-109.

Dardenne, B., Dumont, M., & Bollier, T. (2007). Insidious dangers of benevolent sexism: Consequences for women's performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 93,* 764-779.

Derogatis, L. R. (2000). *The brief symptom inventory-18 (BSI-18): Administration, scoring, and procedures manual.* Minneapolis, MN: National Computer Systems.

Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 49,* 71-75.

Falk, E., & Kenski, K. (2006). Issue saliency and gender stereotypes: Support for women as Presidents in times of war and terrorism. *Social Science Quarterly, 87,* 1-18.

Feather, N. T. (2004). Value correlates of ambivalent attitudes toward gender relations. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 30,* 3-12.

Fischer, A. R. (2006). Women's benevolent sexism as reaction to hostility. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 30,* 410-416.

Fischer, A. R., & Holz, K. B. (2007). Perceived discrimination and women's psychological distress: The roles of collective and personal self-esteem. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54,* 154-164.

Fishman, J. R., & Mamo, L. (2001). What's in a disorder: A cultural analysis of medical and pharmaceutical constructions of male and female sexual dysfunction. *Women & Therapy, 24*, 179-193.

Foster, M. D. (1999). Acting out against gender discrimination: The effects of different social identities. *Sex Roles, 40,* 167-186.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of knowledge.* New York: Pantheon.

Gay, C., & Tate, K. (1998). Doubly bound: The impact of gender and race on the politics of Black women. *Political Psychology, 19,* 169-184.

Geronimus, A. T., Hicken, M., Keene, D., & Bound, J. (2006). "Weathering" and age patterns of allostatic load scores among Blacks and Whites in the United States. *Research and Practice, 96,* 826-833.

Glick, P., Diebold, J., Bailey-Werner, B., & Zhu, L. (1997). The two faces of Adam: Ambivalent sexism and polarized attitudes toward women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23,* 1323-1334.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70,* 491-512.

Glick, P., Fiske, S. T., Mladinic, A., Saiz, J. L., Abrams, D., Masser, B., et al. (2000). Beyond prejudice as simple antipathy: Hostile and benevolent sexism across cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79,* 763-775.

Good, G. E., Robertson, J. M., O'Neil, J. M., Fitzgerald. L. F., Stevens, M., DeBord, K. A., Bartels, K. M., & Braverman, D. G. (1995). Male gender role conflict:

Psychometric issues and relations to psychological distress. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 42,* 3-10.

Grimmell, D., & Stern, G. S. (1992). The relationship between gender role ideals and psychological well-being. *Sex Roles, 27*, 487-497.

Harnois, C. E. (2005). Different paths to different feminisms? Bridging multiracial feminist theory and quantitative sociological research. *Gender & Society, 19,* 809-828.

Hayes, J. A., & Mahalik, J. R. (2000). Gender role conflict and psychological distress in male counseling center clients. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 1,* 116-125.

Heath, C. D. (2006). A womanist approach to understanding and assessing the relationship between spirituality and mental health. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture, 9,* 155-170.

Hoffman, R. M. (2006). How is gender self-confidence related to subjective well-being? *Journal of Humanistic Counseling, Education and Development, 45*, 186-197.

Holmes, J., & Marra, M. (2004). Relational practice in the workplace: Women's talk or gendered discourse? *Language in Society, 33,* 377-398.

Hunt, K., Sweeting, H., Keoghan, M., & Platt, S. (2006). Sex, gender role orientation, gender role attitudes and suicidal thoughts in three generations: A general population study. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 41*, 641-647.

Hyers, L. L. (2007). Resisting prejudice every day: Exploring women's assertive responses to anti-Black racism, anti-semitism, heterosexism, and sexism. *Sex Roles, 56,* 1-12.

Jackson, L. M., Esses, V. M., & Burris, C. T. (2001). Contemporary sexism and

discrimination: The importance of respect for men and women. *Personality and

Social Psychology Bulletin, 27,* 48-61.

Jost, J. T., & Kay, A. C. (2005). Exposure to benevolent sexism and complementary

gender stereotypes: Consequences for specific and diffuse forms of system

justification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88,* 498-509.

King, K. R. (2005). Why is discrimination stressful? The mediating role of cognitive

appraisal. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 11,* 202-212.

Klonoff, E. A., Landrine, H., & Campbell, R. (2000). Sexist discrimination may account

for well-known gender differences in psychiatric symptoms. *Psychology of

Women Quarterly, 24,* 93-99.

Landrine, H., Klonoff, E. A., Gibbs, J., & Manning, V. (1995). Physical and psychiatric

correlates of gender discrimination: An application of the Schedule of Sexist

Events. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 19,* 473-492.

Lee, I., Pratto, F., & Li, M. (2007). Social relationships and sexism in the United States

and Taiwan. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 38,* 595-612.

Lepore, S. J., Revenson, T. A., Weinberger, S. L., Weston, P., Frisina, P. G., Robertson,

R., et al. (2006). Effects of social stressors on cardiovascular reactivity in Black

and White women. *Annals of Behavioral Medicine, 31,* 120-127.

Levin, S., Sinclair, S., Veniegas, R. C., & Taylor, P. L. (2002). Perceived discrimination

in the context of multiple group memberships. *Psychological Science, 13,* 557-

560.

Liggan, D. Y., & Kay, J. (1999). Race in the room: Issues in the dynamic psychotherapy of African Americans. *Transcultural Psychiatry, 36,* 195-209.

Lorde, A. (1984). Scratching the surface: Some notes on barriers to woman and loving. *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches.* (pp. 45-42). Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press.

Mattis, J. S. (2001). A relational framework for the study of religiosity and spirituality in the lives of African Americans. *Journal of Community Psychology, 29,* 519-539.

McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs, 30,* 1771-1800.

Mohanty, C. T. (1991). *Third world women and the politics of feminism.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Morris, E. W. (2007). "Ladies" or "loudies"? Perceptions and experiences of Black girls in classrooms. *Youth & Society, 38,* 490-515.

Moulding, N. & Hepworth, J. (2001). Understanding body image disturbance in the promotion of mental health: A discourse analytic study. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 11*, 305-317.

Moya, M., Glick, P., Expósito, F., de Lemus, S., & Hart, J. It's for your own good: Benevolent sexism and women's reactions to protectively justified restrictions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 33,* 1421-1434.

Nealy, M. J. (2008). Black men: Left out and locked up. *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education, 24,* 20-22.

Neighbors, H. W., & Williams, D. R. (2001). The epidemiology of mental disorder: 1985 to 2000. In R. Braithwaite & S. Taylor (Eds.), *Health issues in the Black community* (pp. 99-128). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

O'Neil, J. M., Helms, B. J., Gable, R. K., David, L., & Wrightsman, L. S. (1986). Gender-role conflict scale: College men's fear of femininity. *Sex Roles, 14,* 335-350.

Ostroff, J. S., Woolverton, K. S., Berry, C., & Lesko, L. M. (1996). Use of the Mental Health Inventory with adolescents: A secondary analysis of the Rand Health Insurance Study. *Psychological Assessment, 8,* 105-107.

Parks, J. B., & Roberton, M. A. (2000). Development and validation of an instrument to measure attitudes toward sexist/nonsexist language. *Sex Roles, 42,* 415-438.

Pinel, E. C. (2004). You're just saying that because I'm a woman: Stigma consciousness and attributions to discrimination. *Self and Identity, 3,* 39-51.

Pyant, C. T., & Yanico, B. J. (1991). Relationship of racial identity and gender-role attitudes to Black women's psychological well-being. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 38*, 315-322.

Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender & Society, 18,* 429-450.

Rockquemore, K. A. (2002). Negotiating the color line: The gendered process of racial identity construction among Black/White biracial women. *Gender & Society, 16,* 485-503.

Rosenberg, M. (1965). *Society and the adolescent child.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rosenberg, M., Schooler, C., Schoenbach, C., & Rosenberg, F. (1995). Global self-esteem and specific self-esteem: Different concepts, different outcomes.

Samuels, G. M., & Ross-Sheriff, F. (2008). Identity, oppression, and power: Feminism and intersectionality theory. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work, 23*(1), 5-9.

Settles, I. H. (2006). Use of an intersectional framework to understand Black women's racial and gender identities. *Sex Roles, 54,* 589-601.

Schegloff, E. A. (1998). Reply to Wetherell. *Discourse & Society, 9*, 413-416.

Schegloff, E. A. (1997). Whose text? Whose context?. *Discourse & Society, 8*, 165-187.

Schmidt, G. (1995). Commentary: Emancipation and social change in heterosexual relationships. *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality, 7,* 7-20.

Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Kobrynowicz, D., Owen, S. (2002). Perceiving discrimination against one's gender group has different implications for well-being in women and men. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28,* 197-210.

Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., & Postmes, T. (2003). Women's emotional responses to the pervasiveness of gender discrimination. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 33,* 297-312.

Settles, I. H., Pratt-Hyatt, J. S., & Buchanan, N. T. (2008). Through the lens of race: Black and White women's perceptions of womanhood. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 32,* 454-468.

Seymour-Smith, S., Wetherell, M., & Phoenix, A. (2002). 'My wife ordered me to come!': A discursive analysis of doctors' and nurses' accounts of men's use of general practitioners. *Journal of Health Psychology, 7,* 253-267.

Shorter-Gooden, K. (2004). Multiple resistance strategies: How African American women cope with racism and sexism. *Journal of Black Psychology, 30,* 406-425.

Sibley, C. G., Overall, N. C., & Duckitt, J. (2007). When women become more hostilely sexist toward their gender: The system-justifying effect of benevolent sexism. *Sex Roles, 57,* 743-754.

Snyder, C. R., Harris, C., Anderson, J. R., Holleran, S. A., Irving, L. M., Sigmon, S. T., Yoshinobu, L., Gibb, J., Langelle, C., & Harney, P. (1991). The will and the ways: Development and validation of an individual-differences measure of hope. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60,* 570-585.

Stake, J. E. (2007). Predictors of change in feminist activism through women's and gender studies. *Sex Roles, 57,* 43-54.

Stewart, A. J., & McDermott, C. (2004). Gender in psychology. *Annual Review of Psychology, 55*, 519-544.

Stokoe, E. H. (2000). Toward a conversation analytic approach to gender and discourse. *Feminism & Psychology, 10*, 552-563.

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

Taylor, R. J., Chatters, L. M., Jayakody, R., & Levin, J. S. (1996). Black and White differences in religious participation: A multisample comparison. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 35,* 403-410.

Thomas, A. J., Witherspoon, K. M., & Speight, S. L. (2004). Toward the development of the stereotypic roles for Black women scale. *Journal of Black Psychology, 30,* 426-442.

Thornton, B., & Leo, R. (1992). Gender typing, importance of multiple roles, and mental health consequences for women. *Sex Roles, 27*, 307-317.

Veit, C. T., & Ware, Jr., J. E. (1983). The structure of psychological distress and well-being in general populations. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 51,* 730-742.

Viki, G. T., Abrams, D., & Hutchison, P. (2003). The "true" romantic: Benevolent sexism and paternalistic chivalry. *Sex Roles, 49,* 533-537.

Walker, A. (1983). *In search of our mothers' gardens.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Warren-Findlow, J. (2006). Weathering: Stress and heart disease in African American women living in Chicago. *Qualitative Health Research, 16,* 221-237.

Waters, V. (1993). Stress, anxiety and depression: Women's accounts of their health problems. *Social Science Medicine, 36,* 393-402.

West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society, 1,* 125-151.

Wetherell, M. (1998). Positioning and interpretative repertoires: Conversation analysis and post-structuralism in dialogue. *Discourse & Society, 9*, 387-412.

Wetherell, M., & Edley, N. (1999). Negotiating hegemonic masculinity: Imaginary positions and psycho-discursive practices. *Feminism & Psychology, 9,* 335-356.

White, A. M. (2006). Racial and gender attitudes as predictors of feminist activism among self-identified African American feminists. *Journal of Black Psychology, 32,* 455-478.

Wood, L. & Kroger, R. (2000). Doing discourse analysis: Methods for studying action in talk and text. London: Sage Publications.

Woodard, J. B., & Mastin, T. (2005). Black womanhood: Essence and its treatment of stereotypical images of Black women. *Journal of Black Studies, 36,* 264-281.

Zamarripa, M. X., Wampold, B. E., & Gregory, E. (2003). Male gender role conflict, depression, and anxiety: Clarification and generalizability to women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 50,* 333-338.

Zimmerman, J. L., & Dickerson, V. C. (1993). Separating couples from restraining patterns and the relationship discourse that supports them. *Journal of Marital & Family Therapy, 19,* 403-413.

Zinn, M. B., & Dill, B. T. (1996). Theorizing difference from multiracial feminism. *Feminist Studies, 22,* 321-331.