



Plenary Session

**Partner Abuse in the Black Community: Culturally Specific
Prevention and Treatment Models**

**Partner Abuse in the Black Community:
Culturally Specific Prevention and Treatment Models
Introduction**

Dr. Oliver J. Williams

Prevention and intervention strategies that have been designed to reduce the problem of partner abuse have not been shaped around the diverse and unique experiences of African American service recipients. As compared to other racial or cultural groups, African American men and women have had unique experiences in receiving domestic violence services. Although conventional methods have been helpful to some, more African American women and men would be better served if models to end violence against women were designed around their contextual realities. Indeed, race, social class, and cultural contexts are essential elements to consider when African American women and men are involved in violent situations.

African American Women

In 1985, the number one killer of African American females ages 15 to 34 was homicide at the hands of an intimate partner or ex-partner (Sullivan and Rumptz, 1994). Many studies note that African Americans are twice as likely to be involved in domestic partner abuse than other racial or cultural groups. In addition, African American women are more likely to experience the most severe violence, as compared to other groups. The risk of abuse is even greater for low-income and poorly educated African American women.

Social Context of African American Battered Women

Moss, Rogers, Campbell, and Halstead (1997) note that women of various ethnic groups have similar experiences with leaving domestic violence relationships; but, there are critical differences that exist between White women and African American women. The researchers concluded that for African American women, leaving is a culture-bound experience. Richie (1996) and Asbury (1987) explain that African American women may be encouraged by their families, the abuser, and/or the community to suppress their feelings, experiences, and reactions regarding various forms of abuse. Consequently, victims may find themselves hating the abuse but supporting the abuser. Brice-Baker (1994) suggests that victims may suffer problems with self-esteem, thinking they deserve the abuse. Furthermore, poverty is a major barrier for many African American battered women because it reduces their options for leaving, decreases their capacity to respond to the needs of their children, and increases their needs for an array of services (Sullivan and Rumptz, 1994).

In her study comparing African American and White women in domestic violence situations, Janice Joseph (1995) found that the major difference between the two groups was their response to violence. The study found that Black women, as compared to White women, are more likely to fight back, tolerate the abuse longer, leave abusive men and return to them, and more reluctant to utilize domestic violence and other social services.

African American Women and Shelter Services

Although many African American women are protected and supported through shelter services, many struggle in mainstream programs. Brice-Baker (1994) notes that African American women face barriers to treatment for domestic violence due to institutionalized racism. Donnelly, Cook, and Wilson (1995) wrote a paper, "The Politics of Exclusion and Services to Battered Women in the Deep South," that addresses this issue. They noted that due to limited resources, those who are in control of resources begin to exclude different groups' access by defining some as worthy and others as unworthy and not needing resources. Marginal groups tended to include women of color, older women, women with multiple problems, middle class women, and lesbians.

Social Services and African American Men Who Batter

Men who batter often share common personality traits such as the need to control, poor conflict resolution skills, and low frustration tolerance. There is evidence to suggest that if a man who batters completes treatment, he is at lower risk for re-abusing his partner. However, African American men tend to drop out of treatment sooner and complete treatment at lower rates than their White counterparts (Tolman and Bennett, 1990). Notwithstanding this finding, there is little information available about how African American men who batter differ from batterers of other ethnic groups. The literature that does exist stresses the importance of culturally congruent treatment environments because treatment goals, expectations, and needs differ for African Americans (Williams, 1994, 1995). Literature on maladaptive behaviors and African American men, though not specifically focused on behaviors toward women, may provide some insight into the causes of and solutions to male violence toward women (Williams, 1998).

As with African American women, homicide is the leading cause of death among African American men ages 15 to 34; Black males also have high rates of acquaintance violence and suicide (Wilson, 1991; Oliver, 1994; Stone and Rich, 1996; Williams, 1998). Social structural oppression and high-stress community environments are just some of the explanations for what results in violent behavior among some African American men (Taylor-Gibbs, 1988; Oliver, 1994; Stone and Rich, 1996). These very same conditions that result in male-to-male violence can also result in male violence against women (Taylor-Gibbs, 1988; Williams, 1998). Still, these precursors to violence fail to explain the actual phenomena of violence against women, interpersonal violence, or the maladaptive behaviors of some African American men. Williams (1998) suggests that the answers may lie in a blending of conventional wisdom in the field of domestic violence with the insights of African American scholars who examine the circumstances and maladaptive behaviors of African American men, as well as scholars and practitioners who work with this particular population.

During the *Partner Abuse in the Black Community* session, the issues that influence the realities of African American batterers and victims were discussed, as was the connection between these realities and violence. Strategies and recommendations concerning prevention and intervention for domestic violence among African Americans were also advanced.

References

- Asbury, J. E. (1987). African-American women in violent relationships: An exploration of cultural differences. In R. L. Hampton (Ed.), *Violence in the Black family: Correlates and consequences* (pp. 89-105). Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Brice-Baker, J. R. (1994). Domestic violence in African-American and African-Caribbean families. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless*, 3 (1), 23-38.
- Donnelly, Cook, & Wilson, (1995). The politics of exclusion domestic violence services in the deep south. Paper presented at the Summer Research Institute on Family Violence, University of New Hampshire.
- Joseph, J. (1995). *Black youths, delinquency, and juvenile justice*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Moss, Z. A., Pitula, C. R., Campbell, J.C., & Halstead, L. (1997). The experience of terminating an abusive relationship from an Anglo and African American perspective: A qualitative study. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, 18 (5), 433-454.
- Oliver, W. (1994). *The violent social world of Black men*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Rich, J. A. & Stone, D. A. (1996). The experience of violent injury for young African American men: The meaning of being a sucker. *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, 11, 77-82.
- Richie, B. E. (1996). *Compelled to crime: The gender entrapment of battered Black women*. New York: Routledge Press.
- Sullivan, C. M., & Rumptz, M. H. (1994). Adjustment and needs of African-American women who utilized a domestic violence shelter. *Violence and Victims*, 9 (3), 275-286.
- Taylor-Gibbs, J. (1988). *Young, Black, and male: An endangered species*. Dove, MA: Auburn.
- Tolman, R. T & Bennett, L. (1990). A review of quantitative research on men who batter. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 5 (1), 87-118.
- Williams, O. J. (1994). Group work with African American men who batter: Toward more ethnically sensitive practice. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 25, 91-103.
- Williams, O. J. & Becker, L. R. (1994). Domestic partner abuse treatment programs and cultural competence: The results of a national study. *Violence and Victims*, 9 (3), 287-296.
- Williams, O. J. (1995). Treatment for African American men who batter. *CURA Reporter*, 25 (3), 6-10.

Williams, O. J. (1998) African American men who batter: Treatment considerations and community response. In R. Staples (Ed.), *Black families: Essays, short stories and research*. Wadsworth Press.

Wilson, A. N. (1991). *Understanding Black adolescent male violence: Its remediation and prevention*. Bronx, NY: Afrikan World Infosystems.

Domestic Violence in Cultural Context: A Brief Discussion

Presenter:

Radhia A. Jaaber, MA, LPA

Psychologist/Co-founder

The Empowerment Project, Inc.

Alexandria, VA

Cultural issues that impact domestic violence interventions are usually not addressed in the training of domestic violence service providers. It is believed that conventional methods and techniques, adopted from the dominant European American culture, are applicable to all people, regardless of their cultural, racial, ethnic, or socioeconomic backgrounds. The various undergraduate and graduate school education curricula require that very little be taught about issues of domestic violence. Even less is taught about the impact of culture on domestic violence and the beliefs of men who abuse and violate women. Men and women in grassroots organizations designed to foster a climate that works to make personal and community life safer for women and children have even failed to focus on understanding and developing intervention efforts that take into account the variety of ways that cultural realities impact domestic violence.

Indeed, it is important to consider the coordinated community response and the impact of its interventions on different cultures. One strategy for community intervention in domestic violence is developing programs for abusive men. These intervention programs are usually structured for groups and are offered in lieu of prison terms. Group interventions vary in the type of models and approaches offered, as there is no standard method of providing intervention for men who are violent. The absence of a standard intervention approach would suggest that intervention is tailored to meet the needs of diverse populations. However, many communities with populations diverse in culture, race, and ethnicity do not offer culture-specific group intervention programs. Service providers have failed to recognize that there exists a relationship between culture, race, ethnicity, and domestic violence. It is imperative that this relationship be examined so that solutions can be formulated.

Examining Cultural Realities

People relate to each other based on personal, gender, and group identities. One's self perception is directly related to his/her experiences. Race is a central theme for most. For many people of color, race is also an identifying factor, based primarily on how they have been socialized within the context of a color-conscious society. Cultural socialization is closely related to race, gender, class, and ethnicity. As intervenors work with and assess men and women in domestic violence situations, it is important that they are aware of the different cultural variables that are interwoven in the experiences of those for whom they provide interventions. As people of color—Asian Americans, Indigenous Americans [Indians], Latinos/Hispanics, and African Americans—are

exposed to different cultures through work and other social structures, their cultural perceptions take on another form.

This newer form does not necessarily conflict with their original socialized culture, but a change does occur. Their identities through language, dress, social patterns, spirituality, marriage, etc., still exist within the larger culture. Individuals embrace mainstream culture to secure acceptance and identity for themselves. Most will conform to whatever rules—unwritten or otherwise—that govern the mainstream culture. Still, these individuals strive to maintain their cultural identities on some level.

If counselors are engaging in a change process for both men and women in domestic violence situations, the process has to provide cultural dynamics that mirror their experiences. Only those interventions that take into account the peoples' cultural dynamics will effectively engage them in the intervention process. For example, programs for people of African descent must emphasize empowerment because of the unique historical presence of African Americans in this country. Statistics of a study conducted in 1977, documented in the book entitled, *Counseling the Culturally Different*, indicate that Blacks terminated counseling at a rate of approximately 50 percent after the first interview. Even in court-mandated programs for male offenders, the attrition rate among Black men is quite high. People have to be provided with a frame of reference that reflects their lifestyles. All situations presented are defined and interpreted within the cultural patterns, beliefs, and community-defined standards to which these populations must adapt.

Counselors can assume that many people coming from communities of color will have issues with trust, especially as it relates to the dominant culture and services provided by “the system.” The vast majority of people of color involved in receiving services respond to the dominant culture’s therapeutic values and practices with suspicion. They usually are not open to providing a counselor with information if they don’t value their expertise or profession. There is also a level of “ritualized accommodation” that exists among people of color, as they look at the dominant culture’s counseling practices as an extension of the continuum of cultural dominance. What they will actually provide intervenors with are therapeutically acceptable, routine responses and behaviors.

Challenging a Culture of Male Violence

Among the challenges of working with abusive men is facing resistance from someone who doesn’t trust “where you are coming from.” These men may also realize that intervenors don’t know much about them culturally, racially, or ethnically. Many counselors facilitating groups for men who batter have been trained to use a variety of techniques, skills, and teaching methods that examine and challenge men's use of violence, abuse, control, and choices for change to engage them in a group process. But, there are very few counselors who facilitate groups for men who batter that can challenge men from different cultures with the same quality of experience. Working with men of color is especially challenging given the underlying cultural issues. It is not surprising

that men who have been violent share many common beliefs concerning themselves and their relationships with women. The men in the group may be from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds and still share a common culture-male supremacy. These common cultural beliefs help to support a male culture of dominance, violence, and oppression and a belief in male supremacy that supports the violation of women. The part of any culture that supports and reinforces violence, abuse, and control of women must be challenged. Many men will maintain that their cultures or traditions allow them to treat women in a certain manner. In fact, it is commonplace for individuals to rely on that part of their culture or community that supports their behaviors. In reality, many cultures carry traditions, norms, and mores that condone, collude with, and encourage male violence. However, the same cultures support and regard the human rights and integrity of their individuals, which include women. The difficult and often most challenging part for counselors is disputing the contradictions in cultures that allow violence against women to take place while confronting the personal choice that each man has made to be violent.

Each time a counselor facilitates a process that challenges a man to change his behavior, the culture that he identifies with is challenged as well. For many of the men in groups, their personal, gender, social, cultural, and institutional (including religion) framework concerning who they are as men and how they have constructed their idea of masculinity is also challenged. Consequently, the men will minimize their personal choices of using violence by using other cultural practices to defend their rights and beliefs. Each step made toward change is difficult for the men in the group and a struggle for the counselors. One of the objectives and roles of the facilitator is to create a group environment that helps men examine their behaviors and look at possible ways to change those behaviors and to get the men to think about their behaviors and how their beliefs reinforce negative consequences. The process of change becomes most difficult when facilitators are not skilled in engaging and challenging different men from different perspectives concerning their common cultural beliefs about men and women and their use of violence.

It would make the work of facilitators much simpler if they could just facilitate groups the same way for all abusers. After all, aren't they all there because they are violent in some way to the women in their lives? The answer is yes. However, many of them, while sharing common beliefs about themselves as men, will interpret and express their particular behaviors in different ways. As counselors increasingly challenge what a man believes, they will also be challenging his truth—much of which is based on culture. And even though he may share similar beliefs with the other men in the group concerning his masculinity, women, and family, he will have a particular way of expressing his beliefs through language and other methods. Each man's expression of his beliefs will be filtered through those cultural prisms that permit him to be violent.

Conclusion

There are no easy ways to learn about all of the cultures that may be represented in a group. That does not mean that counselors providing intervention for violent men aren't charged with the task of identifying those cultures and bringing together the best

possible intervention. When defining the objectives of providing group intervention for violent men, most programs establish a goal of keeping the groups focused on violence, abuse, control, and change. Providing safety for the victims of abuse is an equally important objective for most programs. Keeping a group focused on those goals means getting the men in the group to accept responsibility for their abusive behaviors. Acknowledging those behaviors and accepting responsibility also means changing long-held beliefs about who they are as men and the privileges they have because of their gender. For facilitators, it means challenging who the men are, what definitions they have of themselves, and what it means to change. It also means that facilitators must expand group skills by understanding the impact that culture has on the lives of the men participating in the groups. Facilitators' commitment to learning about the social, cultural, and political realities of the men with whom they intervene means they are making a commitment to hold the men accountable. They do this by challenging the mixture of cultural realities men bring into the group that keep them believing in the justifications for their violent behaviors. The group culture should be one that challenges a man's personal, socio-cultural, and institutional worldview. It should be one that can help him to examine his cultural practices and still challenge his belief about who he is and what the purpose of a woman is in his life.

References

- Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (1981). *Counseling the culturally different: Theory & practice*. John Wiley & Sons Publishing.
- Williams, O. (1992). Ethnically sensitive practice to enhance treatment participation of African-American men who batter. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services*, 589.

The Connection between Historical Images of Black Women and Domestic Violence

Presenter:

Carolyn M. West, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
University of Washington, Tacoma
Liberal Studies Program
Tacoma, WA

Introduction

The media has consistently portrayed Black women in some combination of three distinct images: highly maternal, family-oriented, self-sacrificing Mammies; threatening, argumentative Sapphires; and seductive, sexually irresponsible, promiscuous Jezebels. On one level these stereotypes appear to be accurate. Black women have historically worked as domestic servants (Mammy), been strong and assertive (Sapphire), and been forced into sexual servitude (Jezebel). It is this kernel of truth that makes these images so insidious and believable. Closer scrutiny reveals that Black women were placed in these roles due to structural inequalities, such as racism, sexism, and poverty. Moreover, these images represent caricatures of positive attributes, including nurturing and assertiveness, that have contributed to the survival of Black women and their community (Collins, 1990; Jewell, 1993; West, 1995).

The power of these images cannot be underestimated. Conflict can result when Black couples internalize negative images of the opposite sex—for example, the belief that Black men are lazy and shiftless, and Black women are matriarchal and domineering (Jewell, 1993). Even nonviolent images of sexually subordinate women in rap music videos have been shown to increase acceptance of dating violence among Black adolescents (Johnson, 1995). Although Black women have actively worked to resist these images, aspects of one or several of them may be internalized, which, in turn, may influence a victim's perception of her abuse (Brice-Baker, 1994; Peterson-Lewis, Turner, & Adams, 1988; Wilson, 1993; West, 1998). Moreover, these images can potentially influence the behavior of service providers. Specifically, intervention efforts may be considered futile if professionals view Black women as strong enough to handle domestic abuse without assistance or if they perceive Black women as mutual combatants.

The purpose of this paper is to:

- a. Discuss three representations—Mammy, Sapphire, and Jezebel—that potentially influence Black women’s perceptions of domestic violence;
- b. Identify how these images influence victims and service providers; and
- c. Discuss ways this information can be used to develop culturally appropriate prevention and treatment programs.

Mammy

The Mammy image originated in the South during slavery. Physically, Mammy was depicted as an asexual, bandanna-clad, obese, dark-complexioned, older woman with large breasts and a broad grin. Her primary role was that of a subordinate, self-sacrificing, domestic servant who happily performed her duties with no expectation of financial compensation (Collins, 1990).

This image, which contradicts White beauty standards, may contribute to Black women’s pain and shame surrounding physical features such as skin color, hair texture, and weight (West, 1995). Batterers may target these sensitive topics when verbally abusing their partners, for example, calling them “Black and ugly,” “nappy-haired,” or “fat.” Negative media images coupled with this verbal abuse may leave Black women feeling unattractive. The Black male-to-female gender imbalance further exacerbates this concern. Consequently, battered Black women may experience low self-esteem and perceive few options to leaving their abusive situations (Peterson-Lewis, Turner, & Adams, 1988; White, 1994). This ideology is demonstrated by such statements as: “The chance of my remarrying or finding someone who will be able to take care of me and my kids are almost nil. I’d better stay with the father of these children” (Wyatt, 1994, p. 15).

The Mammy image may contribute to role strain or the expectation that Black women can effortlessly fulfill multiple roles without having their personal needs met (West, 1995). For battered Black women, one role may include becoming the “mule of the world” (Hurston, 1969), which means that they are expected to endure the frustration and abuse that Black men are unable to express in the larger society. Women in this role may exhibit tremendous loyalty toward abusive partners. They may feel pressured to tolerate abuse rather than report their partners to an overcrowded, discriminatory criminal justice system (Richie, 1996).

In addition, the Mammy image may also influence how community members respond to Black battered women. Church members or community leaders are often sensitive to negative media images, such as Black families headed by single mothers. Consequently, victims may be encouraged to keep the family together, even if they must deny abuse or sacrifice their safety. Service providers are affected by this image as well. Professionals may rationalize that Black women are accustomed to adversity. Consequently, service providers overestimate the victim’s ability to cope with abuse.

Mammy Image	
Implications for Psychological Functioning	Implications for Domestic Violence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Negative feelings about physical features (e.g., skin color, hair texture, weight) ▪ Role strain 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Low self-esteem ▪ Belief that physical appearance limits options for future relationships ▪ Loyalty to partner ▪ Denial of battering ▪ Decision to leave abusive relationship not supported ▪ Women's ability to cope is overestimated

Sapphire

Sapphire was portrayed in the 1940s and 1950s *Amos and Andy* television show as Kingfish's bitter, hostile, shrewish wife. Historically, Black women's anger has been perceived as dangerous, threatening, and a challenge to patriarchy. This image was socially constructed to make Black women's anger appear humorous. Sapphire also was depicted as:

...a man in drag, as castrating bitch, as someone to be lied to, someone to be tricked, someone the White and Black audience could hate...scapegoated on all sides (hooks, 1992, p. 120).

When Black women are depicted as Sapphires, batterers perceive violence as an appropriate punishment for "emasculating" behavior. According to Shahrazad Ali "...when she crosses this line and becomes viciously insulting, it is time for the Blackman to *soundly slap her in the mouth...soon she will be trained* and curb her vicious tongue when talking to him" (as cited in Gordon & Owens, 1990, p. 7). Victims may also internalize this image. In an effort to control the abuse, some women attempt to distance themselves from the Sapphire image by becoming less assertive or supporting male dominance. This can lead to self-blame or the false illusion of control over the violence (Brice-Baker, 1994). Other women embrace this image of toughness, as illustrated by such statements as: "Nobody thinks I'm really hurt or scared. I can take it. My mother did" (Wyatt, 1994, p. 15). As a result, victims can underestimate the extent of the abuse and their need for protection, emotional support, or medical attention (Peterson-Lewis, Turner, & Adams, 1988).

Additionally, service providers may be less likely to intervene if they characterize Black women as mutual combatants, dangerous, or violent. Ammons (1995) concluded that images of Black women as "either very strong or somehow inherently bad, but never weak or passive" has contributed to battered women receiving less help from the criminal justice system. Richie (1996) interviewed a Black woman who was:

...told to act like a little White girl...to look sad, to try to cry, to never look the jury in the eye. It didn't really work for me because the judge took one

look at me and said, “You look pretty mean; I bet you could really hurt a man” (p. 119).

Mental health and medical personnel may express similar attitudes. As a result, these service providers may overlook domestic violence or use inappropriate treatment interventions (Ammons, 1995; White, 1994). For example, they may not question Black battered women about injuries.

Sapphire Image	
Implications for Psychological Functioning	Implications for Domestic Violence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Influences how Black women’s anger is expressed and perceived by society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Emasculating” behavior deserves abuse ▪ Gives illusion of control over abuse ▪ Self-blame ▪ Underestimated extent of abuse ▪ Professionals underestimate need for assistance

Jezebel

White slave owners used rape, forced breeding, and the sale of Black children to exercise almost complete control over Black women’s sexuality and reproductive activity. The construction of the sexually promiscuous Jezebel image is one sexual stereotype that justified this sexual exploitation (Collins, 1990). Over a century after emancipation, the Black woman continues to be “viewed as a legitimate (culturally approved) victim of sexual assault” (Williams, 1986, p. 9). For example, it is still believed that Black women cannot be raped because they aggressively seek sexual contact and provoke rape due to their “moral looseness” (Williams, 1986).

The Jezebel image has implications for how sexual victimization is experienced by Black women (Wilson, 1993; Wyatt, 1997). Marital rape may be minimized when victims attempt to conform to these sexual stereotypes (e.g., Black women are always willing sexual partners; Black women are seductive). Conversely, other victims may be reluctant to report marital rape because they fear reinforcing the myth that Black women are Jezebels and Black men are rapists.

Community members and professionals can internalize this image as well. They may believe that Black women “bring the abuse on themselves by getting men all riled up and/or soliciting the attention of men who are not their husbands, and this invokes his jealous rage” (Brice-Baker, 1994, p. 29). Such misconceptions contribute to victim blaming.

Jezebel Image	
<p>Implications for Psychological Functioning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contributes to sexual stereotypes 	<p>Implications for Domestic Violence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Marital rape may be minimized ▪ Fear reporting marital rape will reinforce Jezebel image and Black male rapist stereotype ▪ Victim blaming

Suggestions for Prevention and Treatment

1. **Take an “oppositional gaze” toward the images of African Americans** (hooks, 1992). As a community, African Americans need to know the history behind negative images of both Black women and men. African Americans also need to be aware of the subtle ways in which these stereotypes are internalized and perpetuated. This knowledge will enable African Americans to construct more positive images.
2. **Lifting the “political gag order”** (Crenshaw, 1994). Some members of the Black community have imposed a “political gag order” concerning battering. Specifically, they fear that research findings will be misinterpreted or used to reinforce negative societal stereotypes about African Americans. Researchers, practitioners, and activists should educate the Black community about how negative images fuel misconceptions of intimate partner abuse, including child sexual abuse, domestic violence, and marital rape. This will reduce victim blaming, which will, hopefully, enable battered women to reveal their abuse (West, 1998).
3. **The African American woman and the Battered Woman Syndrome.** Professionals need to become more educated about how perceptions of Black battered women influence the services they provide. This can be done in several ways. For example, in court proceedings, legal advocates may need to challenge the assumption that domestic violence is less serious among Blacks because they are inherently violent. Additionally, a Black female defendant may need additional expert testimony to explain why she exhibits certain cultural behaviors, such as assertiveness, but is still trapped in a violent relationship (Ammons, 1995). Although Black women may appear resilient, medical and mental health professionals should conduct more thorough assessments of domestic violence. For instance, they should explore the origins of injuries or depression.
4. **Make the Survivor the Expert.** Researchers and practitioners need to listen to the voices of victims. Ultimately, these survivors can best articulate how these images shape their perceptions of domestic violence.

References

Ammons, L. L. (1995). Mules, Madonnas, babies, bathwater, racial imagery and stereotypes: The African-American woman and the battered woman syndrome. *Wisconsin Law Review*, 1003-1080.

Brice-Baker, J. R. (1994). Domestic violence in African-American and African-Caribbean families. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless*, 3 (1), 23-38.

Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Cambridge, MA: Unwin Hyman, Inc.

Crenshaw, K. W. (1994). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. In M. A. Fineman and R. Mykitiuk (Eds.), *The public nature of private violence: The discovery of domestic abuse* (pp. 93-117). New York: Routledge.

Gordon, V. V., & Owens, L. S. (1990). A critical review and response. In H.R. Madhubuti (Ed.), *Confusion by any other name: Essays exploring the negative impact of the Blackman's guide to understanding the Blackwoman* (pp. 6-10). Chicago: Third World Press.

hooks, b. (1992). *Black looks: Race and representation*. Boston: South End Press.

Hurston, Z. (1969). *Their eyes were watching God*. Greenwich, CT: Routledge.

Jewell, K. S. (1993). *From Mammy to Miss America and beyond: Cultural images and the shaping of U.S. social policy*. New York: Routledge.

Johnson, J. D. (1995). Differential gender effects of exposure to rap music on African American adolescents' acceptance of teen dating violence. *Sex Roles*, 33 (7/8), 597-605.

Peterson-Lewis, S., Turner, C. W., & Adams, A. M. (1988). Attribution processes in repeatedly abused women. In G. W. Russell (Ed.), *Violence in intimate relationships* (pp. 107-131). New York: PMA Publishing Corp.

Rasche, C. E. (1988). Minority women and domestic violence: The unique dilemmas of battered women of color. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 4, 150-171.

Richie, B. E. (1996). *Compelled to crime: The gender entrapment of battered black women*. New York: Routledge.

West, C. M. (1995). Mammy, Sapphire, and Jezebel: Historical images of Black women and their implications for psychotherapy. *Psychotherapy*, 32 (3), 458-466.

West, C. M. (1998). Lifting the "political gag order": Breaking the silence around partner violence in ethnic minority families. In J. L. Jasinski, and L. M. Williams (Eds.), *Partner violence: A comprehensive review of 20 years of research* (pp. 184-209). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

White, E. C., (1994). *Chain, chain, change: For Black women in abusive relationships*. Seattle: Seal Press.

Wilson, M. (1993). *Crossing the boundary: Black women survive incest*. Seattle: Seal Press.

Williams, L. M. (1986). *Race and rape: The Black woman as a legitimate victim*. Unpublished Paper, Family Research Lab, University of New Hampshire, Durham.

Wyatt, G. E. (1994). Sociocultural and epidemiological issues in the assessment of domestic violence. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless*, 3 (1), 7-21.

Wyatt, G. E. (1997). *Stolen women: Reclaiming our sexuality, taking back our lives*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.