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"Alicia Could Have, Recy Should Have and Jezebel Didn't Want To": An Analysis of the Relationship Between the Jezebel Stereotype and Victim Blaming of Sexual Assault Survivors

A Thesis in Pan-African Studies

by

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my mom, who has continuously supported me in all my endeavors and provided me the opportunity of an education from the best possible educational institutions throughout my life. This thesis is also dedicated to Mendrell Symphorien, who has always been a source of support and motivation. Lastly, this work is dedicated to the millions of Alicia's past and present whose voices have been silenced.

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Abstract

Research suggests that stereotypes of African American women, such as the Jezebel stereotype—immoral and hypersexual women—may lead to a negative perception of African American women and become even more salient when examining sexual assault cases. This thesis looks at the history of Black women's sexuality and how constructions of race and gender explain the stereotype. Additionally, this thesis aims to examine whether endorsing this stereotype of African American women will lead to higher victim blaming for African American sexual assault victims in comparison to their White counterparts. The study hypothesizes that (1) those that endorse the stereotype will attribute blame to a Black victim more than a White victim, and (2) participants who read vignettes of interracial rapes will attribute more blame to the Black perpetrator or victim. Participants in this study first filled out a Belief about Black and White Women Scale, were then presented with a vignette (that varied by race of perpetrator and victim) and answered questions based on the vignette about the perpetrator and the victim. The study consisted of both qualitative and quantitative data that answered the main questions in different ways. The study found that participants blamed the victim more if she was described as Black; however, there were no statistically significant differences between interracial and intraracial rapes. In addition, participants who accepted the stereotype were more likely to blame the Black victim, compared to the White victim. Implications of research are discussed.

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Introduction

Sexual assault is a crime against women and men that is pervasive in societies around the world. Yet, it is one of the few crimes in which its victims suffer long term consequences not only as a result of the actual assault, but also because of the way society responds to victims. Many people understand that the burden of rape is clearly and solely on the perpetrator, while others believe that victims bear the responsibility of sexual assault along with their perpetrators, and at times, instead of their perpetrators. Although it is possible that those who view rape as solely the perpetrator's fault may outnumber those who contest that idea knowingly or unknowingly, those that do contest and put blame on the victim impact the way in which survivors of sexual trauma cope with sexual assault.

The larger body of research clearly demonstrates that sexual assault is a crime of power, and as a result, most research on sexual assault discusses its impact on women. The current study is gendered as it specifically looks at Black[1] women. It in no way diminishes the ways other forms of sexual assault effect different populations. Rape and other forms of sexual violence have significant affects on all women regardless of race; nevertheless, the way in which women of varying races cope with the assault and their experiences following the assault differ judicially, medically, and socially (Donovan &

[1] Black and African-American will be used interchangeably throughout this thesis.

Williams, 2002; Tillman, Bryant-Davis, Smith, & Marks, 2010; Washington, 2001). A number of studies conducted have explored the ways in which the experiences of sexual assault survivors differ and often look at the difference between White and Black women's post-assault recovery.

Studies support the idea that individuals consciously and unconsciously use knowledge and images of certain stereotypes to make judgments. There are a plethora of negative perceptions rooted in stereotypes of African American women and also surrounding femininity and sexuality that are used to judge victims of sexual assault. In the United States, these perceptions are imbedded in the remnants of the historical status of African Americans, which continues to be propagated by modern media. Gendered racial stereotypes such as the "Jezebel" and "Mammy," despite their historical roots, are still portrayed in the media. My theses focuses on the Jezebel Stereotype, which as Lerner (1972) states, is a myth that was created to portray Black women as:

> […] sexual exploits, voluntarily "loose" in their morals and, therefore, deserved none of the consideration and respect granted to white women. Every black woman was, by definition, a slut according to this racist mythology; therefore, to assault her and exploit her sexually was not reprehensible and carried with it none of the normal communal sanctions against such behavior (p. 163).

As Lerner (1972) implies, it is believed that the stereotype can lead to negative ratings of African American women and is a possible explanation for why African American women are more likely to be seen as culpable for their own sexual assault (Donovan & Williams, 2002; Tillman et al., 2010).

My thesis explores the history of African American women's sexuality and modern implications of the sociocultural history, which began with the construction of Black women from Africa to America's racialized womanhood and femininity. One major stereotype of Black women's sexuality, the Jezebel stereotype, began with the European entering Africa to buy slaves. The stereotype arose from White slave masters and colonists during the Atlantic Slave Trade as a "self-serving" excuse and rationale for White men to repeatedly rape African and African American women, while blaming the women by stating they were "Jezebels" based on the biblical figure as an object of lust (Collins, 2000). English slave traders themselves described African women they encountered, as "'hot constitution's ladies' possessed of a 'temper got and lascivious, making no scruple to prostitute themselves to the Europeans for a very slender profit, so great is their inclination to White men' " (Jordan, 1968, p. 35). Talty (2003) discusses how the negative stereotyping of African American women allowed Whites (men and women) to propagate the idea that African American women could not possibly be sexually exploited or abused because they welcomed sex and found it pleasurable. The Jezebel stereotype leads to negative and damaging misconceptions of African American women and is a possible explanation for why African American women are more likely than White women to be seen as culpable for their own sexual assault (Donovan & Williams, 2002; Tillman et al., 2010).

My thesis examines how modern portrayals of the historical stereotype of Black women as Jezebels influences how people use the stereotype to justify systems of oppression and, in turn, to blame Black victims of sexual assault more than White victims

of sexual assault. In order to do so, I will begin with a broad summary of the sociocultural history of the stereotype from slavery until the 21st century. The next section discusses how system justification theory explains how the Jezebel stereotype has been used to legitimize contemporary oppressive social constructions of male power and White dominance. Furthermore, a review of literature on the intersection between race, rape, stereotypes and victim blaming will serve as an antecedent and justification for why the current work is the appropriate line of research. In addition, I will discuss the results of research conducted to examine how the endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype of African American women leads to victim blaming of African American sexual assault survivor, compared to their White counterparts. Implications of this research will also be discussed.

Black Women's Bodies: Scientific Rape and Actual Rape

she was mockingly named/

hideously displayed

as "the hottentot venus"

captivating cultured capitals of europe

where there was an insatiable appetite

for the exotic

- Linda Susan Jackson ("Little Sarah" p.12).

On August 9th 2002, Saartjie Baartman or Sarah Bartman was buried— one hundred and eighty seven years after her death. Baartman was a member of the aboriginal KhoiKhoi or Khoisan, popularly called Hottentot, ethnic group of South Africa. An "international celebrity" as Holmes (2007) states, "the Hottentot Venus"— her known name in Europe, after the Roman goddess who functioned as a symbol of love, sex, and beauty—was taken to London in 1810 and put on display due to body features that were foreign to Europeans, specifically European men (p. 34). She became the delight of Europeans due to her enlarged buttocks, known as steatopygia, which were common among Khoisan women. They dressed her in a skin-colored, silk body stocking with a beaded apron over her genitalia and an abundance of jewelry to cover where the stocking ended. She was forced to dance and sing and play her banjo while on stage and during other times she made house appearances as arranged by her showman and master, Hendrick Cezar (Holmes, 2007, p. 39). Often times while she was on stage and performing, "peeping toms" as the Jackson (poem) describes, paid an additional fee to

touch her genitalia. Cezar arranged "shows" for Sarah at dinner parties in elite homes. One particular visit to the fourth Duke of Queensbury led to this report on the visit by the *Morning Herald*:

> A few evenings since, the Hottentot Venus paid a chair visit to a venerable Duke, who still preserves a taste for choice things. After a microscopic inspection of her prominent beauties, she danced, to the exquisite satisfaction of his Grace (Holmes, 2007, p. 6).

Sarah was later sold to a French man in 1814, just a little over 9 months before her death in 1815. In France, she was not displayed for public viewing and pleasure as she had been in England. Rather, she was a specimen of scientific curiosity (Holmes, 2007, p.74). Scientists such as Professor Georges Cuvier and Professor Ducrotay de Blainville poked and prodded her, and Cuvier ultimately wanted to examine her genitals, which she refused (Crais & Scully, 2009).

When she died the following year, Cuvier purchased her corpse and de Blainville conducted an autopsy. Sarah's corpse was subject to "scientific" study by Cuvier, who wrote extensively about her ability to speak Dutch, French and a bit of English and likened her to an ape and an orangutan (Holmes, 2007). Her skeleton and genitals were cut out and put on display in Paris' Musée de l'Homme (Museum of Man) for over 157 years. The horrendous display of her body as a freak show attraction while she was alive shocked many; however, as Crais & Scully (2009) state, the poking and prodding of her corpse, and display of her body parts, developed into a "science as rape, institutionalized" (p. 140).

The figurative rape of Sarah Bartman may be characterized as the beginning of the public hyper-sexualizing of African/Black women due to their body features and difference from White European/American women. For instance, Cuvier's writing about Bartman, positioned her against the White French women, and reaffirmed White European male scientific and even social dominance over women— Black *and* White. Nonetheless, Cuvier's assessment was not the first likening of Black women to orangutans and the juxtaposition of their bodies to those of White women. Across the Atlantic, Thomas Jefferson wrote about Black women and men that were related to their intelligence, bodies, morality and ability. In *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1999), Jefferson concluded his discussion of the Blacks as "inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind" (p.143). Jefferson's conclusion about Blacks encompasses the general idea that Black men and women have different bodies and sexual preferences, evident in the following statement:

> […] the expressions of every passion by greater or less suffusions of colour in the one, preferable to that eternal monotony, which reigns in the countenances, that immoveable veil of black which covers all the emotions of the other race? Add to these, flowing hair, a more elegant symmetry of form, their own judgment in favor of the whites, declared by their preference of them, as uniformly as is the preference of the Oran-ootan [orangutan] for the black women over those of his own species (p. 138)

Within the same statement, Jefferson juxtaposes White femininity as more elegant and pure, causing Black men to desire them more than Black women, and Black women as

the complete opposite of White femininity, which renders them more attractive to orangutans.

Jefferson's statements represent the ways most White Americans thought of Black men and women. In American society, Blacks and women in general were socially, economically and politically dependent on the White men who controlled, often with brutality, their subordinate status. As White (1999) posits, the slavery era specifically created a peculiar American mythology of Blacks and women. Because Black women were at the nexus of sexist and racist ideologies due to their double characterization as both Black and women, constructions of them, as White (1999) discusses, were an incongruous blend of ideas (p. 29). Due to the chattel status of Black female slaves in antebellum America, it was difficult for them to escape the varying myths around Black womanhood (White, 1999). These myths became central to the status of Black women within American society and how they were treated in both social and legal realms.

Nineteenth Century Jezebel

The degradation of the sexual appeal and attractiveness of Black women that Jefferson (1999) alleged, and his belief that they acted upon sexual appetite rather than a mixture of sentiment and sensation, lends itself to the creation of an archetype of Black women as Jezebels. Pilgrim (2012) provided a list of words associated with the stereotype, and describes them as singular in focus: alluring, worldly, beguiling, tempting, seductive, promiscuous and lewd. The Jezebel was not satisfied with the Black man, and the Black man did not desire her but preferred White women, resulting in a stereotype of Black men as aggressive rapists. The Jezebel served as the opposite of the

White woman who was the model of self-respect, self-control, modest, sexual purity, and chastity. These characteristics made White women into a prized possession to be won and owned. White women's characterization as chaste, resulted in a stereotype of Black men as aggressive rapists who were unable to control their desire for innocent and pure White women, and who were not attracted to the orangutan-like Black woman. Harriet Jacobs (1861), a former slave herself, recognizes the subjugation of Black women in comparison to White women: "that which commands admiration in the White woman only hastens the degradation of the female slave" (p. 45). Davis (1978) affirms that the image of Black men as brute rapists served to strengthen his "inseparable companion: the image of the Black woman as chronically promiscuous. And with good reason, for once the notion is accepted that Black men harbor irresistible, animal-like sexual urges, the entire race is invested with bestiality" (p. 27). The characterization of Black women as lascivious Jezebels made them the female equivalent of the Black rapist (Gunning, 1996). Black women as the embodiment of the Jezebel stereotype was at its essence, a self-serving stereotype that explained sexual relations between Black women and White men (Collins, 2000). Because power was central to the framing of lascivious Black womanhood, Black women could not be labeled as "rapists," but the stereotype in itself suggested that sexual relations between female slaves and their masters were a result of White men being lured and forced by Black women in the same way White women were forced and lured by Black men.

While there were instances of mutual sexual attraction between White men and Black women, masters would often offer gifts and promises of reduced labor in exchange

for sex with slave women (Pilgrim, 2012). D'Emilio and Freedman (1988) state that despite mutual sexual attraction, "the rape of a female slave was probably the most common form of interracial sex" (p. 102). Due to their status as property, female slaves legally could not be raped. Most compelling is the fact that many slave women were extremely aware that they were subjected to sexual harassment and sexual assault. A slave woman explained, "When he make me follow him into de bush, what use me to tell him no? He have strength to make me" (Sterling, 1997, p. 24). In fact, many slave narratives discuss experiences of either sexual assault or harassment and their narratives include their acknowledgement and acceptance that they could not do much to prevent it. The following statement by a slave girl, encompasses this belief:

> Ma mama said that a nigger 'oman couldn't help her self, fo' she had to do what de marster say. Ef he come to de field what de women workin' an tell gal to come on, she had to go. He would take one down in de woods an' use her all de time he wanted to, den send her on back to work. Times nigger 'omen had chillum for de marster an' his sons and sometimes it was fo de ovah seer. (p.25)

The use of narratives of slave-girls has become more prevalent in historical research. Contemporary historians of slavery and post-slavery have revealed how Black women were labeled as more passionate, and Jezebel-like than White women and were therefore willing sexual partners, not rape victims. However, because of the objective realties of slavery, and the slaves' subjective interpretations of slavery, they sometimes willingly engaged in "voluntary" sexual unions with White men (Pilgrim, 2012).

Slaves who refused advances from their master or other White men were beaten, raped, sold or had their children sold. However, their refusal also perpetuated the Jezebel stereotype because many of them, like Harriet Jacobs, involved themselves in sexual relationships with other men and reinforced the idea that they were unsatisfied with Black men. In *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), Jacobs discusses at length sexual advances from her master, Dr. Flint, who for years pressured her and threatened her:

> He tried his utmost to corrupt the pure principles my grandmother had instilled. He peopled my young mind with unclean images, such as only a vile monster could think of. I turned from him with disgust and hatred. But he was my master. I was compelled to live under the same roof with him—where I saw a man forty years my senior daily violating the most sacred commandments of nature. He told me I was his property; that I must be subject to his will in all things. My soul revolted against the mean tyranny. But where could I turn for protection? (p. 45).

Jacobs describes a sexual relationship with a White man, Mr. Sands, and her reasoning for pursuing such a relationship; for her, it was better to have an illicit relationship than be raped by her tyrannous master. Furthermore, Jacobs (1861) knew that it would be horrifying to conceive a child as a result of rape by such a ghastly man—especially because she had "seen several women sold, with his babies at the breast" (p. 85). While her master did not rape her, Harriet Jacob's narrative provides insight into how White men pursued Black slave girls and threatened them because of the power they knew they had over them.

Power was central to the categorization of Black women as innately promiscuous and libidinous, a category that was reinforced through numerous gendered and racial features of slavery. During auction block and private sales, slave women were stripped naked and physically examined. The use and importance of auction blocks were not very different from the stage Sarah Bartman stood on in London. In antebellum society, layers of clothing adorned respectable women. White writes that a respectable woman "never exposed even her legs or arms to public view without arousing the ire of her husband and the contempt of her community"; but slave women's body did not command the same type of respect (p.32). Slave women stood naked, prodded and poked by slave masters who were examining them for health, ability to reproduce, and for whipping scars, whose presence suggested a rebellious slave (Pilgrim, 2012). The whipping of slaves, specifically female slaves, was often sexual in nature. Frederick Douglass told a story of his master whipping his aunt and being sexually gratified by it:

> He would at times seem to take great pleasure in whipping a slave. I have often been awakened at the dawn of day by the most heart-rending shrieks of an own aunt of mine, whom he used to tie up to a joist, and whip upon her naked back till she was literally covered with blood. […]. He would whip her to make her scream, and whip her to make her hush (Douglas, 1845, p.16).

Pilgrim (2012) postulates that the stripping of slaves and the touching of them were overly sexually exploitative and "sometimes sadistic when the nakedness was forced" (p. 2) Nakedness, specifically on the auction blocks, was a public display of the sexuality of Black women—a stark contrast to the private rape of Black women. What this suggests is

that the rape of Black women was both public and private, both figurative and literal. As Pilgrim (2012) states, "the contrast between the clothing reinforced the beliefs that white women were civilized, modest, and sexually pure, whereas black women were uncivilized, immodest, and sexually aberrant" (p. 2). Black women were displayed on these auction blacks partially or fully nude while slave buyers kneaded women's stomachs; doctors publicly examined their breasts, stomachs and reproductive organs (McKittrick, 2006; White, 1999). The auction site represented a location in which these purchasable and profitable qualities of Black femininity were put on display, and McKittrick (2006) postulates that the Black females that were sold on these blocks "rendered a public, rape-able, usable body-scale through which a distinct, or resistant, or human sense of place is obscured" (p.81). As a result, the institutional reinforcement of the lustful Black female revolved around the sexed Black body, which was publically displayed on the auction block.

The sexed public display of Black female bodies in an attempt to examine their procreative ability contributed to the reinforcement of the Jezebel stereotype. Slave owners believed that female slaves' excessive reproduction was a result of their promiscuity, as one Alabama slave owner believed that the high birthrates among slaves on his plantation was because he "did not know more than one negro woman that he could suppose to be chaste" (White, 1999, p. 31). However, the institution of slavery expected Black women to be pregnant often, to supply more slaves. White slave owners that either raped or coerced their female slaves often did so to have slaves that were half white, therefore inheriting what the owners believed to be "White qualities," such as

strength, that would make for better slaves. Slavers that did not engage in sexual activity with their slaves encouraged them to reproduce. For example, slave owners would offer a new pig for each child born to a slave family, a new dress to the slave woman for each surviving infant, or no work on Saturdays to Black women who produced six children (Rawick, 1972, p. 228; Gutman, 1976, p. 77). Pilgrim (2012) writes, “that young black girls were encouraged to have sex as ‘anticipatory socialization’ for their later status as breeders” (p. 2). Yet when female slaves did reproduce, their excessive fecundity was proof of their inherent libidinousness. The institution of slavery was therefore not only prompting female slaves to have more children for capital benefits or to have more slaves, but to reinforce ideas about Black women’s sexuality. This idea is evident through “major periodicals [that] carried articles detailing optimal conditions under which [slave] women were known to reproduce, and the merits of a particular "breeder" were often the topic of parlor or dinner table conversations” (White, 1999, p. 31). Conversely, slavers used slaves’ procreation to justify the notion that they were hypersexual beings. Relationships between White masters and their slave girls/women could only be the result of these women’s lecherousness.

The discussion of slave women’s bodies, sexual activity and reproductive abilities prompted an ex-slave to claim, "women wasn't nothing but cattle” (White, 1999, p. 31). It was “the space between the legs” put on display and discussed as public conversation, as Marlene Phillip posits, that was accessible and up for sale, and this justified the violence against and the capitalist uses of Black procreation (McKittrick, 2006, p. 82). Although the public display of Black women’s body on auction blocks subsided after Emancipation

and Reconstruction, White (1991) writes that Black women's participation in armed defense mechanisms at political meetings and polling places, reconfirmed the "white idea of black women as sort of female hybrid, capable of being exploited like a woman but otherwise treated like a man" (p. 188), suggesting that Black women who were not enslaved were still Jezebels.

Twentieth Century Jezebel

Antebellum America made Black women's sexuality an issue of public discourse; however, in the 20th century, Black women's sexuality was expressed excessively through American material and pop culture. Just as distorted, oversexed caricatures of Sarah Baartman appeared everywhere in Europe during the 19th Century, so did voluptuous naked and scantly clad Black women memorabilia appear everywhere during the Jim Crow era. Everyday items such as postcards, fishing lures, and drinking glasses had Black women naked or scantily clad, essentially lacking modesty and sexual restraint. Pilgrim (2012) described a metal nutcracker, produced around the 1930s, depicting a topless Black woman. The nut would be placed under her skirt, in her crotch, and crushed. Small everyday items like the nutcracker signaled that the image of Black women stereotypes had now become embedded in the white home. Other objects specifically caricatured African woman. For instance, in the 1950s a set of swizzle sticks for stirring drinks called the "Zulu Lulu" (see Image 1) had an African figure, similar to Sarah Baartman, with enlarged breasts and buttocks. Each stick portrayed various stages of youthful to aged development. For example, a banner for one of the many Zulu Lulus read: "Nifty at 15, spiffy at 20, sizzling at 25, perky at 30, declining at 35, droopy at 40."

Some even had versions of Zulu Lulu that depicted African women at fifty and sixty years of age. Zulu Lulu became a popular party favor and was advertised as such: "Don't pity Lulu - you're not getting younger yourself...laugh with your guests when they find these hilarious swizzle sticks in their drinks. Zulu Lulu will be the most popular girl at your party" (Pilgrim, 2012). Other images of Black female sexuality included numerous cartoons of hypersexual women. In the late 1960's and early 1970's Robert Crumb created an underground comic book titled, *Zap Comix* with a character named Angelfood McSpade or Angelfood McDevilFood (see Image 2), who was a more contemporary depiction of the hypersexed Sarah Baartman and Zulu Lulu. Angelfood McSpade's character served as the grotesque extremely sexual primitive African woman stereotype. Crumb claimed that McSpade was created "to provoke a reaction from the reader, and force them to make up their own minds about their attitudes toward racism" (Dowd & Hignite, 2006, p. 76). However, Dowd and Hignite (2006) claim that the piece was in fact a display of Crumb's own racism. McSpade is portrayed as primitive, highly sexual, "unencumbered by the 'hang-ups' of civilization, psychopathic and living the moment" (Dowd & Hignite, 2006, p. 76). In this sense, McSpade represented the continued image of Black women as hypersexual creatures to be caught.

Image 1: Zulu Lulu 1950s swizzle stick. (circa 1950s)

Image 2: Angelfood McSpade character from Robert Crumb's second issue of Zap Comix. McSpade was a satirical depiction of the Jezebel. (June,1968)

These images of the Jezebel are representative of the pathetic Jezebel whose counterpart was the exotic Jezebel. The pathetic Jezebel image illustrated Black women—specifically darker Black women and those who were of African descent—as aberrant with physically unattractive features that were too excessive, and they were unintelligent, uncivilized and inebriated (Pilgrim, 2012). According to this image, the pathetic Jezebel's body was grotesque: large breasts that sagged, large buttocks, and exaggerated lips. This image morphed into the Mammy caricature, who was asexual and therefore affirming the claim that Black women could not be the object of White men's attention. However, the pathetic Jezebel was sexualized because she was often naked with suggestive eyes. On the other hand, the exotic Jezebel was not portrayed as unattractive, but she lacked social and cultural decency. She was likened to the "tragic mulatto" with "thin lips, long straight hair, slender nose, thin figure and fair complexion," as Jewell (1993) wrote. The exotic Jezebel image referenced mulatto women because their combination of both a lesser and powerful race provided them with more sexual appeal, but also depicted them as an aberrant and flawed hybrid, and therefore a danger to society. Additionally, mulatto women were more likely than their darker counterparts to be sold into prostitution and Jewell (1993) stated that there were often the concubines of wealthy White southerners. Regardless of their skin color, in the 20th century Black women were portrayed in material culture as lewd and hypersexual, which strengthened the belief from slavery that they could not be sexually assaulted.

This inclusion of the Jezebel in American pop culture meant that Whites internalized this image of the Black female body as accessible and ready, which

reaffirmed the idea that White men would not be punished for the sexual exploitation of Black women. From the end of the Civil War in 1865, until around 1959/1960, no Southern white male was convicted of raping or attempting to rape a Black woman—which was *not* because Black women were not being sexually assaulted (White, 1991, p.188). In fact it was common. After slavery, White men viewed Black women as infinitely accessible. The following statement made by the staff of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence in 1969 explained that the scarceness of complaints of rape was not because the crime had a low incidence rate, but because "white males have long had nearly institutionalized access to negro women with relatively little fear of being reported" (White, 1999, p. 189). The institutionalized access White men had affected the understanding of Black rape victims, especially in courtrooms. Even the legal system had embraced the myth of hypersexual Black women, which was the basis of the following candid statement made by a court official in Florida in 1918:

> What has been said by some courts about an unchaste female in our country being a comparatively rare exception is no doubt true where the population is composed largely of the Caucasian race, but we would blind ourselves to actual conditions if we adopted this rule where another race that is largely unmoral constitutes an appreciable part of the population (*Dallas v. State*, 1918), 79 So. 690. 1918).

Flood (2005), a historian who researched African American rape victims in 1950 Chicago courtrooms, states that court officials "believed it unlikely that they [Black women]

would have refused sexual advances from anyone, thereby negating rape allegations that required resistance as a matter of law." Additionally, Black women were only taken seriously when the allegations were against Black men, but defense attorneys held on to the Jezebel stereotype and discredited their testimony (Flood 2005). Despite several newspapers that covered stories about Black women being sexually exploited by White men, and characterizing the women for who they truly were as opposed to loose and immoral individuals, post Civil War America still held on to these representations of Black girlhood and womanhood. For instance, the *Washington Bee* reported the rape of Victory Day, a Black schoolteacher, in January 1890 (Williams, 2012, p. 108). *Washington Bee* reporters portrayed Day as an "upstanding schoolteacher" who was kidnapped by a White man, taken into the woods and raped. Following the first assault, the man then took her to his friend's home in his buggy and the two men raped her, taking turns, before dropping her off at an unknown man's house. Although Day and her family reported the assault to the authorities, no action was taken, prompting Day to report it to the print media (Williams, 2012, p. 108). Williams (2012) states that the *Washington Bee's* reporting of Day's assault told White America that this was a lady who embodied "Victorian" womanhood, but the respect that came with Victorian womanhood for White women did not include Black women, furthering the idea that Black women could not be raped.

The rape of Black women by White men and even Black men was taken seriously neither by authorities, nor in other public spheres. As a result, Black women in Jim Crow America were less likely to report sexual victimization regardless of the race of the

perpetrator because they had little legal choice when raped by White men. Yet, when their perpetrator was a Black man, they hesitated to report to White authorities out of fear the Black man would be lynched. (White, 1999, p. 189). When they did report, trials rarely resulted in convictions and if there were convictions, sentences were insignificant or reduced to a fine (Door, 2004, p.239). Black women in the 1950s faced undefeatable odds when getting justice for rape cases against men regardless of the assailant's race.

Utmost resistance became an issue for women of any race for successful prosecution of their rapists. The Supreme Court of Nebraska outlined the understanding of resistance in rape cases:

> the general rule [of resistance] is that a mentally competent woman must in good faith *resist to the utmost* with the most vehement exercise of every physical means or faculty naturally within her power to prevent carnal knowledge, and she must persist in such resistance as long as she has the power to do so until the offense is consummated (1947).

According to this statement, utmost resistant meant a full physical response on the assailant. Women who did not show "utmost resistant" were therefore not considered rape victims because the Supreme Court of Nebraska stated women had "hands and feet with which she could kick and strike, teeth to bite, and a voice to cry out; all these should have been put in requisition in defense of her chastity" (Jacquet, 2012, p. 27). Women were believed to give passive and feigned resistance against attack, and in accordance with the idea that Black women were unchaste and sexually insatiable, they did not have a "chastity" to defend.

Black women's chastity was often brought up during rape trials; McGuire (2011) highlights Black women's struggle during trials for interracial rapes throughout the civil rights era. Finding White men guilty and sending them to "jail for raping a black woman upset the entire foundation of White supremacy" (McGuire, 2011, p. 929). This idea that Black women's rapists were not truly guilty was evidence in Recy Taylor's case. On September 3rd 1944, Recy Taylor, a twenty-four year old Black woman from Abbeville, Alabama was kidnapped and gang raped by six White men. The night of her assault, Taylor was walking home from church when a car filled with six White men forced her at gunpoint to get into the car. She was driven to a nearby field and Hebert Lovett pointed his rifle at her, demanded she get out of the car and then told her to "get them rags off or I will kill you and leave you down here in the woods" (McGuire, 2011, p. 911). The men then proceeded to take turns "ravaging her" at gunpoint. After mustering the strength to leave the highway where she was dropped off after the assault, Taylor told her father and Deputy Sheriff Lewey Corbitt who had been looking for her earlier. Despite Rosa Parks' work organizing the community to bring justice to Taylor and to end violence against Black women at large, the men responsible for Taylor's assault twice were not indicted (McGuire, 2011).

Under Parks' leadership, the Black community's mobilization failed to reduce assault against Black women by White supremacists; sexual assaults were still rampant. In 1949, just five years after Recy Taylor's assault, a more disturbing rape happened in Montgomery, Alabama. Police officers that were meant to "protect and serve," arrested Gertrude Perkins, a twenty five year old Black woman, for public drunkenness (McGuire,

2011). The officers forced her into their squad car, drove her away from town and raped her repeatedly at gunpoint. The Citizens Committee for Gertrude Perkins was formed by leaders of the Negro Improvement League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and was led by E.D Nixon and Reverend Solomon Seay; Reverend Seay was the first person Perkins told about the assault. Once again, despite mobilization, the assailants were not indicted by a grand jury. In May of 1959, it took a jury less than 10 minutes to rule a man who had sexually assaulted Mary Ruth Reed, a pregnant Black woman, as not guilty (McGuire, 2011). The defense attorney argued that, Lewis Medlin was just 'having fun', and would never leave his wife, a "lovely white woman… the flower of life," for "that" (McGuire, 2011, p. 922).

The same month, in Tallahassee, Florida, Betty Jean Owens was raped seven times by four White men who went out with the intention of "going out to get a nigger girl, and have an all night party" (McGuire, 2011, p. 906). During the trial, the defense attorneys drilled Owens trying to claim she didn't struggle to get away. One of the attorneys, Howard Williams yelled at her saying, "Didn't you derive any pleasure from that? Didn't you? Why didn't you scream out" (McGuire, 2011, p.924)? Williams continually pestered her about her chastity, asking her several times if she was a virgin, which McGuire (2011) charges was the defense's attempt to characterize her as a stereotypical Jezebel. "She would have sustained more injury if her life was truly threatened and if she was raped," charged one of the defense attorneys, once again contesting Owen's rape and reasserting constructions of Black women's sexuality and desire to have sex with White men (McGuire, 2011). What was particularly interesting

about the defense attorneys was their unwavering focus on discrediting Owens instead of defending their clients because, as prosecutor Hopkins charged, "they simply had no defense." This was true. The prosecutors, just as many prosecutors for rapists, blamed the assault on outside factors affecting the assailant's life. For instance, the prosecutors of the four men tried to use each of the men's ignorance, highlighting their low IQ's and poor education and "when that failed, they detailed the dysfunctional histories of each defendant, as though to diminish the viciousness of the crime by offering a rationale for the men's depravity" (McGuire, 2011, p.926). Eventually, a jury foreman read the jury's verdict, which found all four defendant's "guilty with a recommendation for mercy" (2011). The recommendation for mercy saved the four men from the electric chair and, according to the *Baltimore Afro-American,* "made it inescapably clear that the death penalty for rape is only for colored men accused by white women" (McGuire, 2011, p.927).

The idea that White men would be sent to jail for the raping of a Black woman disrupted the entire foundation of White supremacy. Numerous letters were sent to Judge W. May Walker and most asked for leniency for the men found guilt of raping Owens, while others attacked Owen's sexuality and credibility. For instance one letter stated that a conviction against the men "would play into the hands of the Warren court, the NAACP, and all other radical enemies of the South […] even though the nigger wench probably had been with a dozen men before" (McGuire, 2011). Here the author of the letter questioned and highlighted the Jim Crow American belief that Black women were immoral and their sexual assaults were false. Another letter petitioning Judge

Walker for leniency merely reinforced the fact that ideas about racial inferiority held by Whites during slavery were still prevalent and were significantly distorting perceptions of violent acts of rape:

> Negro women like to be raped by the white men, something like this will help the supreme court force this lower bred race ahead, making whites live and eat with him and allow his children to associate with the little apes (p. 929)

As McGuire (2011) postulates, Betty Jean Owens' sexual assault reminded America that the maintenance of White supremacy relied on both the racial and sexual control of Black men and women. Nonetheless, the men were sentenced to life and the attention America had given the rape case, shed light on the sexual exploitation of Black women by White men specifically.

The organizing of political groups, such as the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), against rape was influenced by the sentencing on this case. Owens' case was the first one in which White men were not only found guilty, but also received quite a substantial sentence. The convictions received by those men on that day, led to other convictions that varied in degrees in the south, specifically for White men who assaulted Black women. In Montgomery, Alabama, a retired Air Force colonel was sentenced to fourteen months of hard labor for raping a seventeen year-old Black girl. In Raleigh, North Carolina, another White man was sentenced to life imprisonment for kidnapping and molesting an eleven-year-old Black girl. The most severe sentencing for a White man raping a Black woman in the South occurred that same year in Burton, South Carolina for a White man who raped a forty-seven year old Black woman

(McGuire 2011). Despite the strides made by members of the African American community to combat White supremacy and challenge racial and sexual stereotypes, racist and sexist mythology of Black men and women still continued into the 21st century.

Modern Jezebel

Dominant images of Black women as Jezebels continue to exist in contemporary American pop culture. The 1970s included numerous movies portraying Black women as sexually lascivious. Bogle (1994) states that actors such as Pam Grier and Tamara Dobson in the 1970s/1980s "were often perceived as being exotic sex objects—Grier's raw sexuality was always exploited—yet with a twist." Furthermore, "although men manhandle them, Grier and Dobson also took liberties with men, at times using them as playful, comic toys" (p. 251). For example in *Foxy Brown* (Feitshans & Hill, 1974), Grier is an undercover "whore" in order to get revenge on Whites that victimized her loved ones. In another movie, *Angel Heart* (Kastner, Marshall & Parker, 1987), actress Lisa Bonet plays a voodoo priestess who coerces a White man for sex. At the end of the film, Bonet is killed in a graphic and sexual manner and is shown naked. What was particularly interesting, as Pilgrim (2012) posits, is that while most of the Black actresses in these films were often lighter skinned and participated in interracial sex scenes, while Black women used in pornography were often darker skinned women; however, women of both skin tones were portrayed as Jezebels, disproving the idea that only mulattoes were hypersexual.

Monster's Ball (Daniels & Foreser, 2001) portrays the Jezebel in a contemporary context. The movie stars Halle Barry, a lighter skinned Black woman, playing the role of

Leticia. Leticia has a sexual relationship with a White man, Hank, who oversaw her husband's execution. Their relationship begins with Leticia unable to control her emotions and telling Hank to "make her feel better." Later in the film, when Leticia moves in with Hank, he tells her he'll "take care" of her, with her replying "good, 'cause I really need to be taken care of." Berry won an Academy Award for her role as Leticia in *Monster's Ball*. At the time *Monster's Ball* was produced, Black actors had only received Academy Awards for playing stereotypical roles, including Denzel Washington as a variant of the brute in *Training Day* (Newmyer, Silver & Fuqua, 2000) and Hattie McDaniel as a Mammy in *Gone With the Wind* (Selznick & Fleming, 1939). In *Monster's Ball*, Berry played a loose woman who initiated sex with a White man she barely knew. Such depictions of Black women as hypersexual, loose and constantly craving sex continued and moved into modern hip hop and rap.

African American women today are still portrayed, especially in the media, as Jezebels. Littlefield (2008) argues that there is an overabundant portrayal of African American women that links them solely to a hypersexual nature and identity. The media popularizes this image of African American women as Jezebels. If Black women are not portrayed as angry and aggressive, they are depicted as being immorally sexual. The media has a strong impact on how we view the society around us. As Collins (2004) discusses, the media has the power to define and create attitudes toward African Americans whether these media images are true or not. These images of Black women as Jezebels, along with other images such as the Mammy, Matriarch and Welfare Queen, were not limited to the past because they continue to be expressed in contemporary media

images. In doing so, they contribute to Black women's oppression. Collins (2004) states that the dominant ideology of the slave era fostered the creation of four interrelated, socially constructed controlling images of Black womanhood, each reflecting the dominant group's interest in maintaining Black women's subordination" (Collins, 2000, p. 79). Furthermore, the Jezebel stereotype serves as an attack on Black womanhood specifically because controlling Black women's sexuality is central to Black women's oppression. The presentation of African American women in the media as sexual prowlers in contemporary America is presented as a defining characteristic of African American women, leaving not only the White power elite with images of Black women that are damaging and demeaning, but also permeating the African American community with these images that it has accepted.

In current rap and hip-hop songs and videos, Black women are portrayed as a modern Jezebel—the "ho." The "ho" in these songs is a woman who wants and accepts sexual activity and advances in any form from all men: she uses her sexuality to get what she wants from men (Adams & Fuller, 2006). Additionally, the "ho" is a sex object that can be used and abused in any manner to satisfy the desires of all men. Songs such as "She Swallowed It" by N.W.A (1991) discuss Black women in degrading and humiliating ways:

> This is a bitch who did the whole crew . . .
>
> And she'll let you video tape her
>
> And if you got a gang of niggaz
>
> The bitch'll let you rape her

N.W.A (Niggaz With Attitudes) was a hip-hop group of Black men from Compton, California. In this song, they are portraying the women of their race as subhuman who can be degraded through a variety of acts including rape, which according to their lyrics, is a voluntary act. Another song by Juvenile (2003), "Head in Advance," has sexual overtones, but boasts about violence against women as an everyday act:

> I like having relations
>
> I punch a bitch in the head for playing with my patience
>
> I make a local hoe turn hashin had me at the station
>
> They hating saying that I violated my probation

Adams and Fuller (2006) argue that the song fuses sex and violence and celebrates misogyny. Music videos such as the one for Nelly's (2003) "Tip Drill" portray African American women as inanimate objects who are accessible, with their sexuality for sale. In the video, among other degrading acts, the rapper swipes a credit card through the buttocks of an African American woman. Lyrical and visual exploitation of African American women was in the past solely an issue of race relations and power over women in the less dominant race. However, the current representations and exploitation of African American women suggest that the images of Black women as hypersexual and willing are additionally an issue of placing Black women at the bottom of the social hierarchy, becoming subordinate to Black men. Images of lewd African American women have been borrowed from White pre-21st century media and discourse and are now serving to justify contemporary actions of the power elite and casting blame on the victims of social, political and economic subordination. Collins (2000) suggests that

racial oppression, sexual objectification and economic exploitation by the White patriarchy utilized these stereotypes during slavery, but they still have the same implications.

Modern media portrayals of African American women as readily available and willing to engage in sexual activity at all times have numerous effects on the way African American women view themselves and also controls how these women are perceived through social and political lenses. Hooks (1994) contests that these images are rooted in the racially and sexually oppressive nature of the patriarchal system. She further posits that:

> The sexist, misogynist, patriarchal ways of thinking and behaving that are glorified in gangsta rap are a reflection of the prevailing values in our society, values created and sustained by white supremacist capitalist patriarchy. As the crudest and most brutal expression of sexism, misogynistic attitudes tend to be portrayed by the dominant culture as an expression of male deviance. In reality they are part of a sexist continuum, necessary for the maintenance of patriarchal social order. (p. 2)

The fusion of sex and violence expressed through this sexist continuum, particularly in contemporary hip-hop and rap music, contributes to a broader presentation of female sexuality. Nevertheless, it affects how Black women, who are victims of both sexual and domestic violence, are perceived, because society typically sees these women on television screens as women who gyrate around in hip-hop videos. The depictions make it almost impossible to view them as victims of heinous crimes. The modern implications of

these stereotypes are unlimited and revolve around issues of power, influence, and control of the media and of dominant groups. Psychologists have studied the way in which these historical stereotypes affect the treatment of victims of sexual assault and domestic violence. Psychological research suggests that although history does not repeat itself, the subordination of Black women in gendered racial stereotypes has contemporary implications and these stereotypes continue to defame their bodies and their humanity. Black women are at the center of constructions of race and gender because of their dual status as both members of an oppressed race and members of a less powerful gender. As a result, these stereotypes still hold weight because of media portrayals and reinforcement of these ideologies and because society uses them to justify and uphold these contemporary systems of oppression.

Stereotyping, Rape and Race

System Justification Theory and Rape

Allport (1954/197) posited that stereotypes serve as a "justificatory device for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group" (p.192). Allport's assertion focuses solely on how groups create stereotypes as a device for their own ego justification. That is, groups develop stereotypes of other groups in order to maintain self-esteem and other personal interests (Allport, 1954/1979; Jost & Hamilton, 2005). Another type of justification is group-based, and it suggests that stereotypes serve to rationalize actions against out-groups (Tajfel, 1981). In other words, group based justification differs from ego-based justification because it is related to intergroup relations; in-group members employ negative stereotypes of the out-group to differentiate their group from others which in turn benefits their in-group (Josh & Banaji, 1994). The third way in which stereotypes are used as justificatory devices is in terms of system justification. In comparison to ego justification and group justification, system justifications do not serve to protect personal or group interests (Jost & Banaji, 1994), but rather, a psychological process in which "an individual perceives, understands and explains an existing situation or arrangement with the result that the situation or arrangement is maintained" (p. 10). Stereotypes in this sense, serve to preserve the status quo.

System justification theory (SJT) includes a plethora of different ideologies that are used to protect the status quo. For instance, the belief in a just world (Jost & Burgess, 2000), power distance (Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Sullivan, 2003), and opposition to equality (Jost & Thompson, 2000) all assist system justifying functions. SJT explains a

correlation between stereotypes of Black women and sexual assault victim blaming. More specifically, the tendency to blame Black victims more than their White counterparts for their sexual assault and subject them to secondary victimization exists to legitimize and justify current systems of racial and gender oppression. It is important to note that system justification motivation contributes to a larger understanding of rape myth acceptance and rape victim blaming (Stahl, Eek, & Kasemi, 2010). Victims of sexual assault, regardless of their race, threaten conceptions of the world as a fair/just place, conceptions of a "level playing field" for men and women, and also threaten the social construction of female sexuality and male sexual power (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003; Lerner, 1980; Stahl, Eek, & Kazemi, 2010). Nonetheless, given that the status differences between women go beyond gender, and intersect with race, socioeconomic status, and other aspects of identity, victim blaming not only serves to justify male dominance, but also serves to maintain constructions of White superiority, which is evident in the racial differences in victim blaming.

Justification and maintaining of the status quo between men and women intersects with the maintenance of systemic racial oppression. The intersectionality of race and gender may affect people's perceptions of blame and guilt in cases of rape (Du Mont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003; George & Martinez, 2002; Stahl, Eek, & Kasemi 2010; Yamawaki, Darby, & Queiroz, 2007). For example, rape myths that often serve to excuse White men for sexually aggressive behavior do not apply to Black men. Specifically, Black men have been found guilty more often than their White counterparts, and are punished more harshly when the alleged victim is a White woman (LaFree, 1980; Patton,

& Snyder-Yuly, 2007; Stahl, Eek, & Kasemi 2010; Wolfgang, & Riedel, 1975). While men tend to hold higher status positions than do women, a double identity as a Black man confounds the supposed higher status men are afforded. Therefore, racial and sexist stereotypes of Blacks are often used to maintain the status quo, and play a significant role in arbitration and justice in rape cases.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the construction of Black women as immoral and hypersexual beings served to excuse the raping of slaves during pre-Emancipation and to demean the credibility of Black women who were raped by White men post-Emancipation. SJT supports the use of racist stereotypes of Black sexuality because White men's use of the Jezebel stereotype helped to justify and rationalize the status quo. Under the umbrella of the stereotype, socio-political arrangements during slavery were perceived as fair and legitimate; in fact these were codified in law. Modern perpetuations of the stereotype have the same implications for Black sexual assault victims. Lines of research investigating the modern perpetration of the Jezebel stereotype, sexual assault and victim blaming are two-fold. One line of research examines how the media may aid in promoting this stereotype, while the other looks at disparities in the treatment, blaming, and demeaning of Black sexual assault victims in comparison to their White counterparts.

Priming for Stereotypes

At the end of the last chapter, I discussed how current hip hop and rap songs demeaned Black women as "'hos." In addition, music videos, television, and movies still continue to portray Black women as Jezebels. Littlefield (2008) argues that there is an

overabundant portrayal of Black as innately hypersexual. The media popularizes this image of Black women as Jezebels; if they are not portrayed as the stereotypical Sapphire who is angry and aggressive, they are more often than not sexually immoral. The media has a strong impact on how we view society around us. As Collins (2004) discusses, the media has the power to define and create attitudes about Blackness whether they are true or not. The continual availability and visibility of a hypersexual Black woman stereotype results in the continued negative perception of Black women and may affect judgments made about Black women compared to their White counterparts. The effects of the media on judgment about Black women's sexuality in comparison to their counterparts have been researched extensively though priming.

Priming, in the context of stereotyping, is the presentation of a stimulus that is likely to affect response to later stimuli (Hansen & Hansen 1988). Priming for a stereotype or priming to achieve a desirable result using media portrayals has been well researched (e.g., Dixon, Yuanyuan, & Conrad, 2009; Givens & Monahan, 2005; Hansen & Hansen, 1988; Linz, Donnerstein, & Penrod, 1988; Malamuth, Haber, & Feshbach, 1980). The idea that the media can influence opinions and perceptions especially towards women is supported by Hansen and Hansen (1988), who posited the activation-recency hypothesis, which states that when individuals are primed with media content, they are more likely to use the information they are primed with to make decisions regarding women's credibility. The activation-recency hypothesis has been applied in research following Hansen and Hansen's work in 1988; studies have examined how priming of the Jezebel stereotype affects decision-making based on information provided about the

stereotyped.

Johnson, Jackson, Gatto and Novak (1995) conducted research on the relationship between aspects of Jezebel stereotype and later judgment of Black women. They examined the consequences of exposure to music videos in which Black women were scantily clad and behaving in a sexually provocative manner, and found that participants who were exposed to these videos were more likely to accept teen dating in comparison to those who were not exposed to sexually provocative media. Another study by Givens and Monahan (2009) also found that priming for the Jezebel stereotype leads to later negative judgment. Participants were given Mammy, Jezebel, or a non-stereotypic 3-min videotaped segment of a movie. Participants then watched a mock interview of either a Black or White woman; their evaluations of and attitudes toward her were then assessed, both implicitly and explicitly. They found that participants who were primed with the Jezebel stereotype and watched the video with the Black interviewee responded faster to Jezebel-related terms, and chose jobs associated with the stereotype such as an escort or a swimsuit model, in comparison to all other categories. They also found that participants who were exposed to the Jezebel image, compared to the Mammy and the control condition, were more likely to apply the stereotype in trait ratings of Blacks and in negative evaluations of a Black female interviewee. The activation-recency hypothesis applied by these studies supports the idea that visual representations of racial gender stereotypes, which then influences perceptions of Black women.

Not only do visual representations of Black women as sexually loose affect judgments of Black women, but also music lyrics and other written work. Johnson,

Olivio, Gibson, Reed, and Ashburn-Nardo (2009) conducted a study that examined whether primed media stereotypes, through music lyrics, reduces support for social welfare policies. They used sexual, nonsexual and control music lyrics as primers for rating empathy towards a Black or White female student in need and views regarding the government's role in supporting a Black unwed mother. Their results suggested the participants in the sexual music condition had a lower rate of empathy towards a Black female in need (Johnson et al. 2009). Furthermore, participants in the sexual music condition reported a lower rate of policy support for the Black unwed mother (Johnson et al. 2009). Similarly, Johnson, Bushman, and Dovido (2008) primed White participants with images of a promiscuous Black female, and found greater application of the promiscuity stereotype led to reduced empathy for a pregnant woman-in-need.

The influence the media has in portraying and almost reminding society that Black women are hypersexual beings suggests that the media continually reinforces this image of Black women, which in turn allows individuals to use this stereotype for system justification. More importantly, these studies reveal that stereotypes such as the Jezebel stereotype, which is over 200 years old, have contemporary implications on issues beyond sexual assault, such as job discrimination and policy support. However, more research needs to be conducted on this topic. The existing studies fail to execute experimental control, which would include portraying the stereotype with a White woman subject and checking whether people attribute characteristics of the Jezebel stereotype to Black women more than their White counterparts. One major issue the present research fails to tackle is whether endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype leads to

negative perceptions or rating of sexual assault or harassment victims, given that the stereotype is a sexual construction. However, research has been conducted to explore racial differences in how a victims of sexual assault are attributed blame, and the impact of blaming on their post-assault treatment.

Rape and Race: Victimization

Extensive studies have been conducted on sexual assault, specifically looking at victim blaming and the impact it has on the treatment of a victim post-assault. Research suggests that there are racial differences in treatment and victim-blaming which means that Black women are less likely to disclose/report their own sexual assault, or seek help in comparison to their White counterparts (Tillman, Bryant-Davis, Smith, & Marks, 2010). Christensen (1988) found that 67% of Black women were more likely to wait before telling anyone, in contrast to the 36% of White women who wait. Furthermore, when Black victims seek help or report their assault, they often face secondary revictimization. Secondary revictimization is defined as ‘‘victim blaming attitudes, behaviors, and practices engaged in by community service providers, which result in additional trauma for the rape survivor’’ (Campbell & Raja, 1999). For instance, Campbell (2005) conducted a study of both Black and White 81 sexual assault survivors and found that victims reported several revictimization experiences by medical and legal systems. The victims had previously been asked about their behavior and choices, whether they responded to the assault (i.e., orgasm), and their prior sexual history. In addition to their treatment by medical staff, judges and juries tend to impose harsher penalties for men who rape White women compared to those who rape Black women

(Crenshaw, 1994; Wriggins, 1983).

Furthermore, Wyatt (1992) conducted a study to examine whether and how consequences for sexual assault differ for African-American and White female sexual assault survivors. The study found that patterns of disclosure were significantly different. African-American women in the study were significantly less likely than White women to disclose incidents of sexual assault prior to the interview during the study. Twenty-three percent of African-American victims in the study had reported their assault to police or rape centers, while 31% of White victims reported. Recovery from sexual assault is dependent on numerous factors, which includes how victims believe others will judge them—which can inhibit healthy and successful recovery. These differences in disclosure emanate from the fear of revictimization; Wyatt (1992) suggested that African-American victims might believe they will not receive judicial justice and participants in the study also reported less support when they did disclose their assault.

The tendency for Black sexual assault victims to encounter revictimization more than their White counterparts is linked to the belief that African American women are not legitimate victims of sexual assault meaning that they are blamed for their assault or simply not believed. Instead, the rape victim that comes to mind for people tend to be White women while the rapist is usually a Black man. Madriz (1997) explored women's fear of crime and how it is exacerbated by stereotypical images of an "ideal victim" and an "ideal criminal." When participants were asked about the image that comes to mind of a victim, White women seemed to be the consensus. For instance, one White teenager said: I imagine a blond girl, […] from the Midwest, with a ponytail, naïve, unaware,

walking down the street in New York City, singing laralaralara." A Latina teenager stated, "White women are more victims because they do not know how to fit." From Madriz's findings, the constructions of White femininity and Black sexuality misconstrue ideas of a typical victim or criminal and the media perpetrates these images. Additionally, when asked about women as sexual assault victims, elderly middle-class White women responded by expressing their opinions about women who are responsible for their own victimization:

> Especially some of the young […] well, Black and Hispanic girls. They like to wear those very tight pants […] or too short miniskirts.
>
> They [Black and Latina girls] look for it. Yes, I think they like the attention. And men, you know how they are […] these women are inviting trouble. (p. 349)

These beliefs that construct an ideal and non-ideal victim are rooted in stereotypes that support the difference in blaming Black women assault victims.

Racial Differences in Victim Blaming

Research, although not extensive, has been conducted to examine the relationship between sexual assault, stereotypes and race. George and Martinez (2002) conducted a study in this line of research that directly examined how stereotypes about Black sexuality influence victim blaming. They hypothesized that the stereotype that "Blacks are more sexual" would be utilized more when judging an interracial rape than an intraracial rape—which supports the stereotype that Black women are promiscuous and unrapeable, and Black men are inclined to rape White women (George & Martinez, 2002).

Black women who were raped by White men were viewed as more responsible than if she were raped by a Black man, suggesting that victim blaming was determined by stereotypes specifically in interracial rape vignettes. As George and Martinez (2002) hypothesized, Black victims were blamed more if their assault was interracial as opposed to intraracial. However, although they did not hypothesize that this would be true for White victims, all victims, whether White or Black, were blamed more if their assault was interracial. Interracial rapes were judged less as "definite rape," and the refusal of victims of interracial rapes were rated as less credible compared to intraracial rapes. On the other hand, participants rated perpetrators as less culpable when they raped a women of a different race than their own, compared to when they raped women of their own race. They suggested that this nuance was a result of a stereotypic portrayal of White women who fraternize with Black men as not upholding the status quo and therefore these women were regarded as being less reputable than those that did not (as cited in George & Martinez 2002: Hernton, 1965; Petroni, 1973). These results then override the stereotype of "Black man inclined to rape White women," but it touches upon the constructions of femininity and how White men dictate how women, White and Black, should act.

George and Martinez (2002) also found that participants specifically recommended longer sentences for Black strangers who assaulted than Black acquaintances. These results are supported by the images of the ideal criminal participants in Madriz (1997). In addition, specifically for men, racism predicted high victim blaming, but it did not depend on victim or perpetrator race. This result supports

the idea that victim blaming is particularly used to justify male dominance. Furthermore, they found that higher racism scores for men meant that they viewed the victim as more culpable and less credible, while for the perpetrator, less culpable regardless of race. Conversely, for women, the higher their scores on the MRS, the more likely they were to blame interracial acquaintance rape victims more than intraracial acquaintance victims. The researchers suggested that these interactive differences were a result of the use of racism and rape myths as well as traditional beliefs about sex-roles in attributing blame to victims. These findings support the idea that stereotypes and racism are used to justify gender and racial oppression.

Donovan (2007) conducted research that also examined the influence of racist and sexist stereotypes in rape blame attribution. Specifically, she looked at how victim and perpetrator race, and participant's sex, affects perceptions of a rape victim's promiscuity, and strength and/or toughness. Consistent with previous research, male participants viewed rape perpetrators as less culpable and rape victims as more promiscuous. Also, male participants were influenced by the victim and perpetrator's race when making attributions about victim promiscuity and perpetrator culpability. White male participants viewed the Black victim as more promiscuous than the White victim, especially when the perpetrator was White. Donovan (2007) postulates that for the White men, the Jezebel stereotype was activated when the Black victim was interracially paired. Over half (58%) of the White male participants, and 63% of the White female participants, believed that White women were more likely victims of Black rapists. This finding also suggests that historical stereotypes, such as the "Black men are inclined to rape White women" still

exist.

Willis (1992) examined the influence of sex-role stereotypes, race and the relationship between both the victim and perpetrator on perceptions of rape culpability. The study found that overall Black victims of date rape, irrespective of racial and sex-role stereotypes, were seen as less truthful and more responsible than a White victim. Furthermore, there was a bias against both Black and White rape victims who had dated a Black perpetrator. White and Black rape victims who had been in a relationship with a Black perpetrator were perceived as less truthful than if the perpetrator was a Black stranger or was White. Perpetrators who had dated a Black woman were perceived to be less likely to commit rape in the future, which suggests that the rape of a Black woman was believed to be her fault because of her race and gender. Willis (1992) suggested that this was because White males traditionally have the power to initiate sexual encounters with women regardless of their race, but Black males are to be punished for sexual transgressions. In other words, if a White man dates a Black woman, because he controls sex dynamics, forced sexual activity is her fault, while if a White woman dates a Black man, it's her fault because she should know that "Black men are inclined to rape White women" and she should maintain her racial and gender purity.

Foley, Evancic, Karnik, King,and Parks (1995) also conducted research on the relationship between rape and race. They hypothesized that the rape of a Black woman would be seen as less serious than that of a White woman. They found that participants were less likely to define sexual activity as rape when the victim was a Black woman, but rather as an act of love. This demonstrates that participants believed the man's behavior

was “alright.” In addition, participants were less likely to suggest the incident be reported if the victim was Black, or that the perpetrator should be held legally accountable. From these findings, Black women who are raped are viewed as less reliable, and unlike White women their story would not be believed.

Inconsistent with the researchers’ hypothesis, participants did not deem a Black man’s assault on a White woman to be more serious. Foley et al. (1995) posited that this may have been because the “Black man inclined to rape White women” stereotype was not as salient as that of ideas of traditional sex-roles and gender stereotypes. Furthermore, their third hypothesis was supported: female participants were more likely than male participants to define the forced sexual encounter as rape and as a crime. Female participants also believed that the incident should be reported more than male participants did and suggested it be reported to the authorities, and the perpetrator should be held legally accountable, be found guilty, and receive a long sentence. The lack of interaction between the participant’s gender and the race of the victim suggests the dynamics between race, gender, and rape are nuanced. Racial statuses trump gender status, and as a result, Black people are subjected to negative judgment as a group more than women as a group will be. Despite female participants being more likely to define a situation as date rape and reacting more negatively to the scenario, their level of stereotyping rape victims based on their race was no different than that of male participants.

Studies on the intersection between race and rape have suggested that their results were due to participants endorsing the Jezebel stereotype; however, no published research has examined the possible correlation between the Jezebel stereotype and sexual

assault/harassment. Sulaiman (2013) examined the relationship between Jezebel stereotype and perceptions of sexual harassment. More specifically, Sulaiman (2013) used music videos as a primer for the Jezebel stereotype by presenting participants with either a video of hyper-sexualized African American women or hyper-sexualized White women. Participants first took an Implicit Attitudes Test (IAT) to measure implicit attitudes about Black women and sexuality, watched a video, tested for the Jezebel stereotype and then filled out a questionnaire based on a nightclub sexual harassment scenario. While there were no statistically significant differences between the type of video watched and scores on the Beliefs About Women Scale (BAWS), there were mean differences. Participants who watched the video meant to prime for the Jezebel stereotype (featuring African American women) had higher scores on the BAWS compared to other groups. Furthermore, higher scores on the BAWS led to finding the victim responsible for the sexual harassment. There was also a slightly statistically significant effect of the type of music video condition on participant scores on the sexual harassment scenario scores. More specifically, the mean score for the Black video condition was significantly different than the control group. However, the Black video condition was not significantly different from the White video condition. The results of this study were affected by having a small number of participants (n=46). Additionally, the study did not look at sexual assault specifically and the method by which the stereotype was measured did not precisely target elements of the Jezebel stereotype.

The Current Study

While multiple studies, as highlighted, have looked at the relationship between race and rape and others have looked at the influences of stereotypes on judgment and the perception of stigmatized groups, the literature does not look at the effect of the Jezebel stereotype on rape beliefs about Black rape victims. Due to the lack of published research examining the acceptance of the Jezebel stereotype and its impact on the acceptance of rape myths, and perception of sexual assault victims based on their race, the current study aims to look at the impact of this stereotype on victim blaming. The purpose of the present study is to assess perceptions of a victim of a sexual assault based on two variables: race of the victim (Black, White, or race not specified); and endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype. The following hypotheses were tested using two questionnaires and a vignette (see Appendix F).

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: There will be a relationship between victim blaming and race of the victim. Participants who read the vignette, in which the victim, Alicia, is described as Black, will attribute more blame to her than participants who read the vignette in which Alicia is described as White.

Hypothesis 1A: Participants will attribute more blame to the victim when she is described as Black, and when the perpetrator, Vincent, is White. Furthermore, when the victim is White and her perpetrator is Black, participants will attribute less blame to her. Hypotheses 2: Levels of victim blaming will vary based on the endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype for Black women. More specifically, there will be a relationship

between higher levels of victim blaming and higher levels of endorsing the Jezebel stereotype.

Hypothesis 3: When the victim is described as Black, there will be lower ratings of victimcredibility. That is, participants who read the vignette in which Alicia is a Black victim will rate her refusal as less credible than those in the White and no race specified groups.

Hypothesis 4: Qualitative responses to the question "Could Alicia have prevented this from happening," will vary based on race of the victim. Furthermore, I expect that depending on the race of the victim, there will be different levels of victim blaming in the qualitative responses.

Methodology

Fifty-seven students from a small Mid-Atlantic liberal arts college participated in the study. Participants first filled out a questionnaire measuring their endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype through a scale adapted from Donovan (2011). After this, participants were given one of five sexual assault vignettes, four of which varied by race of perpetrator and victim, and the fifth of which served as a control vignette and did not mention the race of either perpetrator or victim. The vignette was followed by a series of question that measured participants' perpetrator and victim blaming. The results of the study were presented quantitatively and qualitatively (see appendix A for the complete methods and procedure).

Results

The results of this study are based on two types of analyses. The quantitative data includes each participant's score on the measure for the Jezebel stereotype and their ratings of culpability for the victim and perpetrator. The qualitative data includes responses to three open-ended questions regarding the sexual assault vignette (in which the race of the perpetrator altered between Black, White and no race specified).

Quantitative Data

Hypothesis 1 + 1A. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to determine whether there were differences in the average level of victim blaming by vignette type, on average. The results of the ANOVA indicated that there were no differences in victim blaming depending on whether the sexual assault was interracial or intraracial or no race was mentioned, on average, $F(4, 51) = 2.261$, $p = 0.075$ (see Table 1 for a more detailed descriptive of differences by vignette).

Due to the small number of participants within each vignette group, the groups were recoded to create 3 groups dependent on the race of victim alone. That is, the vignettes in which the victim was White became one group, while the vignettes in which the victim was Black became another group. The vignette in which neither perpetrator nor victim race was mentioned was also included.

Table 1

Mean Number of Victim Blaming by vignette type: no race, White Victim/White Perpetrator, Black Victim/ White Perpetrator, Black Victim, Black Perpetrator, and White Victim, Black Perpetrator. (with Standard Deviations and Number of Participants)

	Vignette				
	No Race	White Victim/ White Perpetrator	White Victim/ Black Perpetrator	Black Victim/ Black Perpetrator	Black Victim/ White Perpetrator
Victim Blaming	*M*= 2.58 *SD*= 1.36 *n*= 11	*M*= 2.24 *SD*= 0.98 *n*= 11	*M*= 2.39 *SD*= 1.08 *n*= 11	*M*= 3.5 *SD*= 1.8 *n*= 10	*M*= 3.7 *SD*= 2.0 *n*= 13

Another one-way ANOVA was then conducted to determine whether there were differences in the levels of victim blaming for when the victim was White, Black, and no race mentioned. The results of the ANOVA indicated that, there were differences in the level of victim blaming depending on the race of the victim, $F(2,53)=4.610$, $p= 0.014$. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for victim blaming of a Black victim (M= 3.61, SD = 1.89) was significantly higher than victim blaming of a White victim (M= 2.31, SD = 1.01). However, the level of victim blaming for the control vignette (M= 2.57, SD =1.36) did not significantly differ from the Black and White victim vignettes. These results suggest that blaming a victim of sexual assault may depend on the race of the victim. Specifically, when a female victim is Black, she

may be blamed more than her White counterpart. Given these results, the first hypothesis was supported, while hypothesis 1a was not supported.

Hypothesis 2. An ANOVA was conducted to check whether endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype for Black women was the reason for differences in victim blaming. The results suggest that there was only a statistically significant difference in victim blaming when the victim was Black, and the Jezebel stereotype was endorsed $F(1,50)=6.396$, $p= 0.015$. This suggests that participants who endorsed the Jezebel stereotype had blamed the Black victim more for her sexual assault (see Figure 1).

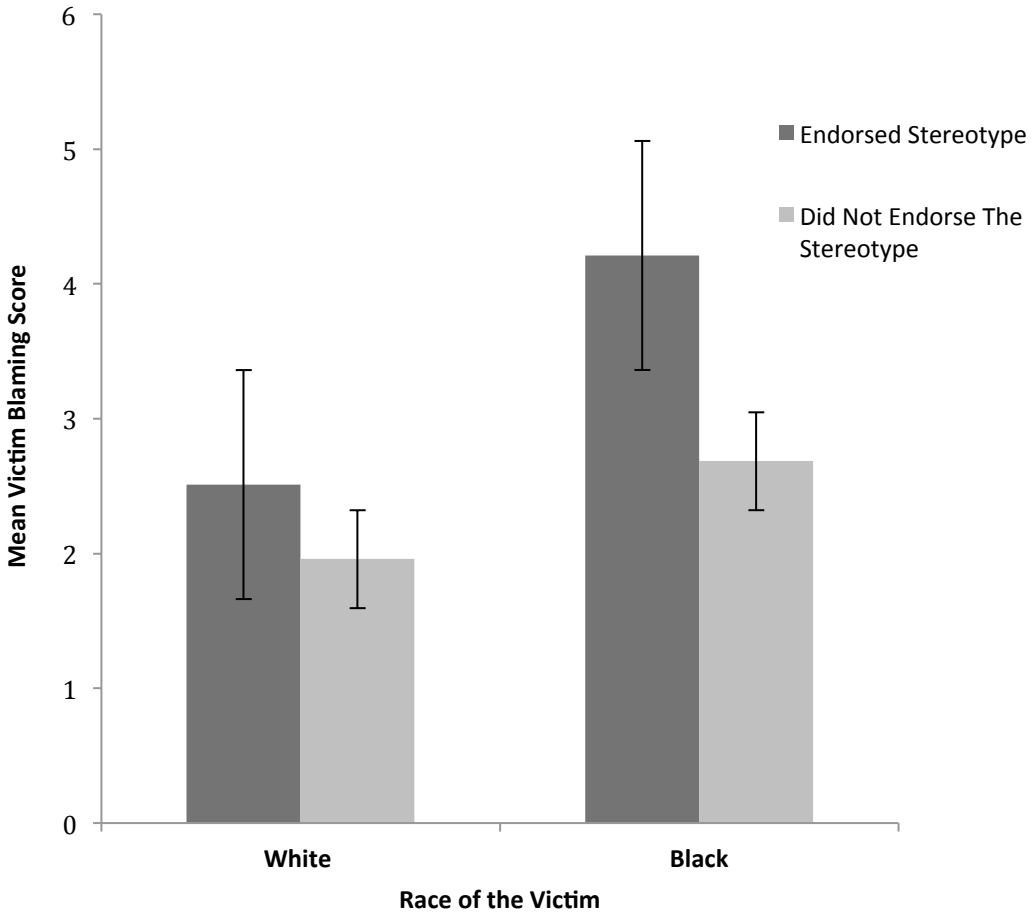

Figure 1. Mean difference values of victim blaming based on endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype and race of the victim in the vignette. Standard errors are represented in the figure by the error bars attached to each column.

Hypothesis 3. There were two levels of refusal credibility. The first was based on the question, "How believable was Alicia's refusal?" and examined participant's belief that Alicia's refusal was true or not. The second level is a little more nuanced and was based on the questions, "How much did Alicia really want to have sex with Vincent?" and "How likely is it that Alicia said 'No' so that the man wouldn't think that she was too 'loose' or 'easy'?" The second level aimed at the idea that Alicia's refusal was not because she actually did not want to engage in sexual activity, but as a 'front' or sexual tease and that she may have said "no" because she did not want Vincent to believe she was sexually loose.

Inconsistent with previous research, when I ran a one-way ANOVA to see if there were differences in the first level refusal credibility, the results were not statistically significant. More specifically, there were no differences, depending on the race of the victim in the vignette on attributed ratings of the victim's refusal, $F(2, 53) = 2.34$, $p = 0.12$.

However, when I ran a one-way ANOVA to see if there were differences, by race of victim, in the second level of refusal credibility, the results were significant. Specifically, there were differences depending on race of the victim in the vignette on ratings of how much Alicia's refusal was actually a 'lie', $F(2,53) = 4.716$, $p = 0.013$. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the second level of refusal credibility when Alicia was mentioned as a Black victim ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 2.30$) was significantly different when she was White ($M = 2.59$, $SD = 1.3$). The Tukey HSD test indicated that the second level of refusal credibility was statistically significantly more for Alicia as a Black victim, on average, than for her as a White

victim. Which suggests that when Alicia was described as Black, she was less credible than when she was described as White. However, the second level of refusal credibility for the control vignette (M= 3.18, SD =1.77) did not significantly differ from the Black and White victim vignettes.

Qualitative Data

The quantitative results alone support Hypotheses 1 and 2. However, the qualitative results did not directly support Hypothesis 4, but did provide results that support the idea that the sexual assault of Black women is deemed as less important/crucial, and that White victims of sexual assault are not to blamed when their perpetrator is Black.

The qualitative section of the current study examined the written response to the rape vignette. Participants answered the questions: "Could Alicia have prevented this from happening," "Could Vincent have prevented this from happening," and "Was Alicia raped by Vincent?" Participants were given the option of responding "yes," "no," or "I don't know," and were then asked, "What aspects led you to believe this?"

Could Vincent have prevented this from happening?

The responses to the question, "Could Vincent have prevented this from happening," were fairly straightforward. Out of 57 responses, 89.47% said "yes," 7% said "no," and 3.5% said, "I don't know." When asked "What aspects led you to believe this?", 68% gave "yes" responses that indicated that Vincent could have prevented the assault by listening to Alicia's refusals. For example:

> During the night at the end, Alicia "constantly begged" for Vincent to stop. Vincent at any point in that should have stopped. Any physical touching that hurts someone else and they are uncomfortable is time to stop (Participant 13).
>
> After Alicia said no, Vincent should not have forced her to have sex with him. It is entirely his fault because that was a conscious decision to disregard her wishes (P 47).

There were two other emergent themes that were reasons for how Vincent could have prevented the assault. Nineteen percent of participants suggested that Vincent could have prevented the assault because "he was in power and had control over the situation." For example one participant whose response reflected this theme wrote:

> Vincent was responsible for his actions and had the intention of having sex with Alicia whether she liked it or not (P 24).

The last theme "he could have stuck to the plan" made up 11.76% of the "yes" responses, for example:

> He could have brought her home after going to the pub instead of taking her back to his house (P33).

The "no" responses made up 7% of the 57 responses given, and suggested that Vincent could *not* have prevented the assault because he had already made up his mind to have sex with Alicia, and he ignored her pleas. For example, participants who responded "no" followed up by saying:

> Vincent was in control of this situation most of the time, especially because he was driving. At any point he could have made a decision to stay, take Alicia home or listen to her, but he did no such thing (P 40).

Participants, who chose "I don't know," made up 3.5% of the 57 responses. Their reason for choosing "I don't know" seemed to be because of personal or mental characteristics Vincent may have possessed that the participant was unaware of. For instance, one participant said:

> I don't know Vincent well enough to be able to make that type of judgment (P 28).

while another said:

> He could not have done it be he also could be very sick in the head, or have had a compulsion for sex or many other factors (P 11).

No differences or themes emerged that varied by Alicia's race or Vincent's race, for this question. Participants were relatively uniform in their framing of Vincent's behavior as a rapist who succumbed to his sexual urges and was in complete control of the situation.

Was Alicia raped by Vincent?

Responses to the question "Was Alicia raped by Vincent" were straightforward. All 57 participants selected "yes," and therefore believed that Vincent raped Alicia. No themes emerged from the responses given about why participants believed this. All of the statements suggested unanimous belief that Vincent was violent, and that he should have listened to Alicia's pleas to stop. For example:

> Without a doubt. Alicia begged for Vincent to stop. She was hurt and battered. It's evident it was against her will and these were forceful actions (P 13).

Responses alluded to the lack of consent and the force Vincent used on Alicia. No differences or themes emerged that varied by Alicia's race or Vincent's race, for this question.

Could Alicia have prevented this from happening?

Responses to the question "Could Alicia have prevented this from happening?" were more complicated. Another coder and I read the responses and identified emerging themes from reported qualitative "yes" responses. Three major themes emerged that carried across the perpetrator's and victim's race: 1) she should have known better, 2) the use of alcohol made the situation worse, and 3) she could have done something physical or verbal. There were also statements that included more than one theme.

She should have known better. Responses under the first theme, "She should have known better," supports the belief that women who are assaulted simply should have known better than to go to a stranger's house, which in turn supports the myth that women are only raped by strangers and they should know better than to walk down a dark alley, or go to a certain place with someone they barely know. It puts the responsibility of sexual assault on women by saying they should act a certain way to prevent rape, when in fact, rape is always the fault of the perpetrator. This first theme was the most prominent, and consisted of the subthemes 1) she should have left/asked him to take her home, 2) she shouldn't have gone on a date with him 3) she shouldn't have gone to his house.

There were 20 out of 29 “yes” responses that were coded under the theme “she should have known better.” Seventy-five percent of the responses for this theme fit under the subtheme, “she shouldn’t have gone to his house.” Examples under this subtheme were either single themed, or crossed into other themes:

> Ehh it's not her fault but she could have refused to go to his house. But its not like he came off as pushy in the beginning (P 6).
>
> She chose to go back to his place after only knowing him for one night (P 7).
>
> She could have told him no to going back to his house so late at night because one thing always leads to another (P 42).
>
> Being that it was only a first date, Alicia did not have to go to Vincent's house. She should have gotten to know him better (P 17).

These responses exemplify the broader idea within this subtheme, which is connected to rape myths. One rape myth this subtheme alludes to is the idea that only bad/stupid women get raped (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Although they neither demean Alicia nor name-call in insinuating that she shouldn’t have gone to his house, they are in turn saying that she should have been smart enough to avoid putting herself in an unsafe situation, and she perhaps led him to believe that sex would occur.

Another subtheme was “she should have left/asked him to take her home.” This subtheme was slightly different from “she shouldn’t have gone to his house” because it assumes that Alicia should not have allowed the date to continue after the movie:

> Alicia could have gone home after the movie, or after the bar (P 48).

> Alicia could have gotten a taxi or different ride home. But Vincent seemed genuine so Alicia didn't have a reason to not believe him (P 56).

Responses under the third subtheme “she didn’t know him well enough,” often overlapped with other themes/subthemes. The responses suggest that Alicia should have had an instinct that would aid her in knowing that Vincent would assault her:

> While she could have been more cautious to go to this strangers house. She had no way of knowing he would force her into doing something (P 22).
>
> Alicia did not have to follow Vincent home or go to the pub. She could have gotten a chance to know whim more before going to his place, or gone out with Vincent with a larger group of friends (P 23).

The responses within this theme allude to a variety of rape myths that disproportionately place an aspect of blame on the participant, based on what they should have known (Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Burt, 1991). There are beliefs about rape that imply that women should refuse to follow a man home after a first date because she presumably knows that she could be assaulted. Had the vignette been changed, and the story was not about a date rape, but a rape in a dark alley, a variety of rape myths about stranger rapes would have been prominent and we would see statements revolving around Alicia walking alone, or at night, which would also ultimately suggest that she should have known better.

The use of alcohol made the situation worse. The second theme consisted of 4 responses, 2 of which where coded with another theme, and suggested that Alicia could

have prevented her own assault by not having alcohol or going out with Vincent after having had alcohol:

> I think if Alicia didn't go to Vincent's house after they had drinks, she could have avoided it (P 24).
>
> Alicia could not have went home with home after the pub and should have called it a night (P 36).

Rape myths involving the use of alcohol often imply that the assailant cannot be charged with rape if she was drunk (Abbey, 1991; Brown, Christiansen, & Goldman, 1987; Crowe & George, 1989). While the responses that were coded for the alcohol theme do not suggest this rape myth, they do suggest that drinking implies she was willing to engage in sexual activity. This rape myth—that women who are drunk are willing to engage in any type of sexual activity—is portrayed in the first example. The participant stating that Alicia could have avoided it, specifically by not going to Vincent's home after drinks, suggests that because they had been drinking, Alicia should have known that alcohol *could* lead to sexual activity.

She could have done something physically or verbally. This last theme includes responses that stated Alicia could have done something physically or verbally to prevent the assault. Seven out of 29 "yes" responses (3 of which were mixed with another theme) were coded for this theme. Some examples include:

> Thirdly, and lastly, since they're both of average built, she could've had the strength to get him off of her (P 49).
>
> Alicia could have spoken up more (P 19).

Self defense. Every woman should know some self-defense (P 11).

Stating that Alicia could have done something differently, whether physical or verbal does not put blame on her in the same way that saying she should have known better does, however, it negates the fact that men simply should not rape women.

Responses that were actually "Yes." When we looked at the content that followed "no" or "I don't know" responses, the statements suggested that participants were saying "yes, Alicia could have prevented this from happening." Both coders interpreted quite a number of the qualitative "I don't know" responses as "yes" responses and these responses fell within one of the themes that emerged for reported "yes" responses (see Tables 2 and 3 for percentages of actual yes and coded "yes" responses).

Table 1

Percentages of actual "yes" responses to the question "Could Alicia have prevented this from happening?"

	Responses			
Vignette Type	Yes	"No"	"I don't know"	Two Categories
Black Victim/ White Perpetrator	46.15%	15.38%	38.46%	-
Black Victim/ Black Perpetrator	50%	30%	20%	-
White Victim/ Black Perpetrator	27.27%	54.55%	9%	9%*
White Victim/ White Perpetrator	36.36%	45.45%	18%	-

*Indicates that participants selected a combination of "yes," "no," or "I don't know."

Table 2

Percentages of coded "yes" responses to the question "Could Alicia have prevented this from happening?"

	Responses			
Vignette Type	Yes	"No"	"I don't know"	Two Categories*
Black Victim/ White Perpetrator	84.61%	15.38%	-	-
Black Victim/ Black Perpetrator	70%	30%	-	-
White Victim/ Black Perpetrator	36.36%	54.54%	-	9%
White Victim/ White Perpetrator	45.45%	45.45%	9.09%	-

Note. Two coders put statements into "yes," "no," or "I don't know" categories by only looking at the statements.

*Indicates that participants selected a combination of "yes," "no," or "I don't know," and could not be coded into a single category.

Sixty-four percent of the "I don't know" qualitative responses were interpreted as "yes" by coders. For example, one participant whose response was "I don't know" wrote that:

> Alicia could have Vincent take her home after the pub. Coffee at Vincent's house sounds a bit sketch, however the situation could have not been instigated by Vincent throwing himself onto her (P 53).

However, the response ultimately says that Alicia could have asked him to take her home, and in that way she would have prevented the assault from occurring. Other responses within this category suggested that Alicia didn't know Vincent would assault her or that it just wasn't her fault. Despite saying that Alicia couldn't have known, they are still saying that Alicia *could have* done something to prevent the assault. While "I don't know" may be an appropriate response if one believes that Alicia could have done something, but at the same time the assault was not her fault, the responses are similar to those of participants who initially answered "yes." Additionally, stating that a victim of sexual assault could have done something to prevent the assault is still victim blaming. Another participant answered the question by circling both 'yes' and 'no' followed with the statement:

> Yes & no. It was 100% not her fault, but she shouldn't have went to his home so early in the relationship (P 57).

The participant first states that it was not Alicia's fault that the assault happened, and then stated that she should not have gone to his house, which essentially cancels the first statement. Here it is obvious that this participant, like many who answered 'I don't know' but followed with a response that had elements of victim blaming, knew that saying "yes"

initially would perhaps be undesirable. Nonetheless, their written responses in fact show that their responses should have been 'yes' responses, as they fell within one of the three themes that emerged from reported "yes" responses.

Racial Differences

One hypothesis of the current study was that there would be racial differences in victim blaming, that is, Black victims would be blamed more for their own sexual assault, in comparison to their White counterparts, regardless of their assailant's race. When coding statements for emergent themes, the only theme that had differences in race was "Alicia could have done something physically or verbally different." Of the 7 statements within this theme, 71.42 % of them emerged when the victim was Black. While the percentage of responses that suggested Alicia could have done something physical or verbal was high, it is important to note that the number of participants within each category was low. Nonetheless, the racial difference within this theme suggests that Black women are expected to defend themselves more physically or verbally than White victims. This indicates that White women are not expected to defend themselves in the same way that Black women are expected to do so.

While no significant themes emerged as solely dependent on the race of the victim/perpetrator, there were interesting findings based on counting "yes" responses and "no" responses. Statements were looked at without their initial "yes" or "no" responses, and where then coded into "yes" or "no" based on what was in their statement. When Alicia was mentioned as a White victim and the assailant was White, 45% of the responses suggested that Alicia *could not have* done anything to prevent the incident,

while 45% of the responses stated that she *could have* done something to prevent the incident. However, when her assailant was mentioned as Black, 54% of the responses suggested that she could not have done anything differently, while 36% stated that she could have done something differently. On the other hand when Alicia was described as a Black victim, and her assailant was White, 15% of the responses suggested she *could not have* done anything to prevent the assault, while 85% suggested that Alicia *could have* done something to prevent the assault. When the assailant, Vincent, was described as Black, 30% suggested that she *could not have* done anything differently, while 70% suggested that she *could have* done something differently.

General Discussion

The Jezebel stereotype asserts that Black women are hypersexual beings, who are intentionally "loose" and eager to be sexually exploited. The stereotype, as Lerner (1972) states, not only evolved during slavery and under Jim Crow social injustices as a means of exploiting Black women sexually without repercussion or sanctions, but it also continues to exist in contemporary American society. Previous studies suggest that the Jezebel stereotype leads to overall contemporary negative ratings of Black women. Numerous studies have explored the relationship between race and rape. The study of race relations alone is an extremely complicated one. When the focus is on race *and* rape, there are multiple nuanced dynamics that influence this relationship. Yet, studies have not examined how the sociocultural history of stereotypes surrounding rape and race may affect the perception of sexual assault survivors. In this study, while most participants (91%) believed that the sexual activity that occurred was definitely rape, there was a statistically significant difference between blaming the victim when she is described as Black and when she is mentioned as White. More specifically, when we grouped the vignettes solely based on the race of the victim, when Alicia was Black, she was attributed more blame than when she was White or when her race was not specified.

The main goal of this study was to examine whether there is a relationship between ideas of the Jezebel stereotype and perceptions of Black sexual assault victims. The second hypothesis regarding the relationship between victim blaming and the Jezebel stereotype was supported. Participants who endorsed the Jezebel stereotype for Black

women were additionally more likely to attribute more blame to Alicia, when she was mentioned as Black. What this suggests is that unlike previous studies that have primed for the stereotype, people may hold beliefs about Black women as "sexually easy" or immoral, which may influence their perceptions of Black women who are sexually assaulted. These results are complicated and thought-provoking, particularly because the researcher conducting the study was a Black female and as Devine (1989) posits, racial stereotyping is a function of both controlled and automatic processes, which involve two discrete stages. In the first stage, most stereotypes are previously and frequently activated, and the second stage is re-activation of the stereotype, which occurs automatically when a member of that group is present— despite personal belief systems. In Sulaiman (2013), participants had high degrees of stereotypical ideas of African American women because they responded faster to associations of African American women and negative sexual words. In this study, participants may have already had preconceived ideas of Black women as a result of media or previous experiences, and when participating in the study, the presence of a Black woman may have reactivated the stereotypes they already held.

The second level of refusal credibility unequivocally revealed the idea that preconceived ideas about Black women as the embodiment of the Jezebel stereotype influences perceptions of sexual assault victims. While there was no statistical difference between participant's belief that Alicia's refusal was credible, based on race—although there were mean differences for when Alicia was Black (M=3.9, SD =2.5) and White (M=2.6, SD = 2.5)— participants tended to believe that the Black victim's refusal was

fake. Therefore, participants believed that Alicia said “no” because 1) she was sexually teasing Vincent, but in fact did want to engage in sexual activity with him, and/or 2) she did not want him to think she was sexually easy or loose. These two ideas are tied to ideas that people may hold about the typical victim and perpetrator. More specifically, by believing that the Black victim may have said “no” because she did not want her assailant to perceive her as easy, suggests that participants themselves believed the Alicia was sexually easy, which in a broader context suggests that people believe that women who say “no” do so because they want to tease the men. Ideas of typical victim or typical assailant are present in the qualitative results.

Overall, the qualitative results suggest that most participants believed that the rape was ultimately Vincent’s fault because he could have prevented this from happening (89.47%), and that Alicia was raped by Vincent (100%). Conversely, responses to “Could Alicia have prevented this from happening?” were more complicated and suggest that participants not only believed that rape is definitively a man’s fault, but that women should know better to some degree or be more physical/verbal with a possible assailant. While the results of the qualitative data speak more to the endorsements of rape myths and gender stereotypes, they also address the relationship between rape, power and race; precisely the hierarchy that exists among White men and women, and Black men and women. Participants implied that when the victim was Black, regardless of the race of her perpetrator, she should have defended herself more physically than her White counterpart. In addition, when we looked at only statements and coded them as “yes,” “no,” or “I don’t know” responses, we found that when the victim was White, and her

perpetrator was Black, the victim was attributed less blame because 54% of participants believed she could not have prevented the assault. The coded "no" responses were the highest for the interracial rape between the White victim and Black perpetrator. On the other hand, when the rape was interracial between a Black woman and White man, 15% of participants suggest she could not have prevented the rape, while 84% (36% for White victim/Black perpetrator) believed she could have prevented the rape.

The difference in responses for Black victims and White victims suggests that White victims of sexual assault are blameless when their assailant is Black, suggesting that Black men are inherently criminals. While these results differ from the quantitative results from George and Martinez (2002), these results were qualitative written statements which were coded into "yes," "no," or "I don't know." Madriz's (1997) study that explored images of a stereotypical "criminal," found that there was a dominant representation of an 'ideal criminal' among all the women. One White participant, when asked what the typical image that comes to mind of a criminal, stated: I feel that anything that comes to my mind when you ask that question is […], I think of a thin, tall Black man." Another participant who was Black said "I feel ashamed by saying this, but the image that comes to my mind when I think about criminals is that of a brother." What this means is that contemporary Black men, just as during slavery and the Jim Crow era, are viewed as rapists, and are predisposed to be rapists. As Hall (1983) postulates, the protection of White womanhood and conjuring images of the Black rapist as monstrous beasts, served as fixtures of racist ideologies (p. 334). The idea that Black men were rapists, lusting for White women, served as an instrument of coercion in the 19th and 20th

centuries. It helped reinforce the hierarchy of power, by placing White women on a pedestal, and sexually exploiting Black women. As a result, White women were placed on a virginal pedestal, in which Black women had no place on. Instead, Black women were Jezebels—naked and in a moral gutter, not because someone placed them there, but rather because they desired to be there. Black women's lack of access to the virginal pedestal made the neglect of their assault justifiable and permitted the excessive attention White women were given as potential assailants of Black men.

The idea that White women needed protection from Black men's unbridled and violent sexual appetites negated the fact that Black women were being assaulted and exploited by White men. The pedestal upon which White women were placed also removed the fact that White women engaged in consensual relationships with Black men, and as early 20th century Black activist and journalist, Ida B. Wells stated, this pedestal was in place to maintain the moral reputation of their race and oppress Black sexuality (Giddings, 1995). More importantly, Wells stated that the prevailing beliefs about White female sexuality were "getting Black men lynched, and Black women raped and exploited" (Giddings, 1995). At the beginning of the 20th century, Black women like Wells understood that the lynching of Black men because of their supposed rape of White women was linked to the sexual exploitation, and sometimes lynching of Black women. Given the history of Black sexual constructions in American society, participants had the typical image of a 'real rape', which is White victim/Black rapist.

The second piece of the racial difference in the qualitative responses is that when Alicia is described as a Black woman, and Vincent is White, 84% of the responses

suggest that yes, she *could have* prevented the incident, which is the highest coded "yes" response indicating victim blaming. Foley et. al. (1995) discusses these sexual myths about Black men as rapists, and Black women as 'unrapeable'. Foley et. al. (1995) found that rape was perceived as less serious when the victim was Black. Participants in this study seemed to have the same perception of blame attributed to Black victims, just as participant's in Foley et al. (1995); the sexual activity may have been viewed as an act of love. Alternatively, perhaps participants held notions of White women as being less able to physically defend themselves and Black women supposedly more capable of doing so when in a dangerous situation. Not only does this belief harm Black women, but it also robs White women of agency. The findings from this study also represent beliefs held by Black women about themselves and also contribute to their reluctance to disclose their own sexual assault (Foley et al., 1995). Buddie and Miller (2002) found that the most common rape myth about rape victims is that they are promiscuous, and often dressed provocatively or they are flirtatious. Additionally, these beliefs are often held by White men and women, and Black men (Donavan, 2011). As a result, the more Black rape victims believe that people will attribute these stereotypes to them as a justification for their own sexual assault, the less likely they will be to report the rapes (Mustapha, 2011).

It is crucial to assess the belief structures of people in positions of authority, or professionals who support victims, or are likely to come in contact with rape victims (e.g., police officers, healthcare workers). As mentioned earlier, if people in positions that aid rape victims hold these negative perceptions or beliefs about Black rape victims, they may be less sympathetic toward them, blame them, and while doing so shame them. The

secondary victimization Black rape victims receive from these social service providers or the judicial and legal authority is very problematic and needs to be addressed in the training given to the social service providers.

Limitations

This study was the first known to assess the relationship between endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype and victim blaming of sexual assault survivors. There were two main limitations of the study. The first limitation, and potentially the greatest, was the small number of participants per condition. Not only was the highest group 13, the number of participants per group differed: 13 the highest, 10 the lowest. The second limitation was that the researcher conducting the study was Black. Perhaps if the researcher were not sitting in the room while participants were answering questions on the Jezebel scale, and on questions about the rape victim, the results would have been more significant.

Conclusion

Future studies should examine other forms of rape, such as acquaintance/stranger or even seduction rape, in order to further understand the multiple dynamics that may influence victim blaming based on race and endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype. Studies may also look at whether there are priming effects on endorsement of the stereotype and victim blaming. To be specific, studies may present participants with hypersexual videos of Black and White women before measuring for the stereotype. Lastly, future studies may benefit from measuring the stereotype using statements rather than adjectives. Participants in such a study could respond to a statement like: "typical black women like to use their bodies to get what they want from men."

Power and control are central to understanding rape and more importantly the connection between rape and race. History is pivotal to the understanding of the modern day implications of stereotypes as presented in this study. Stereotypes surrounding rape, race, and gender were prominent in participant's blame attribution in interracial rapes according to the qualitative data, while the quantitative data shows that regardless of the race of the perpetrator, Black women were always blamed more.

Understanding the historical narrative of the Jezebel stereotype and constructions of Black sexuality is crucial to understanding the dynamics between rape and race. In the current study, we see that the Jezebel stereotype, which originated from slavery, continues to affect perceptions of rape victims. Slave women who were raped by their masters were silenced with unfounded racist and sexist stereotypes about their sexuality.

Simultaneously, the silent Black woman—who is continually sexually exploited and never believed—is Alicia, and her name is still Jezebel.

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Appendix A
Methodology

Participants

The participants in this study consisted of 57 undergraduate students in introductory level Psychology and Pan-African studies designated courses at Drew University, a small liberal arts university. Participants in Psychology courses signed up through a Moodle group, in which they voluntarily sign up to participate in a study. Those in Pan-African Studies designated courses signed up via email. Regardless of whether or not they completed the study, all participants received class credit. Approximately 60.7 % of the participants were female while 39.3% were male. Participants ranged from ages 18- 24. Thirty-four participants identified as White, 8 identified as African-American/Black, 5 identified as Hispanic, and 10 identified as other. Participants were selected at random for each level of the independent variable in order to prevent bias.

Materials

Perceptions of Women Scale: A 60-item, 6-point Likert-type questionnaire was adapted from Donovan (2011). The measure included 30 adjectives that were sensitive to gender and racial stereotypes (see Appendix E for questionnaire and Appendix H for list of adjectives utilized). Participants were instructed to circle the number that fits best with their idea of both a typical Black/White woman. The phrase: "Typical Black/White women tend to be," was written at the top of each set of adjectives. Seven of the thirty adjectives were theoretically linked to the Jezebel stereotype and were used in the final analyses (shrewd, sensual, sexual, ostentatious (showy), sexually "easy," pleasure-loving,

and impulsive). While other adjectives were theoretically or empirically linked to other stereotypes such as the Strong Black Woman (SBW), adjectives outside of the Jezebel stereotype served as filler in this study. Reponses to each adjective ranged from 1 (not very) to 6(very); higher scores indicated greater endorsement of each characteristic.

Vignette: The vignette was adapted from Mustapha (2011), which was adapted from an earlier study by Grubb and Harrower (2009). In Grubb and Harrower's (2009) study, three different vignettes were used: seduction, date, and stranger rape. In this study only the date rape scenario was utilized in order to focus statistical analyses on the race of perpetrator and victim in the scenario rather than on the type of rape (although previous studies suggest there are differences by type of rape: Willis, 1992; George & Martinez, 2002). The names of the victim (Alicia) and perpetrator (Vincent) were altered and specifically chosen because they were race-neutral. The races of the victim and perpetrator were systematically varied. Five vignettes were randomly distributed: 1) White victim, White perpetrator; (2) White victim, Black perpetrator; (3) Black victim, Black perpetrator; (4) Black victim, White perpetrator; (5) race of victim and perpetrator not mentioned (see Appendix F for the exact vignette).

Questions Based on Vignette: The questions following the vignette, assessed attributions of perpetrator blame and victim blame. The measures incorporated the various dimensions of cause, blame and responsibility (Calhoun & Townsley, 1991; George & Martinez, 2002). According to Calhoun & Townsley (1991), responsibility incorporates six dimensions: capacity to have acted differently, having a choice, having a degree of selfishness, understanding that the behavior was wrong, foresight of potential

consequences, and intent to cause what happened. Six items were used to assess the victim's culpability, and they incorporate the dimensions of blame, for instance: "How much did Alicia's behavior cause Vincent to engage in sexual activity with her?" The same six items were used to assess the perpetrator's culpability.

The measure also included questions assessing the credibility of the victim's refusal: "How much did Alicia really want to have sex with Vincent?" and "How likely is it that Alicia said "No" so that the man wouldn't think that she was too 'loose' or 'easy'?" In addition, the degree to which participants evaluated the sexual assault as definite rape was measured (Koo, Stephens, Lindgren, & George, 2012). Three open-ended were adapted from Mustapha (2011) in order to provide qualitative responses to the sexual assault. (See Appendix G).

Design

This study utilized a 3 (race of victim in vignette: Black, White, or not specified) x 3(race of perpetrator in Vignette: Black, White, or not specified) x 2 (Jezebel stereotype: endorsed or not) between-subjects experimental design. The first two variables were the independent variables, while the last one was the predicator variable. The dependent variable was level of blame and responsibility attributed to the victim (Alicia) and perpetrator (Vincent) as measured responses to the questionnaire (Appendix G).

Procedure

In accordance with Drew University policy regarding studies involving human participants, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed the current study. Due to the

sensitive nature of the study, the IRB required that participants be reminded that the study was about rape.

The study was run in groups with a maximum of 10 participants per session. Participants were told that the study examined how personal attitudes affects the perception of sexual assault. In accordance with IRB requirements, participants were told that the study included a rape scenario, which may be triggering or uncomfortable, and they were free to leave at any point without penalty. Before handing any information, a sign in sheet was given to all participants in order for them to receive credit. Participants were then given the Informed Consent Form and were given the opportunity to ask any questions they may have had (see Appendix B).

After signing the informed consent form, they were given a package. The first item in the package was a demographics questionnaire in order to find out their race, gender, and political orientation (Appendix D). Participants were told to not flip to another section until they were done with the preceding sections. The second item on the package was the Likert-type scale measuring their endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype (Appendix E). The third item was the rape vignette; of which participants were randomly assigned to one of five vignette conditions (Appendix F). Questions based on the vignette that measured attributions of blame and responsibility followed the rape story. The data was collected anonymously; participants were told not to write their name on any material and ‘DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON ANY QUESTIONNAIRE’ appeared at the top of each item within the package to ensure participant anonymity.

At the conclusion of the study, participants were given a Debriefing Form (Appendix C) describing details of the study. In addition, the form provided more information about sexual assault as well as numbers for Counseling and Psychological Services at Drew University and the Sexual Assault Program at Morristown Medical Center. Participants were thanked for their participation in the study and were given credit.

Appendix B

ATTITUDES AND SEXUAL ASSAULT **CONSENT FORM**

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1. **INTRODUCTION**

You are invited to be a participant in a research study about attitudes about sexual assault. You were selected as a possible participant because you will receive credit towards your introductory-level Psychology course. We ask that you read this document and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study. The study is being conducted by Zainab Sulaiman, a Drew University Psychology Major, under the supervision of Dr. Jill Cermele in the Psychology department.

2. BACKGROUND

The purpose of this study is to examine how personal attitudes affect perceptions of sexual assault. Previous researches suggest that there might be an effect of personal attitudes on perceptions of sexual assault, but the current study will further investigate the issue.

3. DURATION

The length of time you will be involved with this study is 30 minutes maximum.

4. PROCEDURES

If you agree to be in this study, we will ask you to do the following things: After signing this Informed Consent form, you will be given a questionnaire about your personal attitudes. Following the questionnaire you will be given a story of an alleged rape and then you'll be asked your honest opinions about the alleged rape.

In this study you will read a story describing specific details of an alleged rape. Reading this story can be distressing or upsetting to some people. You do not have to answer any or all of the questions. At any point during the study, you may leave and end your participation in the study without any consequence or penalty.

5. RISKS/BENEFITS

This study has the following risks: In this study you will read a story describing specific details of an alleged rape. Reading this story can be distressing or upsetting to some people.

The benefits of participation are: In addition to receiving credits towards your introductory-level psychology course, you will gain experience on how research study is conducted. Other benefits include adding to the literature on the effects of personal attitudes on sexual assault, and receiving information about sexual assault at the conclusion of the study.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Records of the study are confidential kept on a flash drive, and only the research conductor and a faculty advisor will have access to the records of participants. Your name and consent form will be kept separate from the data in a locked file cabinet in the psychology department so no one can know your responses

7. VOLUNTARY NATURE OF THE STUDY

Your decision whether or not to participate in this research will not affect your current or future relations with Drew University. If you decide to participate in this study, you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without affecting those relationships and without penalty.

8. CONTACTS AND QUESTIONS

After the study, you will be debriefed and given a Debriefing form.

The researcher conducting this study is Zainab Sulaiman. You may ask any questions you have right now. If you have questions later, you may contact the researchers at zsulaiman@drew.edu or 973-408-4156.

If you have questions or concerns regarding this study, with respect to content, or the process or manner in which the study was conducted, and would like to speak with someone other than the researcher(s), you may contact Professor Allan Dawson (adawson@drew.edu). Professor Allan is the chair of the Institutional Research Board at Drew University.

9. STATEMENT OF CONSENT

The procedures of this study have been explained to me and my questions have been addressed. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without penalty. If I have any concerns about my experience in this study (e.g., that I was treated unfairly or felt unnecessarily threatened), I may contact the Chair of the Drew Institutional Review Board regarding my concerns.

Participant signature_____
Date_____

Appendix C

ATTITUDES AND SEXUAL ASSAULT **DEBRIEFING FORM**

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1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The study in which you just participated was designed to look at whether endorsing certain sexist stereotypes of women, specifically the Jezebel stereotype, would lead to blaming victims for their own sexual assault. The study hypothesizes that endorsing of the stereotype will result in victim blaming for African American women victims of sexual assault. More specifically, descriptions of interracial rapes will generate more victim blame than interracial rapes.

2. METHODOLOGY

In this study you were asked to take a Perceptions of Women scale, (POWS), which measures beliefs about women—depending on their race—that pertains to their sexuality and personality. Following this you read an alleged rape scenario, and then you answered question about the story. The questions assess whether you believed the assault was assault, and to whom you attributed the most blame.

3. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION RESOURCES

For more information on the topic of this research:

The measures you completed in this study offered a range of attitudes that people might hold about women, both positive and negative. In addition, you read a story in which a woman was raped by the man with whom she was on a date. Regardless of any beliefs any of us might hold about individual women or women as a group, it is critical to know that, as in the story you read, when someone forces another person to engage in sexual activity against his or her will, that is rape, and that is a crime. Regardless of individual characteristics and circumstances, rape is always the fault and responsibility of the perpetrator, and never the fault or responsibility of the victim. For more information about rape, sexual assault, and the resources available, go to:

http://www.rainn.org/
http://www.nsvrc.org/

If you wish to speak to a professional concerning any uncomfortable feelings arising as a result of your participation in this research, or to get more information and resources regarding sexual assault, you can contact Counseling and Psychological Services at Drew University (x**3398**), or the Sexual Assault Program through Morristown Medical Center at **973-829-0587**.

4. CONTACT INFORMATION

If you are interested in learning more about the research being conducted, or the results of the research of which you were a part, please do not hesitate to contact Zainab Sulaiman at zsulaiman@drew.edu or Professor Jill Cermele at jcermele@drew.edu. **Thank you for your help and participation in this study.**

Appendix D
DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON ANY QUESTIONAIRE

Participant Demographics Form
ID NUMBER:

Class:
Age

Please circle ONE (1) of the following:

Gender
Female Male Other

Race/Ethnicity
White African-American/Black Hispanic Other

Political Views
Conservative Liberal Other

What Genre of Music Do You Listen to Most
None *Pop* *Hip-Hop/Rap* *R&B/Soul* *Classical*

Rock *Country* *Other*_____

On Average, How Many Music Videos Do You Watch A Week?
None 1-3 4-6 7-10 10 or more

Which music video channel do you watch the most?
MTV B.E.T VH1 Other (please specify)_____ None

Appendix E

DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON ANY QUESTIONNAIRES

Please circle which number best fits the descriptions mentioned.

We understand that while it me be difficult to respond to some of these questions, we ask that you try to answer them as honestly as you can. Remember, your answers are completely anonymous.

Typical <u>BLACK</u> women tend to be:

1. Intelligent

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

2. Sophisticated

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

3. Passionate

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

4. Sincere

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

5. Shrewd

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

6. Sensual

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

7. Stupid

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

8. Honest

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

9. Tough

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

Typical <u>BLACK</u> women tend to be:

10. Strong

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

11. Kind

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

12. Gentle

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

13. Sexual

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

14. Aggressive

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

15. Senstivtive

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

16. Ostentatious (showy)

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

17. Talkative

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

18. Dominating

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

19. Loud

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

20. Argumentative

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

Typical <u>BLACK</u> women tend to be:

21. Sexually "easy"

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

22. Pleasure-loving

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

23. Career-oriented

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

24. Chaste

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

25. Sensitive

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

26. Pushy

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

27. Educated

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

28. Impulsive

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

29. Rude

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

30. Sincere

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

Typical <u>WHITE</u> women tend to be:

1. Intelligent

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

2. Sophisticated

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

3. Passionate

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

4. Sincere

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

5. Shrewd

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

6. Sensual

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

7. Stupid

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

8. Honest

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

9. Tough

Not Very Very
1 2 3 4 5 6

10. Strong
Not Very Very
1 2 3 4 5 6

11. Kind
Not Very Very
1 2 3 4 5 6

Typical <u>WHITE</u> women tend to be:

12. Gentle
Not Very Very
1 2 3 4 5 6

13. Sexual
Not Very Very
1 2 3 4 5 6

14. Aggressive
Not Very Very
1 2 3 4 5 6

15. Senstivtive
Not Very Very
1 2 3 4 5 6

16. Ostentatious (showy)
Not Very Very
1 2 3 4 5 6

17. Talkative
Not Very Very
1 2 3 4 5 6

18. Dominating
Not Very Very
1 2 3 4 5 6

19. Loud
Not Very Very
1 2 3 4 5 6

20. Argumentative

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

21. Sexually "easy"

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

22. Pleasure-loving

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

Typical <u>WHITE</u> women tend to be:

23. Career-oriented

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

24. Chaste

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

25. Sensitive

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

26. Pushy

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

27. Educated

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

28. Impulsive

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

29. Rude

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

30. Sincere

Not Very					Very
1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix F

DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON ANY QUESTIONNAIRE

Group 1:

Alicia is a 21-year-old White college student. She is of average height and build for her age and enjoys sports and socializing. Alicia was at a friend's party a week ago when she met Vincent, a 22-year-old White student of average height and build from the same university.

Group 2:

Alicia is a 21-year-old White college student. She is of average height and builds for her age and enjoys sports and socializing. Alicia was at a friend's party a week ago when she met Vincent, a 22-year-old Black student of average height and build from the same university.

Group 3:

Alicia is a 21-year-old Black college student. She is of average height and build for her age and enjoys sports and socializing. Alicia was at a friend's party a week ago when she met Vincent, a 22-year-old Black student of average height and build from the same university.

Group 4:

Alicia is a 21-year-old Black college student. She is of average height and build for her age and enjoys sports and socializing. Alicia was at a friend's party a week ago when she met Vincent, a 22-year-old White student of average height and build from the same university.

Group 5:

Alicia is a 21-year-old college student. She is of average height and build for her age and enjoys sports and socializing. Alicia was at a friend's party a week ago when she met Vincent, a 22-year-old student of average height and build from the same university. They hit it off when they discovered that they both had an interest in sports and Alicia told Vincent about her regular jogging.

Story continues as follows:

They hit it off when they discovered that they both had an interest in sports and Alicia told Vincent about her regular jogging. They had chatted throughout the party and Alicia had commented to her friend that she thought Vincent was ''really nice''. At the end of the party, Alicia and Vincent exchanged telephone numbers and then both went home separately. Alicia did not hear from Vincent for a few days, but then on the Friday she received a phone call from Vincent asking her out on a date the next evening. Alicia accepted eagerly and Vincent arranged to pick Alicia up at 7 p.m. on the Saturday night. The next day, Vincent arrived to pick Alicia up and they drove to the cinema where they watched a film they had both wanted to see. After the film, Vincent suggested that they go for a drink in a nearby pub and that he would drop her home afterwards. They sat and chatted in the pub for about an hour and when it was closing time, Vincent suggested that they go back to his house for a coffee and promised that he would drive Alicia home afterwards. Alicia agreed and Vincent drove them to his house. When they got there, Vincent and Alicia sat on the sofa watching the television. Vincent then began kissing

Alicia and touching her breasts. To begin with Alicia kissed back, until Vincent started kissing her harder and groping her breasts so that they hurt. At this point, Alicia told Vincent to stop and that she wanted to leave, but Vincent became angry and slapped her across the face. He then pinned her arms down and got on top of her. Alicia constantly begged Vincent to stop, but he yanked down her pants and underwear and proceeded to have sex with her. When he had finished, Vincent stood up and went into the kitchen and Alicia ran out of the house.

Appendix G

Questions Based on Scenario

DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON ANY QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer the following questions based on the story you read. We understand that while it me be difficult to respond to some of these questions, we ask that you try to answer them as honestly as you can. Remember, your answers are completely anonymous.

1. To what extent do you think it was unusual for Vincent to get into this type of situation?

   Not at all Very much

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2. To what extent do you think that Vincent is basically a good person who got into a bad situation

   Not at all Very much

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3. What is the likelihood that Vincent will behave similarly with another woman?

   Not at all Very much

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

4. How capable was Alicia of changing what happened in the story you read?

   Not at all Very capable

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

5. How much did Alicia's behavior cause Vincent to engage in sexual activity with her?

   Not at all Very much

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

6. How much was it the Alicia's fault that Vincent engaged in sexual activity with her?

   Not at all Very much

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

7. How capable was Vincent of changing what happened in the story you read?

   Not at all Very capable

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

8. How much did Vincent know that he was pressuring Alicia to engage in sexual activity?

   Not at all Very much

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

9. How much was it Vincent's fault that he engaged in sexual activity with Alicia?

Not at all Very much

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

In your opinion, to what extent did each person cause the outcome of the story you read?

10. Alicia

Not at all Very much

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

11. Vincent

Not at all Very much

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

How responsible was each person for what happened in the story you read?

12. Alicia

Not at all Very much

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13. Vincent

Not at all Very much

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

14. How much did Alicia really want to have sex with Vincent?

Not at all Very much

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

15. How likely is it that Alicia said "No" so that the man wouldn't think that she was too "loose" or "easy"?

Very unlikely Very likely

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

16. How much did Vincent believe Alicia's protests?

Not at all Very much

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

17. How believable was Alicia's refusal?

Not at all credible very credible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

18. To what extent were Vincent's actions justified based on the Alicia's behavior?

Not at all Very much

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

19. To what extent would you describe Vincent's behavior toward Alicia as rape?

Definitely not rape Definitely rape

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Please circle one response to each of the following questions. Your honest feedback and responses, whatever they may be, are helpful to the researcher. Remember, your answers are completely anonymous.

Could Vincent have avoided or prevented the incident?
Yes No I don't know

Was aspects led you to believe this?
_____
_____
_____
_____

Could Alicia have avoided or prevented the incident?
Yes No I don't know

Was aspects led you to believe this?
_____
_____
_____
_____

Was Alicia raped by Vincent?
Yes No I don't know

Was aspects led you to believe this?
_____
_____
_____
_____