

**Sapphires and Superwomen: The Role of  
Ambivalent Sexism, Religiosity, and Internalized  
Racism on Perceptions of Intimate Partner Violence**

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## ABSTRACT

This study was conducted with the aim of exploring a previously understudied role of internalized racism and Black female Stereotypes (the Sapphire and Superwoman) in encouraging the perpetuation of intimate partner violence (IPV) within the African community, in addition to more well-known factors such as ambivalent sexism and religiosity. Currently, it is the first experimental study into the hypothesis that internalized racism and endorsement of Black female stereotypes are not only strongly positively correlated with violence, but also act as significant positive predictors of individual attitudes towards Intimate Partner Violence alongside hostile sexism and religiosity. It was also hypothesized that there would be gender differences between scores, as male participants would score higher on the more overtly antagonistic measures (hostile sexism and Sapphire stereotype endorsement) while female participants would score higher on subjectively benign measures (benevolent sexism and Superwoman stereotype endorsement). The findings revealed that, while these hypotheses were largely supported by the results – with internalized racism being the strongest predictor of IPV attitudes amongst both genders – religiosity was unexpectedly found to be a negative predictor of IPV, especially in women. These results are discussed further in the literature.

**Keywords:** Ambivalent Sexism, Stereotype, Sapphire, Superwoman, African, Intimate Partner Violence, Islam, Christianity, Religiosity

## ÖZ

Bu çalışma, daha çok bilinen kararsız cinsiyetçilik ve dindarlık gibi faktörlere ek olarak, Afrika topluluğu içinde yakın partner şiddetinin (IPV) sürdürülmesini teşvik etmede içselleştirilmiş ırkçılığın ve siyahi kadın stereotiplerinin (Safir ve Süper Kadın) rollerini araştırmak amacıyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu çalışma, içselleştirilmiş ırkçılığın ve siyahi kadın stereotiplerinin onaylanmasının, şiddet ile pozitif yönde ilişkili olacağını öne sürmekte, bu faktörlere ek olarak düşmanca cinsiyetçilik ve dindarlığın da yakın partner şiddetine yönelik bireysel tutumlar üzerinde önemli pozitif yordayıcılar olacağını inceleyen ilk deneysel çalışmadır. Ayrıca, skorlar arasında cinsiyet farklılıkları olacağı öne sürülmüş olup, erkek katılımcıların düşmanca ölçeklerde (düşmanca cinsiyetçilik ve Safir stereotip onayı) daha yüksek puan alacağı, kadın katılımcıların ise öznel olarak iyimser ölçeklerde (korumacı cinsiyetçilik ve Süperkadın stereotip onayı) daha yüksek skor alacağı hipotezi öne sürülmüştür. Bulgular, hipotezlerin büyük ölçüde desteklendiğini göstermesine rağmen- her iki cinsiyet için de içselleştirilmiş ırkçılığın yakın partner şiddeti tutumlarının en güçlü yordayıcısı, dindarlığın da beklenmedik bir şekilde, özellikle kadınlarda yakın partner şiddeti tutumlarının olumsuz bir yordayıcısı olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Sonuçlar literatürde daha ayrıntılı olarak tartışılmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kararsız Cinsiyetçilik, Stereotip, Safir, Süper Kadın, Afrikalı, Yakın Partner Şiddeti, İslam, Hristiyanlık, Dindarlık

# **DEDICATION**

To my beloved family who have supported me all the way.

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# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is a common occurrence worldwide. Therefore, this study aims to shed light on a previously understudied aspect of IPV within the African community. Namely, the automatic stereotypical perception of Black women in the public eye, and how certain common stereotypes – in addition to the extremely salient variables of Ambivalent sexism, Religion, and internalized racism – work to diminish and dehumanize and subsequently harm young African women. In order to do this, it is first necessary to define these stereotypes, where they originate from, and their role in IPV perpetuation/victimization.

### 1.1 Black Female Stereotypes

Racial stereotypes may be defined as a cognitive structure consisting of knowledge, beliefs, and expectations about certain racial groups, and these associations – which may be positive or negative – go on to impact the holder's views on, and interactions with, members of that group (Pauker et al., 2010). Throughout history women and those with dark skin have been the victims of objectification, stigmatization, and general mistreatment, and where racial prejudice meets with sexism is where we find the issue of misogynoir. Reportedly coined online in 2008 by Bailey and Trudy (2018), misogynoir refers to the specific forms of co-constitutive, racist, and anti-Black sexism enacted against Black women, which impacts their lives on multiple levels from a personal to an institutional level. The term was meant to denote the damaging inter/intra-racial treatment of Black women, from the dismissal

of their experiences and erasure of their contributions, to the rampant objectification of their bodies (Bailey, 2016; Bailey & Trudy, 2018).

Over the decades, media has perpetuated the categorization of Black women into several stereotypes, with the classic identities – stemming from slavery and Jim Crow era segregation laws – being the Mammy, Aunt Jemima, the Jezebel, and the Sapphire, while the more contemporary categories include the Welfare Queen, the Matriarch, the Angry Black Woman (a variant of the Sapphire), the Thot, and the Superwoman (Bond et al., 2021). This thesis will focus on two labels taken from the two eras of Black female perception: the Sapphire and the Superwoman. These stereotypes were selected for several reasons, but primarily due to their popularity and seemingly contrasting schemas which are known to exert great influence on the Black women’s physical health, interpersonal relationships, and emotional wellbeing (Amuchie, 2016; Eck, 2018; Woods-Giscombe, 2010).

The notion of the Sapphire was inspired by a character of the same name from the popular American radio show *Amos and Andy* which ran between 1928 to 1960 and was initially performed by a mostly White cast until the 1950s when it was adapted for television. The program followed the adventures of two Black men attempting to establish themselves in Chicago, joined by a cast of various characters, one of which was the scheming con-man George ‘Kingfish’ Stevens and his put-upon wife, Sapphire. This caricature of Black femininity may be viewed as the antithesis of the ‘good-natured’ Aunt Jemima, the servile Mammy, and even the traditionally feminine standards applied to upper-class White women. In media, the Sapphire was depicted as a full-figured, darker-skinned woman with an aggressive, tempestuous, scornful, and ‘bitchy’ personality. She existed to unreservedly challenge and emasculate the Black men around her, relying on frequent and animated bouts of verbal abuse to

achieve her goals. Despite this, the Sapphire was either viewed as a comical figure whose anger – justified or otherwise – went frequently ignored (West, 1995; West, 2008) or she was fated to be abandoned by her partner when he tired of her constant abuse (Walley-Jean, 2009). Although a great deal of progress has been made in combating gender and racial prejudice over the years, the idea of hyper-aggressive Black women is still an extremely common trope in media, with one recent example being the treatment of Serena Williams during the U.S. Open Finals where she was unfairly fined by the umpire, and then derided in a now infamous newspaper cartoon despite White and/or male tennis players receiving far less scrutiny for similar emotional outbursts (BBC News, 2018; Schmidt, 2018).

It can be said that this stereotype works to both invalidate instances of Black female anger and treat Black women as scapegoats for unwanted projections (Kent, 2021), while also characterizing their Black male partners as weak and ineffectual for failing to assert themselves as real men. For example, during the tail end of the 20<sup>th</sup> and early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in the United States, discussions of interracial marriage and relationships often portrayed Black women as being unreasonably hostile towards the idea, casting them as jealous roadblocks on the road to progress (Childs, 2005). It was a sexist and reductive stance that failed to consider a number of legitimate issues being faced by Black women and the Black community as a whole, many of which continue to plague society such as the pervasiveness of European beauty standards and colorism that devalues dark skin (Silvestrini, 2020) and the rampant sexualization of Black bodies in media (Anderson et al., 2018; Collier et al., 2017). Furthermore, there still exists a prevailing view that White women are warmer, more nurturing, and more submissive than their darker skinned counterparts (Babbitt et al., 2018). Thus, endorsement of this stereotype – along with the hypersexualized

representation of the Jezebel– is largely correlated with reduced relationship satisfaction (Fisher & Coleman, 2017).

On the other side, the Superwoman or the Strong Black Woman archetype is a modern invention that is believed to stem from the pressures and expectations for Black women to fulfil multiple roles and be “everything to everyone” (Huddleston-Mattai, 1995). The constant consistent effort to juggle the responsibilities of a house and home, while also maintaining a career and marriage in addition to various social relationships. The Superwoman is a paragon of self-reliance, requiring no help from anyone but perfectly willing and able to assist everyone else. Although this idea has been celebrated widely – as strength, perseverance, and resilience are generally considered to be aspirational traits – it has also received a great deal of criticism from psychological and feminist scholars. An article by Nelson et al. (2016) stated that adherence to this role not only restricts women but is likely rooted in the idea of controlling public perception of Black women. Unlike the Jezebel and Sapphire, the Superwoman is respectable and able to perfectly regulate her emotions even in the face of gender- and race-based adversity. Unlike the servile, matronly Mammy, she cares for her own family and is suitably loyal to her culture. Unlike the Welfare Queen, she is financially independent and utterly self-reliant. In essence, it can be said that the Superwoman was created as an attempt at respectability politics, a term coined to describe the movements amongst religious Black women who wished to refute racist stereotypes by altering their attitudes and behaviour to suit the preferences of the dominant White middle-class of the time, consequently validating and upholding these ideals as the proper status quo (Higginbotham, 1994, as cited in Dazey, 2021).

The Superwoman schema places Black women on a pedestal, ironically dehumanizing them in a similar but opposing way than the typical and blatantly

negative stereotype of the Sapphire. The Superwoman is an impossible standard, and in striving to achieve it Black women are robbed of the opportunity to be viewed and treated as multidimensional human beings by themselves and society at large. Overburdened with work and coping with the issues involved in balancing numerous potentially conflicting roles and responsibilities without help, so-called Superwoman are more likely to develop maladaptive patterns of thought such as cognitive distortions and all-or-nothing beliefs (Bond et al., 2021). In addition, endorsement of this stereotype has been linked with reduction in perceived emotional support and increased psychological distress, such as self-blame and depressive symptoms (Watson-Singleton, 2017).

It is not a stretch to state that the Sapphire and the Superwoman are similar in nature. Both stem from Black female resilience and the need to protect themselves from societal and interpersonal mistreatment. Black girls are taught by older Black women to be strong and self-reliant because they “[...] could not expect any protection from Black men or, especially, from the police” and ought to be a “strong, independent Black woman who could handle anything life threw” (Simmons, 2020, pp. 50). In short, both the defensiveness of the Sapphire and the hyper-competence of the Superwoman were created to act as shields against societal prejudices aimed at tearing them down for daring to exist at the intersection of two maligned groups. This perception of Black women as “invulnerable, insensitive, stoic, and in need of control and domestication” (Bell & Mattis, 2000, as cited in Taft et al., 2009, pp. 53) has greatly harmed Black women in society. For example, Black women are less likely to seek out formal medical aid (Lacey et al., 2021), and when they do, they are less likely to receive adequate care and advocacy compared to White patients (Baker, 2022; Hoffman et al., 2016).

## **1.2 Intimate Partner Violence**

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) can be defined as violence committed by a current or former partner. This includes not only physical abuse, but any behaviours intended to cause harm (e.g., emotional/verbal abuse and sexual assault/coercion) (Modi et al., 2014). The mainstream trend of male-on-female IPV is associated with a variety of consequences ranging from short-term physical trauma, long-term reproductive issues, as well as severe psychological disorders (e.g., PTSD) (Cools & Kotsadam, 2017). Though widely denounced by the vast majority of the world, IPV still remains an extremely ubiquitous practice in many African societies where such behaviours are implicitly or explicitly sanctioned under the guise of cultural practices and interpretations of religious doctrine (McCloskey et al., 2016). Moreover, these cases of IPV are not considered to be criminal acts but are treated as purely domestic events that ought to be sorted out within the home. In a comparative analysis of seventeen sub-Saharan African nations, Uthman et al. (2009) found that IPV was widely endorsed by the participants, with women being more likely to support violence against themselves than men. In the study, the most commonly cited reasons for justification of IPV were: “neglecting the children”, “going out without informing husband”, and “arguing back with the husband”. Overall, the study concluded that within these countries, behaviours which challenged male superiority or transgressed the gender binary were seen as being deserving of assault.

Indeed, attitudes towards traditional roles are generally considered to be the strongest predictor of attitudes towards IPV. Many African communities preach a strict adherence to conventional gender norms based on cultural and religious beliefs, viewing corporal violence as the proper penalty for an individual’s failure or refusal to uphold the established ideology (Gillum, 2019). Victimization is not strictly limited

to women however, as a review of determinants of IPV in sub-Saharan Africa by McCloskey et al. (2016) identified cases in which women were the perpetrators and justified their harassment by accusing their husbands of substance abuse or inability to sustain employment (i.e., failure to uphold the masculine role of a provider/protector). Nevertheless, gender socialization in many African societies typically espouse ideas of hegemonic masculinity, placing men as the head of the household and relegating women into subservient roles where their primary value lay in childbirth and housework, essentially leaving them vulnerable to violence – especially sexual abuse (Lawoko, 2008; Morrell et al., 2012). Combined with other notable factors, such as socioeconomic class, education level, certain religious ideologies, alcoholism, and the ubiquity of corporal punishment for children, it is not a surprise that IPV is so widespread throughout the continent (Gillum, 2019; Greene et al., 2017; Lawoko, 2008; Shamu et al., 2015).

Moreover, while growing civil rights for women have done much to reduce acceptance of IPV in African nations – or have at least provided victims with more viable options such as safehouses and legal protections – Kilgallen et al. (2022) suggested that this increase in resources for women and push for egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles may actually lead to *more* aggressive views of IPV by men. Referred to as ‘violence backlash’, their research identified a positive correlation between higher education, job opportunities, and more equal pay for women, and reported cases of men making use of instrumental violence in order to reestablish the ‘status quo’ of male superiority and female submissiveness. Heath (2014) also pointed out that, while the growing inclusion of women in the workforce has been beneficial on an individual and national scale, it also puts certain groups (namely young wives

and women with lower education) at risk for increased domestic abuse because they lack sufficient bargaining power to assert themselves.

### **1.2.1 Intimate Partner Violence and Black Female Stereotypes**

According to research, Black women are more likely to suffer from intimate partner violence and they are more likely to be victims of homicide at the hands of their partner if they attempt to leave the relationship, with verbal conflict and jealousy being cited as the inciting reasons (Petrosky et al., 2017). In addition, police frequently fail to hold male perpetrators accountable for their violence against Black women, and Black women who do report these crimes often face backlash from all sides, including supposed support structures within their own communities (Simmons, 2020). Moreover, the slew of stereotypes assigned to Black women have been found to not only affect attitudes towards Black female victims of domestic violence but have also biased police officers against them by encouraging the dehumanization of Black women. According to a report by Crenshaw et al. (2015) law enforcement views Black women as being immune to pain or shame, a notion that is worsened in cases where the victim is able to defend herself against her abuser. The image of the unnecessarily hostile and domineering Sapphire stereotype may reduce commonly held social inhibitions against hitting women and encourages the rationalization of physical and sexual abuse as something Black women require in order to behave ‘properly’ (Blackmon et al., 2017). These representations also contribute to feelings of inadequacy, reduced self-esteem, and increased anxiety amongst young Black girls and women (Steele, 2020; Steele & Newton, 2022; Warren-Gordon & McMillan, 2022). The result of the Sapphire stereotype is that Black women are less likely to receive justice, less likely to be treated with respect by law enforcement, less likely to have their cases given due process, and may even be arrested and charged alongside

their abuser (Donovan, 2011; Waller et al., 2021). Furthermore, Black women are also at risk of being physically attacked and/or sexually assaulted by those same police officers who will likely face little to no repercussions for their actions (Brown-Iannuzzi et al., 2022; Willingham, 2018).

The Superwoman stereotype fares no better. A study by Debnam et al. (2021) found that endorsement of the Superwoman role in young Black women was significantly associated with increased victimization in relation to Teen Dating Violence (TDV). One reason for this is likely due to the absence of – or refusal to take advantage of – existing social support systems, while another may be due to men’s desire to dominate a seemingly strong, confident woman in order to reinforce their sense of masculinity and reinstate more militantly traditional gender roles. To paraphrase prominent Black feminist and American sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (1990, as cited in Kelly et al., 2020), abusive men routinely blame their partners for their own violent behaviour and feelings of emasculation. Superwomen and endorsers of this stereotype also tend to hold extremely flawed, or nigh misogynistic views about relationship dynamics and the impact of domestic abuse (Blackmon et al., 2017), often failing to report violent incidents either because they do not consider their experiences to be justifiably severe, or they perceive themselves as being strong for being able to remain stoic in the face of abuse (Kelly et al., 2020). Additionally, in cases where the victim and perpetrator are from the same marginalized group, the former may be encouraged to silence themselves to maintain a front of in-group unity and prevent out-group harassment and stigma (Gómez, 2019; Gómez & Gobin, 2020). Black communities are generally collectivist in nature, and so-called Superwomen who seek formal support or leave their partners altogether risk being viewed as just another

single Black mother, or a disloyal woman who could not keep her family together (akin to the Sapphire) (Kelly et al., 2020; Mshweshwe, 2020).

Altogether, it can be seen that a tendency towards more permissive attitudes regarding intimate partner violence against Black women is associated with both of the outlined stereotypes, in addition to the following factors: rigid adherence to traditional gender roles, religious attitudes in African communities, and internalized racism.

### **1.3 The Role of Ambivalent Sexism**

Historically and in most cultures across the world men tend to be upheld as the dominant force in most if not all areas of life, and this pervasive gender-based inequality typically results in intense discrimination against women. However, a healthy society cannot run adequately on the antagonism and subjugation of half of the population. Men and women – particularly heterosexual individuals – are dependent on one another for romantic and sexual intimacy, and this combination of power disparity and gender interdependence gives rise to the theory of ambivalent sexism.

Developed by Glick and Fiske (1996), the researchers attempted to construct a notion of gender relations that would provide a new dimension to sexism as a societal construct. Previous models and measures of sexism had ranged between assessing traditional antipathic misogyny and gender role egalitarianism. Yet, according to the researchers, this did not account for more subtle, then-contemporary forms of discrimination, or certain relational aspects such as the importance of unavoidable cooperation in the creation of legitimizing ideologies that justify the existing patriarchal system. In essence, because members of both the dominant and subordinate groups routinely engage in close-knit and/or domestic relationships – which rely on

mutual cooperation in order to function – both have a vested interest in minimizing social conflict. Thus, as the dominant group, men are incentivized to categorize and reward women for exhibiting traits which ensure their control, and women are encouraged to fall in line with these characteristics, giving rise to legitimizing ideologies and the current theory (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Glick & Fiske, 2011).

Ambivalent Sexism Theory (AST) is a multidimensional framework which argues that sexism is comprised of two distinctive, seemingly inverse, yet corresponding ideologies: hostile sexism, and benevolent sexism. The former is associated with the classic understanding of misogyny and prejudice and interprets gender interactions in a combative light, with the overarching belief being that non-traditional women are seeking to overturn and usurp conventionally masculine roles and power in various ways (e.g., sexual orientation and sexuality, job-seeking, and reporting discrimination/harassment). Hostile sexism primarily involves three negative attitudes towards women: dominative paternalism, derogatory beliefs about women, and heterosexual antipathy. Benevolent sexism on the other hand represents an outwardly positive yet patronizing and heterosexist idea of womanhood, and encompasses three primary dimensions: protective paternalism, idealization of women, and desire for heterosexual intimacy (Connor et al., 2016; Glick and Fiske, 1997). Thus, it can be inferred that both hostile and benevolent sexism act as the proverbial carrot and stick, seeking to punish and ‘reward’ women for how well their performance and presentation of femininity adheres to cultural and conventionally accepted gender roles.

Research into ambivalent sexism typically highlights benevolent sexism as the more insidious and effective of the two forms. Because this aspect of sexism espouses superficially positive beliefs about womanhood, associated behaviours are more

difficult to identify as a form of prejudice, especially when juxtaposed against the more obviously derogatory variant. Men high in benevolent sexism do confront instances of overt sexism, but their motivations stem from a paternalistic viewpoint rather than an egalitarian one (Estevan-Reina et al., 2020). Though research has identified certain benefits of benevolent sexism in promoting cross-gender assistance and cooperation, these effects mostly encourage women's dependency on men rather than autonomous coping and do comparatively little to further collective feminist action (Radke et al., 2018; Schnabel et al., 2016). For example, an article by Eldabli et al. (2022) found that Hostile sexists were more likely to punish women for engaging in prostitution than Benevolent Sexists, regardless of race, which may be due to increased tendency to objectify and punish 'bad' women. However, participants high in benevolent sexism were also more likely to punish female sex workers than those with lower scores, and more likely to advocate for dependency-oriented assistance rather than independent, rehabilitative support. Benevolent sexists are often less sympathetic towards targets of assault, and more likely to engage in victim-blaming in cases of sexual assault and domestic violence (Fasanelli et al., 2020). Similar to the "benign patriarchy" described by third-world feminists referring to African women's rejection of contemporary gender politics (Morrell et al., 2012), benevolent sexism encourages self-doubt, feelings of inferiority and incompetence, and decreased self-esteem in women, and thus has been linked with intrusive thoughts and reduced performance in cognitive tasks (Dardenne et al., 2007).

### **1.3.1 Ambivalent Sexism and Black Female Stereotypes**

Hostile and benevolent sexism are not separate, dichotomous fragments of ambivalent sexism but they are irreparably interlinked. According to Glick and Fiske (2001), the two are separate but correlated factors, and thus it is likely that an

individual who endorses one form may endorse the other as well, if only tacitly. Additionally, sexist attitudes have been frequently associated with the presence of other prejudiced beliefs, including homophobia and racism, and this can have severe negative physical and psychological consequences for societally vulnerable groups, such as Black women (Stevens-Watkins et al., 2014). Numerous studies on the topic have shed light on how gender and race influence how Black women are perceived and treated. Hodson et al. (2021) found that hostile sexism was a particularly strong predictor of endorsement of negative Black female stereotypes. In a study by Brown-Iannuzzi et al. (2022) assessing the relationship between ambivalent sexism and police brutality against women, it was found that participants with higher scores of benevolent sexism perceived the potential suspect as more feminine and were thus more likely to rate them as less blameworthy, more sensitive to pain, and view the police officer shooting them as more unjustified if the suspect utilized in the condition was White rather than Black. McMahon and Kahn (2016) found that participants expressed more Benevolently Sexist attitudes towards White women when only considering race. However, when level of promiscuity was introduced, the participants were more Benevolently Sexist towards chaste Black women, which the researchers attributed to a shifting standard (i.e., because stereotypes of Black women skew towards being aggressive and sexually promiscuous, those who remain 'pure' deserve more praise). Finally, Katz et al. (2018) found that young White women who are high in both hostile and benevolent sexism reported increased victim blaming and unwillingness to help in cases of sexual harassment involving Black women, however factors such as increased awareness and concerns about racial inequality mitigated the effects of benevolent sexism by acting as a resistance to racist categorizations.

The repercussions of being a Black woman do not end there. In an article by Cothran (2016), the researcher stated that Black women in the workplace often fall into one of two disparate conditions: being liked but not respected for displaying conventional Black female characteristics (benevolent sexism) or being disliked but respected for *not* exhibiting stereotypical Black feminine traits (hostile sexism). Black female leaders are subjected to double bind situations and face restrictive, if not downright derogatory labels from both sides: if they do not assert themselves forcefully then they are dismissed as weak, but if they do then they are classified as a threatening Angry Black Woman. Black women who challenge racial and gender-based stereotypes and existing social structures receive harsher punishments for doing so, Black female professors are frequently tokenized, disrespected by White male colleagues and students, and evaluated more severely by employers (Howard-Baptiste & Harris, 2014). Black women who rebuff instances of sexual harassment are in greater danger of hostile retaliation and denigration (Carrijo & Martin, 2020; Breslin et al., 2022). Black women's struggles, such as with beauty standards, are often silenced or swallowed into the wider feminist narrative that often fails to consider the important role of racial identity in these issues.

However, these findings were not always consistent. Despite the significant effects of ambivalent sexism on treatment of female sex workers in the previously cited article by Eldabli et al. (2022) regarding attitudes towards sex work, the study did not find any significant associations between the variable of ambivalent sexism and the race of the sex workers in question, which the researchers suggested might have been due to a failure to fully consider the effects of gender and race as independent variables, especially as three-quarters of the participants identified as White. Another article examining the correlation between racism (internal and external) and sexism

found that only Black women's perceived experiences with sexism significantly predicted distress, while racism did not. Potential reasons for this outcome may be due to Black women being made to feel that racial prejudice was the sole reason for any oppression faced, rather than the unique interplay of both gender and race-based discrimination. Moreover, sexism is an issue that Black women face from both the wider society and within their own community, leading to increased psychological distress (Szymanski & Stewart, 2010).

#### **1.4 The Role of Religion in Sub-Saharan Africa**

The vast majority of African communities are religious and place great importance in adhering to religious doctrine. A report by Pew Research Centre (2010) found that sub-Saharan Africa was one of the most religious regions in the world, and home to the fastest growing population of Christian and Muslim groups, in addition to pre-existing folk beliefs. While there is nothing wrong with religion in and of itself, one cannot deny the heavy influence it has on societal norms (e.g., popular culture, reproductive health and behaviour, and attitudes towards formal education) and its hand in the perpetuation of harmful systems (Takyi & Lamptey, 2020). Thus, much of the association between religiosity and attitudes towards intimate partner violence stems from the link between religious affiliation and dogmas based on male supremacy (Ahinkorah et al., 2018). An example of these tenets from the Bible is “[a man] is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man. [...] Neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man” (1 Corinthians 11:7-9), while the Quranic statement, “*Arrijalu qawamoona allan nisa*” (An-Nisa, 34) translates to “Men are the guardians/maintainers of women” (Velayati, 2016). Though these religions preach egalitarianism as a whole, certain interpretations and misrepresentations of these texts can legitimize the subjugation of women, seemingly

insinuating that women ought to be dissuaded from autonomy, and that wife-beating is acceptable in the name of ‘discipline’ and maintaining suitable domestic order (Takyi & Mann, 2006; Takyi & Lamptey, 2016). Certain traditional/folk religions also accept the practice of polygyny or polygamy, which is a known measured predictor of IPV in cases where the wives lack sufficient bargaining power within the family unit (Owoo et al., 2021).

All of these are forms of what is known as ‘religious abuse’, a term which Adebayo and Evbuoma (2021) defined in their research as a person’s use of their religious beliefs and doctrine to govern and manipulate their significant other. Further worsening the issue is the fact that many churches habitually fail to help victimized women, instead encouraging them to return home and ‘fix’ their marriages or stating that they will pray for the situation rather than provide concrete assistance. According to Chisale (2018) women are burdened with the responsibility of solving domestic issues, shamed for failure to do, and so are thus socialized to self-silence rather than face mistreatment on two fronts. While a growing number of churches nowadays do provide resources for victims of IPV, shelters and formal resources are rare in most regions of Africa, and assigning serious legal repercussions for domestic abusers is nigh impossible except perhaps in larger cities which tend to be more economically developed and host more diverse populations (Ting, 2010). It has also been shown that that supraliminal, and subliminal priming of Judeo-Christian concepts increased self-reported scores of benevolent sexism while Islamic participants displayed increased scores of both benevolent and hostile sexism (Haggard et al., 2019; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014). Additionally, certain items measured on the hostile sexism subscale discuss feminism outright, which Maltby et al. (2010) stated is generally understood as an aspect of politics rather than as a social movement within evangelist circles and

is frequently associated with ‘sinful’ secular beliefs (e.g., pro-choice, and female sexual liberation).

However, it is possible that religious belief may also increase women’s resilience and sense of personal autonomy in the face of abuse. A qualitative study by Drumm et al. (2014) on conservative Christian women found that the participants utilized a variety of strategies in order to cope with and heal from experiences with IPV such as increased prayer and bible reading, attribution of positive events to divine intervention, and withdrawal from external religious institutions in favour of internal spirituality. In these cases, the women generally became convinced that the God that loved them would not want them to suffer, and the abuse they endured was not due to them being bad wives/mothers which often gave them the strength to leave their partner or seek formal/informal help. However, the limitations here are obvious, as all the participants in this study were exclusively Americans of a dominant religious denomination and over three-quarters of the interviewees were Caucasian. African women residing in their home countries and who cling to their faith may choose to be more passive, instead believing that justice will arrive someday (Ting, 2010). Others may even try to trigger physical abuse, viewing it as a sign of love and attention. In a study of predisposing factors of domestic violence in agricultural areas of southern Nigeria, both men and women stated that wife-beating was not only a normal aspect of marital relations, but that men who beat their wives did so as a sign of affection – provided that the consequences were suitably ‘mild’ (Ekanem & Nkeme, 2019). This may be related to religious abuse, as the bible calls for Christians to “not be unequally yoked with unbelievers” (2 Corinthians 6:14), and therefore women who are not Christians or do not fit biblically mandated ideals of womanhood are viewed as needing ‘punishment’ in order to save their eternal souls (Adebayo & Evbuoma, 2021).

Religion has also been found to be significantly associated with ambivalent sexism, with many organizations and traditions espousing it as a tenet of gender relations and dictating separate expectations for how men and women should conduct themselves. One notable doctrine is the belief that men and women are equal but different and are meant to complement one another, with women acting in supportive roles. It is through this and similar ideals that religion allows for the rationalization and legitimization of unequal treatment as. According to Haggard et al. (2019), benevolent sexism outlines what it means to be a ‘good woman’, while hostile sexism dictates what it means to be a ‘bad woman’. In a letter, the Catholic church encouraged cooperation between genders, highlighting motherhood and caretaking as a key element of a woman’s role, though leadership and ordinance were still limited to men (Ratzinger & Amato, 2004). In a survey on Evangelical Christians attending a private religious university, it was found that women who espoused complementary ideology were less likely to aspire to higher education and careers compared to those with more egalitarian ideals (Colaner & Warner, 2005). Finally, a survey of predominantly Muslim Turkish students by Taşdemir & Sakallı-Uğurlu (2009) revealed that religiosity was significantly correlated with both Benevolent and Hostile Sexism in men, which the researchers explained as men seeking to justify patriarchal power systems. Religiosity in women was only found to be correlated with benevolent sexism, which is likely due to its ‘protective’ surface in the face of significant gender inequality.

## **1.5 The Role of Internalized Racism**

Internalized racism is too vast a subject to be discussed in its totality, and therefore for the purposes of this thesis the literature will focus primarily on the pervasiveness of racial messages, and how racial discrimination and associated

adopted stigmas contribute to negative physical, psychological, and emotional consequences for Black women. An individual's automatic thoughts and beliefs are strongly influenced by their experiences, and in the case of marginalized classes, opinions parroted by the dominant group tend to be more widespread, resulting in the detrimental views of minority groups. Internalized racism (or internalized racial oppression) thus refers to the inculcation of the same stigmatizing beliefs perpetuated about members of one's racial group by the dominant group, leading to feelings of self-doubt, inferiority, identity confusion, and disrespect for oneself and others within the group (David et al., 2019).

Internalized racism has been theorized to stem from colonial mentality, according to Fanon (1961, as cited in James, 2020a). In the article, it was proposed that individuals from areas that were forcefully colonized – typically by European powers – faced intense subjugation and were therefore incentivized to see their oppressors as inherently superior and seek to embody the culture of the colonizers. Bonilla-Silva (1997) further asserted that even the decision to classify people into specific separate racialized groups was a highly political act associated with practices such as colonialism, enslavement, and exploitation of minority populations. Though the times of rampant colonialism are generally considered to be a bygone era, the consequences endure and still influence race relations – both internal and external – to this day. One of the earliest empirical studies on the topic of internalized racism displayed this. Conducted by Clark and Clark (1950), both White and African American children were presented with dolls that were either white or dark-skinned. It was found that almost two-thirds of the participants preferred the white doll over the one that more closely resembled their skin tone, assigning positive traits to the item

and claiming that it was a “nice doll” and that the dark-skinned option was “dirty” or “looked bad”, in addition to denigrating ethnic slurs.

Currently there is little to no empirical literature on the direct link between internalized racism and attitudes towards IPV, especially in recent data. However, it is possible to tie aspects of internalized racism to IPV. Bailey et al. (2011) hypothesized that Self-Destructive Behaviour was a dimension of internalized racism, defining it as any actions which harmed the function and survival of the community. Although this subscale was ultimately not included in the final measure due to reliability issues, it was stated to include IPV as well as alcoholism and substance abuse which are known to greatly increase the likelihood of IPV perpetration and victimization (Cafferky et al., 2018). A theoretical article by Brice-Baker (1994) examined internalized racism as a variable associated with IPV in African American and Afro-Caribbean families, highlighting the adoption of stereotypes associated with Black women including the Sapphire and Superwoman as variables which may exacerbate victim-blaming behaviours. Burnette (2015) conducted a series of interviews with indigenous women which highlighted aspects of historical oppression as being associated with IPV, such as the disruption or destruction of culture resulting in flawed or outright false beliefs about ones’ racial history, the normalization of violence against female members of oppressed racial groups, and internalization of dehumanizing beliefs or stereotypes about one’s racial group. While this research was conducted with Native American victims of IPV rather than Black individuals, both communities share a long history of European colonization and subjugation.

As was mentioned in the introduction, both the Sapphire and Superwoman are characterized as being ‘unnaturally’ assertive and independent, which is in direct opposition to conventional gender roles. The image of the Sapphire especially is based

on the idea that Black women primarily exist to loudly undermine Black men, and this ideology is based in racist and sexist narratives from the colonial and civil rights eras where Black men – historically lacking power compared to White men – were further emasculated for being unable to control their wives and establish themselves as the undeniable head of the household. Thus, men ‘needed’ to appropriate female power in order to reassert their masculinity and deal with racial oppression, and women who failed to give up their power were seen as “castrators” (Kelly et al., 2020; Wolfenstein, 2000). This antagonistic view of women and female assertiveness may be very easily associated with hostile sexism, which views gender equality and female liberation as threats to masculinity, while the notion that Black women are wholly responsible for the job of upholding and rehabilitating the image of Black communities through wifedom and motherhood (Kelly et al., 2020) fits well with benevolent sexism (Glick and Fiske; 1996).

In summary, internalized racism is clearly implicated in IPV perpetration and victimization, due to its documented association with ambivalent sexism, both negative forms of stereotype endorsement, high religiosity, and risky behaviours that result in damaging behaviours.

## **1.6 The Current Study**

Prejudice is arguably one of the oldest and most flourishing fields in social psychology, and a great deal of research has gone into the effects of racism and sexism on intimate partner violence. However, explorations into intersectionality tend to either go overlooked, or the focus is kept on the more obviously detrimental aspects that are more easily associated with severe consequences for the victims. Research shows that perpetrators of IPV draw on numerous lines of reasoning when justifying their behaviour, and while rigid adherence to traditional gender roles is the most

commonly cited explanation, religion, stereotyping, and internalized racism are also influencing factors.

In similar fashion to hostile sexism, the Sapphire stereotype pushes antagonistic, negative beliefs about Black women, casting them as inherently aggressive and hyper-emotional. The Superwoman stereotype, like benevolent sexism, seemingly elevates Black women to an impossibly high pedestal that leaves them unable to seek help. Religion also plays a part, as certain religious interpretations bolster the belief that men are granted the divine right to control and inflict harm upon their wives in the name of love and betterment. Finally, while there have been no current studies specifically linking internalized racism to IPV, certain aspects of the variable have been associated with violence such as stereotype internalization, normalization of violence against women, and risky behaviour.

Therefore, the aim of the current study was to not only add to ongoing feminist research regarding the specific dynamics of gender-based violence perpetuated against Black women, but also draw attention to how even outwardly positive stereotypes are simply another facet of racist ideology which contribute to damaging outcomes for Black women. The following hypotheses were thus constructed based on available research:

1. Hostile sexism will be significantly more positively correlated with IPV attitudes than benevolent sexism.
2. Sapphire stereotype endorsement will be significantly more positively correlated with IPV attitudes than Superwoman stereotype endorsement.
3. Internalized racism will be significantly positively correlated with IPV attitudes.

4. Participants with high scores of religiosity are more likely to condone IPV than those with low scores.
5. Male participants are more likely to endorse hostile sexism, while female participants are more likely to endorse benevolent sexism.
6. Male participants are more likely to endorse the Sapphire stereotype, while female participants are more likely to endorse the Superwoman stereotype.

## Chapter 2

### METHODOLOGY

#### 2.1 Participants

A total of 240 participants were recruited for the study via a combination of convenience sampling and snowball methods. The participants were all Black African students attending Eastern Mediterranean University. Participation was limited to those who identified exclusively as Heterosexual as well as those who identified as members of a sufficiently recognizable religious body according to information pulled from sub-Saharan census details. Furthermore, only data from adequately filled surveys were used, and as a result 56 individuals were excluded from the data prior to statistical analysis. A further three participants were removed after an exploratory analysis flagged their scores in the IPV measure as extreme outliers.

In total, the study consisted of 184 valid participants (55.4% female, 44.6% male) who were between the ages of 18 to 30 years ( $M = 23.41$ ,  $SD = 2.75$ ), with the sample group consisting of Christians (79.9%) and Muslims (20.1%). All measures were presented in English, and so the study only included participants who were either native English speakers or those who spoke it fluently as a second language. Most of the accepted surveys were completed online (78.8%) compared to in-person paper booklets (21.2%) due to issues found within the submitted survey documents, and the participants hailed from various sub-Saharan African nations, with Nigerians making up almost two-thirds of the total at 59.8%.

## **2.2 Materials**

### **2.2.1 Demographic Questionnaire**

The demographic questionnaire (Appendix D) was developed by the researcher and supervisor and consisted of seven questions which inquired about details relevant to the study, specifically: age, gender, ethnicity, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, university department, and current romantic status. Age, university department, and current romantic status were primarily open-response items, while the rest were more detailed multiple-choice queries with options generated from sub-Saharan African census details. Ethnicity options were listed in alphabetical order based on the available African International Student Societies in EMU, with an open-ended response option for 'Other' should the participant hail from a country that does not currently have an established student society on campus. Finally, there was an option for participants to include any feedback, concerns, or opinions they might have regarding the survey topic and/or measures used.

### **2.2.2 Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI)**

The ASI (Appendix E) is a 22-item measure designed to evaluate hostile sexism (HS) and benevolent sexism (BS). The HS subscale includes antagonistic questions, such as "Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist", while the BS subscale includes questions assessing Protective Paternalism ("Women should be cherished and protected by men"), Complementary Gender Differentiation ("Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility. "), and Heterosexual Intimacy ("Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores"). Though these subscales were not included in the data analysis, the overall benevolent sexism subscale was utilized. Items are answered on a 5-point Likert scale with answers ranging between 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), apart from

questions 3, 6, 7, 13, 18, and 21 which are reversed. In total, higher scores indicate a greater endorsement of each form of ambivalent sexism.

The total reliability coefficient for the ASI in this study was found to be rather questionable at  $\alpha = .63$ , which is considerably lower than the alpha level stated by Glick et al. (1996). However, the Cronbach's alpha levels for the two subscales were much higher, with the BS subscale being acceptable at  $\alpha = .73$ , while the HS subscale was good at  $\alpha = .83$ .

### **2.2.3 The Duke University Religion Index (DUREL)**

The DUREL (Appendix F) is a brief 5-item measure designed to assess religiosity (Koenig et al., 1997). The first item measures Organized Religious Activity (ORA) on a 6-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (Never/Rarely or Never) to 6 (More than once a week/day) and asks, "How often do you attend church/mosque or other religious meetings?". The second item measures Non-Organized Religious Activity (NORA) on a similar scale and inquires, "How often do you spend time in private religious activities, such as prayer, meditation, or Bible study/reading the Qur'an?". The remaining three items measure intrinsic religiosity on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (Definitely not true) to 5 (Definitely true of me) and includes questions such as "I try hard to carry my religion over into all other dealings in life". In this study, the overall DUREL scale was used and had a good reliability coefficient at  $\alpha = .81$ .

### **2.2.4 Stereotypic Roles for Black Women Scale (SRBWS)**

The SRBWS (Appendix G) is 34-item scale designed by Thomas et al. (2004) to assess the endorsement of four stereotypic ideas about Black women, which were: the Jezebel, Mammy, Sapphire, and Superwoman. Participants are required to rate each question on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), with item 21 being reversed. This study only consisted of the

Sapphire and Superwoman subscales, the details of which are as follows: the Sapphire subscale consists of 10 items and includes questions such as “Black women are often loud and obnoxious” and “People respond to me more if I am loud and angry”. The Superwoman subscale is made up of 11 items and includes questions such as “Black women have to be strong to survive” and “I find it difficult to ask others for help”. In this current study, the total reliability coefficient for the questionnaire was found to be good at  $\alpha = .86$ , while the internal consistency for the separate Sapphire and Superwoman subscales were found to be good at  $\alpha = .85$  and  $\alpha = .73$  respectively.

The survey items were administered in random order to mitigate order effects. To allow for this measure to be answered by other genders, relevant items were changed to third person. Personal pronouns such as “I” and “me” were replaced with “Black women” and the subject pronoun “them/their”.

### **2.2.5 Internalized Racial Oppression Scale (IROS)**

The IROS (Appendix H) is 28-item scale developed by Bailey et al. (2011) to specifically measure internalized racial oppression (i.e., internalized racism) amongst Black individuals. Items are measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging between 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), with questions 25 and 26 being reversed. The total scale consists of four facets of internalized racism, namely: Belief in the Biased Representation of History (e.g., “African people have no written history”), Alteration of Physical Appearance (e.g., “I wish my nose were narrower”), Internalization of Negative Stereotypes (e.g., “Most criminals are Black men”), and Hair Change (e.g., “Straight hair is better than my natural hair texture”). The Cronbach’s alpha for the IROS in this study was found to be good at  $\alpha = .82$ .

### **2.2.6 Revised Intimate Partner Violence Attitude Scale (IPVAS-R)**

The IPVAS-R (Appendix I) is a 17-item scale that calculates three dimensions of attitudes towards IPV: Abuse (e.g., “As long as my partner doesn’t hurt me, ‘threats’ are excused”), Violence (e.g., “I think it is wrong to ever damage anything that belongs to a partner”), and Control (e.g., “It is okay for me to tell my partner not to talk to someone of the opposite sex”). Items are answered on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) (Fincham et al., 2008). Items 2, 5, 9, 12, 13, 14 and 17 are reverse coded. The initial reliability coefficient of the measure in this current study was found to be questionably at  $\alpha = .63$ , which increased to a more acceptable  $\alpha = .72$  after the removal of items 2 and 15.

### **2.3 Procedure**

Ethical approval was sought from the Eastern Mediterranean University Social Sciences Ethics Committee before the study began. It was initially planned to take place entirely in-person using paper surveys to ensure that the participants fit the first inclusion criteria, however this course of action was deemed inefficient due to the limited time frame as well as the necessary volume of participants, and thus later permission was sought from the ethics committee to include an online version of the survey which was created using Google Forms. The hyperlink was then shared via the EMU Psychology Department Teams page for the participant pool as well as on the Faculty of Arts and Science Facebook page. Students who selected the link from the participant pool Teams page were instructed to provide proof of completion (e.g., a copy of the Written Consent form) in order to receive a bonus point as compensation for their participation in accordance with the regulations outlined in the EMU Participant Handbook.

Regarding the in-person survey, selected students were first asked if they would be interested in participating in a study that aimed to assess African student's attitudes towards traditional gender roles. Once verbal consent was granted, the participants were given the survey booklet and asked to read the Information Sheet which provided more information on the goals of the study, the duration of the survey, as well as contact information of myself and my thesis supervisor. The participants were then asked to read and sign the Written Consent form. During this briefing, participants were informed that their involvement was entirely voluntary, and all details would be kept completely private and confidential. Their data was recorded anonymously, and no identifying information was used. Furthermore, it was made clear that I, as the researcher, would make myself available to answer questions and allay any other concerns over e-mail or through the phone.

Once documented consent had been given, the participants were then asked to fill out either the ASI, followed by the DUREL, the Sapphire and Superwoman subscales of the SRBW, the IROS, and finally the IPVAS (Booklet A). To increase the internal validity of the results, the measures were counterbalanced, and therefore half of the surveys were arranged in reverse order with the IPVAS being presented first and the ASI last (Booklet B). At the end of the study, the participants were presented with the demographic questionnaire to ensure eligibility. Finally, the participants were shown the Debriefing form. In it, participants were once more reassured that their responses would be kept completely anonymous, and that none of the measures were any sort of formal proof, indication, diagnosis, or accusation of existing psychological or personality disorders. Contact details for relevant psychological counselling were included, specifically those for EMU's Psychological Counselling services (PDRAM)

and the Cyprus Central Hospital (Magusa Tip Merkezi) for those who wished to seek external assistance.

As the online version of the survey followed the same formatting of the original survey (Booklet A), more Booklet B papers were printed and handed out to ensure a more equal distribution of counterbalanced surveys.

## Chapter 3

### RESULTS

#### 3.1 Preliminary Analyses

In order to ensure that religious affiliation would not act as a confounding variable that might affect scores of IPV attitudes, a separate independent t-test was conducted to assess the differences. The analysis found no significant difference in scores of IPV attitudes between Christian ( $M = 1.41$ ,  $SD = .37$ ) and Muslim ( $M = 1.34$ ,  $SD = .41$ ) participants  $t(182) = 1.06$ ,  $p = .291$ .

Following that, a simple Pearson's correlation was used to assess the correlational relationship between religiosity, hostile and benevolent sexism, internalized racism, and Black female Stereotype endorsement measures and attitudes towards IPV. The full details of this analysis may be found in Table 1 below, which revealed that participant's attitudes towards IPV were significantly positively associated with scores of hostile sexism,  $r(182) = .46$ ,  $p < .001$ , Sapphire stereotype endorsement,  $r(182) = .37$ ,  $p < .001$ , and Internalized Racial Oppression,  $r(182) = .57$ ,  $p < .001$ . Surprisingly, participant's IPV attitudes were significantly negatively correlated with religiosity,  $r(182) = -.29$ ,  $p < .001$ , and benevolent sexism,  $r(182) = -.28$ ,  $p < .001$ . There was no significant correlation between Superwoman endorsement and IPV attitudes,  $r(182) = .09$ ,  $p = .225$ .

Table 1: Correlations between Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, DUREL, Sapphire and Superwoman stereotype endorsement, IROS, and IPVAS measures

Variables	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Benevolent Sexism	2.55 (.74)	-						
2. Hostile Sexism	3.55 (.63)	.30**	-					
3. DUREL	4.68 (.81)	.36**	-.20**	-				
4. Sapphire	2.23 (.70)	-.31**	.46**	-.31**	-			
5. Superwoman	3.24 (.60)	.067	.01	-.27**	.51**	-		
6. IROS	1.93 (.44)	-.33**	.52**	-.21**	.57**	.22**	-	
7. IPVAS	1.40 (.38)	-.28**	.46**	-.29**	.37**	.09	.57**	-

Note: \*\* $p < .001$

### 3.2 Independent T-Test Analysis

To assess gender differences on hostile and benevolent sexism and the Black female Stereotype endorsement variables, an independent samples t-test was carried out on the data. It was expected that men would score significantly higher on the two more antagonistic scales of hostile sexism and Sapphire stereotype beliefs, while women would score higher on the seemingly empowering variables of benevolent sexism and Superwoman stereotype endorsement.

Regarding the first variable, statistical analysis revealed that there was no significant difference in scores of benevolent sexism between male ( $M = 3.55$ ,  $SD = .64$ ) and female ( $M = 3.55$ ,  $SD = .62$ ) participants,  $t(182) = -.04$ ,  $p = .966$ . However, there was a significant difference in scores of hostile sexism between genders, with male participants ( $M = 2.78$ ,  $SD = .75$ ) scoring significantly higher than female

participants ( $M = 2.36, SD = .68$ ) on the measure,  $t(182) = -3.92, p < .001$ . Furthermore, the t-test indicated that while there was no significant difference in scores between male ( $M = 2.28, SD = .70$ ) and female ( $M = 2.20, SD = .70$ ) participants regarding Sapphire stereotype endorsement  $t(182) = -.79, p = .429$ , there was a significant difference between male ( $M = 3.11, SD = .53$ ) and female ( $M = 3.35, SD = .64$ ) participants on Superwoman stereotype endorsement  $t(182) = 2.71, p = .007$ . The full results of the analysis may be seen in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Scores of Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, DUREL, Sapphire and Superwoman stereotype endorsement, IROS, and IPVAS by Gender

	Male (N=82)		Female (N=102)		<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Benevolent Sexism	3.55	.64	3.55	.62	.04	.966
Hostile Sexism	2.78	.75	2.36	.68	-3.92**	.000
DUREL	4.71	.82	4.66	.81	-.37	.713
Sapphire	2.28	.70	2.20	.70	-.79	.429
Superwoman	3.11	.53	3.35	.64	2.71*	.007
IROS	1.88	.52	1.98	.37	1.56	.120
IPVAS	1.39	.39	1.40	.38	.17	.866

Note: \*\* $p < .001$ , \* $p < .05$

### 3.3 Multiple Regression Analysis

The data was first split based on categorical gender, and a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted in order to observe which of the independent variables of

hostile and benevolent sexism, Sapphire and Superwoman stereotype endorsement, religiosity, and internalized racism significantly predicted IPV attitudes. Religiosity was added in the first step, followed by hostile and benevolent sexism in the second step. Finally racial and internalized racism variables were included in the third step (Sapphire and Superwoman stereotype endorsement, and Internalized Racial Oppression). Preliminary analyses indicated that while the K-S tests of normality were significant for all measures ( $p < .05$ ), no violations of the assumptions of regression analysis were observed regarding linearity, homoscedasticity, and multicollinearity. Tolerance values remained clearly above .25, while VIF statistics were well below 10 on all variables.

According to the regression model, all steps were found to be statistically significant for both male and female participants. In the first model, religiosity significantly predicted IPV attitudes for male participants  $F(1, 80) = 8.55, p = .004$ , and for female participants  $F(1, 100) = 7.85, p = .006$ . This model explained 9.7% and 7.3% of the variance respectively. In the second step, the inclusion of the hostile and benevolent sexism measures significantly predicted IPV attitudes for male participants,  $F(3, 78) = 17.08, p < .001$ , and for female participants,  $F(3, 98) = 8.37, p < .001$ . This model explained 39.6% and 20.4% of the variance respectively. Finally, race-based stereotypes and internalized racism variables significantly predicted IPV attitudes for male participants,  $F(6, 78) = 12.77, p < .001$ , and for female participants,  $F(6, 95) = 7.89, p < .001$ . This model explained 50.5% and 33.3% of the variance respectively.

In the final model, two variables were found to significantly predict IPV attitudes in male participants, which were: hostile sexism ( $\beta = .24, p = .040$ ), and internalized racism ( $\beta = .42, p = .002$ ). In female participants, two variables were found

to significantly predict IPV attitudes, which were: religiosity ( $\beta = -.30, p = .004$ ), and internalized racism ( $\beta = .38, p < .001$ ). Full details regarding the full regression may be found in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Hierarchical regression of IPV attitudes in Religiosity, Hostile and Benevolent Sexism, Sapphire and Superwoman stereotype endorsement, and Internalized Racism

Predictors	Male			Female		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SEb</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SEb</i>	<i>B</i>
<b>Model 1</b>						
DUREL	-.148*	.050	-.311	-.125*	.045	-.270
<b>Model 2</b>						
Hostile Sexism	.247**	.050	.479	.204**	.051	.369
Benevolent Sexism	-.123	.060	-.203	.013	.060	.022
<b>Model 3</b>						
Sapphire	-.017	.072	-.030	.045	.069	.084
Superwoman	.081	.077	.109	-.138*	.071	-.233
IROS	.313*	.095	.415	.395**	.109	.384

Note: \*\* $p < .001$ , \* $p < .05$

## Chapter 4

### DISCUSSION

The primary aim of this study was to investigate the relationship between endorsement of certain Black female stereotypes (Sapphire and Superwoman), religiosity, ambivalent sexism (Hostile and Benevolent), and internalized racism on attitudes towards IPV. In short, the goal was to identify how strongly correlated these beliefs were with IPV, and how strongly they were able to predict IPV attitudes. Although there have been numerous studies documenting the role of ambivalent sexism (Eldabli et al., 2022; Fasanelli et al., 2020; Gillum, 2019; Radke et al., 2018; Schnabel et al., 2016) and religiosity in encouraging greater approval and tolerance for IPV attitudes and behaviours (Chisale, 2018; Owoo et al., 2021; Takyi & Lamptey, 2016; Takyi & Lamptey, 2020; Takyi & Mann, 2006), along with a few papers outlining the harm caused by Sapphire and Superwoman stereotype endorsement (Gillum, 2002; Washington & Hoxmeier, 2021), this study was the first to implicate not only internalized racism as a direct predictor of IPV attitudes, but also stereotypes about Black women. Moreover, this study was the first to empirically assess internalized racism and Black female stereotypes amongst Black Africans natives. Internalized racism and racial stereotypes are largely tied to societal marginalization; however, the participants in this study hailed from and grew up in nations where they were the dominant racial group, implying that these views are not exclusively limited to countries with racially motivated systemic oppression. In keeping with prior research, the initial hypotheses were that the variables of religiosity, hostile sexism, Sapphire stereotype endorsement, and internalized racism would be significantly

associated with more permissive attitudes towards IPV and would act as predictors. Additionally, it was hypothesized that male participants would score higher on the more combative measures (Sapphire stereotype endorsement and hostile sexism) while female participants would score higher on the more subjectively sympathetic measures (Superwoman stereotype endorsement and benevolent sexism).

The Pearson correlation revealed significant associations between all study variables and measured IPV attitudes, apart from endorsement of the Superwoman stereotype which remained non-significant. It was found that hostile sexism, Sapphire stereotype endorsement, and internalized racism were all positively correlated with more permissive views on IPV – supporting the first, second, and third hypotheses. Hostile sexism views women through an antagonistic lens, perceiving female liberation and autonomy as a threat against patriarchal standards, and so this result is consistent with prior research by Sakalli (2001) which identified support for patriarchal ideology and hostile sexism as being significantly positively correlated with greater tolerance for IPV and approval of violence against women, and Valor-Segura et al. (2011) which found greater exoneration of IPV perpetrators when the participants had higher scores of hostile sexism and no reason for the violence was given. The Sapphire stereotype is based on the belief that Black women are loud, unfeminine, and verbally aggressive, hence the current positive correlation with IPV attitudes confirms previous studies such as Gillum (2002) who reported that belief in Black women as overly dominant and perpetually hostile was strongly correlated with justifying domestic abuse in African American men.

Further supporting the third hypothesis, the current study revealed that internalized racism not only had the highest correlational value with the IPV measure, but it was also the only variable that predicted more permissive IPV attitudes in both

genders, especially in men. This finding underscores the importance of further research into the effects of internalized racism in predominantly Black countries which are still flooded with racial messages through online social and mainstream media. According to Pryke (2010) internalized racism is one of the lesser-studied fields within social psychology due to the fear of any results being perceived as victim-blaming, especially nowadays when there is such a massive – verging on toxic – push towards uncomplicated body positivity and self-pride (Mason, 2021; Swami, 2022). However, by shying away from internalized racism and all its facets, psychologists and researchers run the risk of wilfully ignoring the consequences it can have on marginalized communities, such as increased anxiety, depressive symptoms, and general psychological distress (Mouzon & McLean, 2016). This research has successfully identified that internalized racism plays a significant role in IPV attitudes, whereby higher endorsement of internalized racism is implicated in more acceptance of violence directed at one's partner. Internalized racism leads to the denigration and dehumanization of one's own race (David et al., 2019), and this lack of respect and acceptance of racial inferiority can lead to emotional and even physical abuse against more vulnerable ingroup members. Although Bailey et al. (2011) did not include questions that assessed Self-Destructive Behaviour into the final IROS questionnaire, David et al. (2019) stated that internalized racism encourages the destruction of the self and community through self-denigration, intragroup conflict, and unquestioning acceptance of vulgar, insulting stereotypes. This widespread acceptance may then be passed down intergenerationally, leading to reduced self-esteem and emotional stability in vulnerable youths (James, 2020b; Thorpe et al., 2023). Amongst African Americans, internalized racism has been associated with increased drug abuse and illicit violence in young men (Bryant, 2011), generally problematic alcohol use

(Desalu et al., 2019), and childhood sexual abuse and exploitation in women (Hurst, 2015).

While the current study did not include skin colour and body esteem as one of the investigated variables, one of the subscales included in the IROS measure was the Alteration of Physical Appearance, referring to the disdain for Black/African features in favour of White/European aesthetics which are considered more appealing (Bailey et al., 2011). Sibley & Overall (2011) found that men with higher scores of hostile sexism displayed an increased preference for physically attractive partners, and according to Hall et al. (2023) conventionally attractive victims of IPV are considered more credible than unattractive victims. Conventional beauty standards skew largely towards Eurocentric ideals (Avery et al., 2021), and these narrow and often unrealistic ideas take a toll on Black women's self-esteem by subtly emphasizing notable indicators of racial identity (Bryant, 2013). Moreover, colorism – the tendency to view light skin as being more desirable than dark skin (Masub & Khachemoune, 2020) – is also known to affect the choices and dynamics within intimate relationships. For example, when selecting partners, dating someone with dark skin may be viewed as “dating down”, and marrying someone with lighter skin is not only a way of affirming status, but also of ensuring that future children share these “attractive” features (Wilder & Cain, 2011). The beauty industry seemingly encourages this in the failure to either include options for dark-skinned individuals or making those shades harder to find and/or more expensive (Childs, 2022), further devaluing Black women.

Counter to the expected results, religiosity was found to be *negatively* correlated with the dependent variable. Moreover, the regression analysis indicated that religiosity acted as a negative predictor of IPV attitudes, a finding which was only significant in female participants, which disproves the fourth hypothesis. While past

research into the topic has implicated strong religious attitudes in IPV perpetration and victimization due to the doctrines espoused within religious manuscripts and settings, the actual direction and predictive strength of this association remains unclear, especially regarding women (Todhunter & Deaton, 2010). Much of the research into IPV reduction and treatment tends to focus on male perpetration and female victimization, concentrating more on risk factors which increased the likelihood of men committing abuse (Karakurt et al., 2019), or religious coping strategies for female victims (Arnette et al., 2007). Nevertheless, there may be several reasons for this particular outcome.

In a paper by Renzetti et al. (2017), researchers suggested that increased religiosity may only act as a deterrent against non-violent forms of IPV or in certain types of religious men. Specifically, the paper highlighted the importance of internalization of religious beliefs, self-regulation, and rejection of risky behaviours (e.g., alcohol consumption, drug use, and criminal activity) that are known increase the likelihood of IPV perpetration in men. Correspondingly, Zavala and Muniz (2020) stated that religious individuals were less likely to associate with known offenders, tended to have stronger communal bonds which increased the likelihood of protection against victimization, and generally preferred to seek out those with similar beliefs as themselves, effectively minimizing the likelihood of serious conflict. Furthermore, a study by Ellison et al. (2007) on American populations found that high religious involvement – notably church attendance – acted as a protective factor against IPV, especially for African Americans due to the increased salience of religion and religious behaviour. Traditional religious congregations often serve as formal and informal social hubs and support networks, and most predominantly African churches are characterized by greater expressiveness and upbeat enthusiasm (Anderson, 2016)

which may act as a suitably harmless and sufficiently cathartic method of alleviating stressful emotions that may otherwise result in violent outbursts towards one's partner (DeSouza et al., 2020). A meta-analysis by Malviya et al. (2022) found that religious/spiritual practices have been found to bolster mental health as they include beneficial attitudes and mindfulness-oriented behaviours as well as more tangible and soothing sensorimotor experiences (e.g., yoga and salah). In addition to that, studies have shown that the musicality, repetitive rhythm, and physicality of religious/spiritual movements – such as liturgical dancing in Christian settings or Dhikr in Sufi Islam – promote positive emotional affect, more prosocial behaviours, and result in notable physical and mental health benefits (Hamilton et al., 2012; Perry et al., 2021). Women tend to be more emotionally and spiritually open and expressive than men, likely increasing the associated benefits (Yadav et al., 2016). Thus, in addition to reducing IPV tolerance amongst young adults, increased organized and non-organized religious behaviour may act as a protective factor against IPV in women by increasing communal bonds and allowing for a healthy release of stress while also limiting the urge and opportunity to engage in risky behaviours such as the Self-Destructive Behaviours linked with internalized racism.

Another reason for this result may be due to participant variables, as all were young adult university students currently studying in a foreign country which suggests a certain education and socioeconomic level. Past studies have shown that IPV perpetration and victimization tends to be more common in rural areas amongst low-income individuals (Nabaggala et al., 2021), especially in cases where the woman has received either no education or is significantly more or less educated than her male partner (Memiah et al., 2021) which is not the case amongst the registered students who answered the questionnaires. Education level and environment may explain both

the low overall scores on the IPV measure amongst participants, as well as the negative predictive relationship between religiosity and IPV attitudes, especially amongst female university students who – as a result of their education – are better able to independently interpret religious scripture rather than absorb what is told to them, which has been shown to increase personal autonomy and challenge gendered stereotypes and myths regarding domestic abuse (Crisp et al., 2018). Scriptural literalism impacts religious ideology, as many abusers rely on literal interpretations of select texts to justify their behaviour, but there have been no studies assessing less concrete readings which may be utilized in cases where the concrete wording is unpalatable to modern readers. An example of this comes from SAFER (n.d.), a religious domestic violence resource which argues that the modern understanding of wifely submission is not supported by the bible, and there is no biblical support for women to endure abuse. Additionally, schools of Christianity and Islam tend to understand scriptures differently from one another (Rhodes, 2015; Sookhdeo, 2006), and therefore religious denomination can be theorized to play a part in predicting IPV.

Regarding the fifth and sixth hypotheses, the independent samples t-test found partial support for the proposed statements by revealing that while there were no notable differences between male and female scores of benevolent sexism and Sapphire stereotype endorsement, it was found that men scored significantly higher on the measure of hostile sexism and that is acted as a significant predictor of IPV in male participants. Similarly, while there were no differences between gendered scores on the Sapphire measure, women scored significantly higher on Superwoman stereotype endorsement. While past studies have largely corroborated women's preference for the gender-based cooperation of benevolent sexism and men's tendency to receive higher scores in measures of the gender-based antipathy of hostile sexism, especially in

tandem with patriarchal ideology (Acar & Sümer, 2018; Sakalli, 2001), the similar scores found in the current study regarding benevolent sexism may be due to the attractiveness of the concept. Hammond et al. (2017) found that men's scores of benevolent sexism tended to persistently increase over time, which may be due to its 'romantic' nature and the way it subtly maintains patriarchal ideals without necessarily alienating women in the process. In male participants, benevolent sexism is associated with positive, more sympathetic evaluations of women, but these views only serve to limit women which leads to cases of 'prosocial' patronizing discrimination such as overprotection and overhelping in the workplace, essentially undermining female accomplishments (Acar & Sümer, 2018). Duerksen and Lawson (2017) stated that the protective paternalism aspect of benevolent sexism imbues the subjective positive appraisal of women with an insidious undercurrent of dominance that typically involves restricting female desires and needs because women are viewed as too emotional and easily swayed by societal norms. This is a sentiment which may appeal to both men and women, especially when discussing highly controversial topics such as abortion rights.

In a similar fashion, the inclination for men to endorse the harsher Sapphire stereotype has been documented in previous studies, such as the article by Jerald et al. (2016) which found that Sapphire stereotype endorsement was both correlated with and acted as a positive predictor of more restrictive traditional gender ideology and increased perception of women as sex objects – further explaining its increased correlation with IPV. In the current study, while both male and female participants displayed statistically similar but relatively low endorsement of the Sapphire stereotype, it is possible that certain items were interpreted differently between genders. For example, "Black women are often loud and obnoxious" is a very different

query from “Black women often feel ignored by others” despite both items ostensibly assessing the same belief of the Sapphire stereotype. It is also possible that while male participants were answering from a place of hostility, the female participants may have been viewing the concept from a place of pride or defensiveness. To paraphrase Amuchie (2016), the Sapphire is highly assertive and always ready to fight to be heard, which may be viewed as self-confidence rather than the stereotypical hyper-aggressive behaviour, which may also explain why female participants scored significantly higher on the Superwoman measure. The Superwoman stereotype pushes the idea that Black women are strong and infallible, able to easily suppress fear and defy intersectional oppression. Black women generally report quite high scores on measures of the Superwoman and Strong Black Women schema (Debnam et al., 2021; Donovan & West, 2014), which may be due to the surface appeal as well as the social and societal pressure to be seen as successful and independent. In the current study, Superwoman stereotype endorsement acted as a negative predictor of IPV attitudes in female participants, however this finding was marginally non-significant, and so while internalization of this stereotype may encourage an *attitude* of intolerance towards IPV – as that runs counter to the established belief in resilience and self-sufficiency – these results do not necessarily defy previous research which state that the Superwoman’s urge to hide weakness is associated with physical and psychological health issues, and interpersonal difficulties both in and outside of the relationship (Debnam et al., 2021; Donovan & West, 2014). Moreover, this discrepancy between current reported attitudes and previously researched behaviours calls into question whether women who endorse the Superwoman stereotype are aware of the harm they are potentially experiencing in their relationships. A qualitative study by Thorpe et al. (2023) found that Black women who endorsed this stereotype reported that pain during intercourse

was simply part of being a woman, and if they were unable to endure then it was a sign that they were a bad partner. When viewed in tandem with the potentially differing interpretations of the Sapphire stereotype, these results imply significant consequences for female participants answering from a position of approval. Further assessment is required to assess whether and to what degree these outcomes were the result of the participants' understanding of the SRBW measure.

However, it is necessary to interpret these results with caution as there were several limitations which likely affected the results. Firstly, the revised IPVAS is a self-report measure of people's views of a rather sensitive topic, and so participants might have faked certain responses rather than answer honestly. Additionally, while the revised IPVAS is a valuable measure of an individual's attitudes towards IPV, it does not account for certain legitimizing myths associated with IPV attitudes. Knowing that it is wrong to belittle or threaten one's partner does not necessarily preclude an individual from condoning it, especially if the individual endorses victim-blaming, benevolent sexism, or the Just World fallacy (i.e., the belief that people only get what they deserve, good or bad) (Nabi et al., 2002; Valor-Segura et al., 2011). A set of semi-structured interviews by Lelaurain et al. (2017) on male-to-female IPV found that conditional logic and social representations affected acceptance of violence, as while people may believe it is wrong to raise a hand against one's partner, they may still insist that the victim was at least partially responsible. In the same interview, some of participants claimed that it also depended on the level of abuse, as some forms of IPV were more forgivable than others (e.g., a slap versus breaking someone's teeth) and were done out of love or discipline. This supports a later study by Lelaurain et al. (2018) which found that adherence to heterosexual romantic love was associated with higher scores of ambivalent sexism and belief in domestic violence myths. To shed

further light on this topic, it may be necessary for future studies to select measures that inquire about concrete experiences with IPV, or which assess opinions on more ambiguous/non-stereotypical examples of IPV which would result in a more nuanced result.

Another limitation has to do with the internalized racism measure. Some of the questions in the IROS seem to be based more on historical knowledge rather than internalized racial messages, which likely muddled the results. Although Bailey et al. (2011) identified a flawed and biased understanding of history as an aspect of internalized racism, if a participant was already fully aware that cannibalism was not a common practice in sub-Saharan Africa, then their answer would not be an accurate reflection of the measured variable. This is especially notable in this study as the students in this study were from sub-Saharan Africa, while the IROS was largely created for African Americans who would have reason to be unaware of the history of their ancestral nations. Additionally, certain racial messages and their subsequent consequences may range in levels of salience when an individual is born and raised in a country in which they are not a minority but are still surrounded by and inundated with media from Western nations, as is the case throughout much of the African continent (Mouzon & McLean, 2016). Finally, the study was conducted on a somewhat homogenous sample of exclusively heterosexual Black African students between the ages of 18 to 30 who were attending Eastern Mediterranean University, and so the conclusions cannot be readily generalized, especially as the study did not account for other potential predictors of IPV such as socioeconomic status, substance abuse, attitudes towards physical appearance, and media influence. Further studies into this would be edified by replicating this study with a much larger sample size within

African countries while also including and controlling for sociodemographic factors that are known to be significant predictors of IPV.

Nevertheless, despite these limitations, the outcome of this study has numerous important applied and theoretical implications for Black feminist literature, as well as for clinical and social interactions. In addition to increasing awareness amongst African communities regarding gender roles, ambivalent sexism, and implicitly held beliefs about Black women, it also adds to the current understanding of the complex role that religiosity and internalized racism play in predicting IPV attitudes. The Sapphire stereotype paints Black women as argumentative and toxic, and endorsement of it was found to be associated with more tolerant attitudes towards IPV in this study. Black women who are perceived through the such lens are subsequently likely to experience more severe consequences for behaving in certain ways that their White or lighter-skinned counterparts are unlikely to. The Superwoman stereotype portrays Black women as preternaturally resilient in the face of trauma and prejudice, leading to care and security providers ignoring Black women even when they display signs of experiencing IPV. Thus, practitioners and public servants working with Black women, especially regarding cases of abuse, should be encouraged to challenge their own perceptions of Black women while also respecting religion and religious adherence as an extremely important facet of sub-Saharan cultures to avoid alienating victims. Although racial and gender bias remain an issue amongst healthcare providers, this can be combatted though multicultural training programs as well as steps geared increasing cultural competency and self-awareness (Castillo et al., 2007; Maina et al., 2018). In addition, the incorporation of a social justice oriented framework in therapy may also help combat internalized racism by exploring diverse and culturally appropriate methods of discussing and healing from internalized racism that do not

merely stop at teaching clients the best way to ‘tolerate’ oppression (David et al., 2019). Future research should also consider the roles and ramifications of System Justification Theories – such as the previously discussed Just World fallacy – in addition to Social Dominance Orientation theory, in highlighting the effects of internalized racism.

In conclusion, this study provides valuable insight on the role ambivalent sexism, internalized racism, religiosity, and Sapphire and Superwoman stereotype endorsement in encouraging or reducing attitudes towards IPV amongst young and educated Black adults. The first, second, and third hypotheses were found to be fully supported by the data, as high scores on the measures of hostile sexism, Sapphire stereotype endorsement, and internalized racism were all found to be positively correlated with greater tolerance of IPV. The impact of internalized racism was quite notable, as while it may be considered a touchy subject, it was also the only shared predictor between both genders; an outcome which could be associated with Eurocentric mainstream beauty standards and subsequent denigration of Black features. The fifth and sixth hypotheses were partially supported, as while male participants were statistically more likely to endorse hostile sexism and female participants were more likely to endorse the Superwoman stereotype, both genders were equally likely to endorse benevolent sexism and Sapphire stereotyping. The latter may be due to the growing tendency for men to push benevolent sexism as a gentler form of oppression, and the latter may be a result of different interpretations of the Sapphire measure between genders. Finally, the fourth hypothesis was entirely unsupported, as religiosity was found to be a negative predictor of IPV, especially in women. This finding implies that other essential variables such as scriptural literalism, religious expressiveness, and socioeconomic and education level affect IPV attitudes

in women, and therefore ought to be assessed to expand on this result. Altogether, these results provide significant insight into the consequences of internalized racism, as well as gendered and racial stereotypes in Black Africans. Increasing awareness of the impact of these adopted biases will allow for a more diverse understanding of Black and African diaspora people.

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## **APPENDICES**

## **Appendix A: EMU Social Sciences, Humanities and Administration Ethics Sub-Committee Approval Letter**

20 February 2023

ETK-2023-0038

Dear Oluwademilade Ayooluwa Adefope,

I am pleased to inform you that your ethics application for your project under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Shenel Husnu Raman titled **Sapphires and Superwomen: The Role of Ambivalent Sexism, Religiosity and Internalized Racism on Perceptions of Intimate Partner Violence** has been approved and you can start data collection.

With all good wishes,

Prof Dr Ilhan Raman

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'I. Raman', written in a cursive style.

Chair, EMU Social Sciences, Humanities and Administration (SOBIB) Ethics Sub Committee

## Appendix B: Information Sheet

**Title of study:** ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENDER ROLES IN AFRICAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

**Researcher's name and email:** Oluwademilade A. Adefope (21506103@emu.edu.tr)

**Supervisor's name and email:** Prof. Dr. Shenel Husnu Raman (shenelhusnu.raman@emu.edu.tr).

Dear participant,

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take your time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. If at any time there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information, please feel free to ask the researcher or supervisor. Take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

### What is the purpose of the research?

This study is being conducted by Oluwademilade A. Adefope under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Shenel Husnu Raman. The aim is to empirically assess Sub-Saharan African students' opinions on male and female roles in modern society.

### What will happen to me if I take part? / What are the possible disadvantages to taking part?

In total, the study should take no more than 40 minutes to complete and will provide valuable empirical information that will hopefully benefit young adults. Participation in the study is not expected to carry any risks, however if the nature of any of the topics causes you any distress, please feel free to withdraw at any point.

### Consent

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary, and you do not have to take part if you do not want to. You are not obliged to participate in this research and are free to refuse to participate at any point during the survey. If you decide to take part, you may still withdraw from the study at any point without giving any reason up until data analysis begins April 15<sup>th</sup>. In this case, all your responses will be omitted from the data pool.

### Who is organizing and funding the research?

This study is being conducted by a student of the Eastern Mediterranean University Psychology Department in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the MSC. General Psychology program and is not sponsored by any external body.

### What will happen to the data?

If you agree to participate in and complete the study, all responses and questionnaires will be kept anonymous and treated **confidentially**. The study will not inquire about identifying information, and any data will be gathered will be used as group data. Data will be stored for a maximum of five years after the study. Once the data is analysed, a report of the findings may be submitted for publication.

Who has reviewed the study?

All proposals for research using human participants are reviewed by an Ethics Committee before they can proceed.

If you would like to ask further questions, please contact the researcher Oluwademilade A. Adefope (21506103@emu.edu.tr, +90 539 106 2196) for assistance. You may also contact the research supervisor Prof. Dr. Shenel Husnu Raman (shenelhusnu.raman@emu.edu.tr, +90 392 630 1042). Thank you for your potential contribution to this research. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Oluwademilade A. Adefope

Student No.: 21506103

## Appendix C: Written Consent Form

### ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENDER ROLES IN AFRICAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS (2023)

**Researcher:** Oluwademilade A. Adefope (21506103@emu.edu.tr, +90 539 106 2196)

**Supervisor:** Prof. Dr. Shenel Husnu Raman (shenelhusnu.raman@emu.edu.tr, +90 392 630 1042)

I have understood the details of the research as explained to me by the researcher, and confirm that I have consented to act as a participant.

I have been given contact details for the researcher in the information sheet.

I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary, the data collected during the research will not be identifiable, and I have the right to withdraw from the project at any time without any obligation to explain my reasons for doing so.

I understand that I can ask for my data to be withdrawn from the project until data analysis begins in 15.05.2023.

I further understand that the data I provide may be used for analysis and subsequent publication and provide my consent that this might occur.

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Signature

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Date

## Appendix D: Demographic Questionnaire

Please fill out the form to the best of your abilities

1. University department: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Gender
  - Male
  - Female
  - Nonbinary/Intersex
  - Prefer not to say
4. Please indicate your sexual orientation:
  - Heterosexual
  - Homosexual
  - Bisexual
  - Asexual
  - Other \_\_\_\_\_
  - Prefer not to say
5. What country are you from?
  - Cameroon
  - Chad
  - Congo
  - Eritrea
  - Gambia
  - Ghana
  - Kenya
  - Mozambique
  - Nigeria
  - Rwanda
  - Sierra Leone
  - Somalia
  - Sudan
  - Tanzania
  - Uganda
  - Zambia
  - Zimbabwe
  - Other \_\_\_\_\_
6. Please indicate your religious affiliation:
  - Christian
  - Muslim
  - Jewish
  - Traditional/Folk Religion
  - Buddhist
  - Other \_\_\_\_\_
  - None/Agnostic/Atheist
7. Are you currently in a romantic relationship?

- If YES, how long have you been together? \_\_\_\_\_
- If NO, when was your last relationship? \_\_\_\_\_  
How long did it last? \_\_\_\_\_
- NO, I have never been in a relationship

**Participant Feedback (Optional)**

If you have any thoughts regarding the study topic or format, please let us know.

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## Appendix E: Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Below are a series of statements. Please tick the box which you feel best indicates the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.					
2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."					
3. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.					
4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.					
5. Women are too easily offended.					
6. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.					
7. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.					
8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.					
9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.					
10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.					
11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.					
12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.					
13. Men are complete without women.					
14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.					
15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.					
16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.					
17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.					
18. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.					

19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility					
20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own wellbeing in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.					
21. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men					
22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.					

## Appendix F: The Duke University Religion Index

Below are a series of statements. Please indicate with a circle or tick the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

1. How often do you attend church/mosque or other religious meetings?					
Never (1)	Once a year or less (2)	A few times a year (3)	A few times a month (4)	Once a week (5)	More than once a week (6)
2. How often do you spend time in private religious activities, such as prayer, meditation, or Bible study?					
Rarely or never (1)	A few times a month (2)	Once a week (3)	Two or more times a week (4)	Daily (5)	More than once a day (6)

The following section contains 3 statements about religious belief or experience. Please mark the extent to which each statement is true or not true for you

3. In my life, I experience the presence of the Divine (i.e., God)				
Definitely not true (1)	Tends not to be true (2)	Unsure (3)	Tends to be true (4)	Definitely true of me (5)
4. My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life				
Definitely not true (1)	Tends not to be true (2)	Unsure (3)	Tends to be true (4)	Definitely true of me (5)
5. I try hard to carry my religion over into all other dealings in life				
Definitely not true (1)	Tends not to be true (2)	Unsure (3)	Tends to be true (4)	Definitely true of me (5)

## Appendix G: Stereotypic Roles for Black Women Subscales

Below a series of statements. Please tick the box which you feel best indicates the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statements given.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1. Black women are often loud and obnoxious.					
2. Black women have to be strong to survive.					
3. Black women need to nag others to get a response.					
4. If given a chance, Black women will put down Black men.					
5. Black women are often expected to take care of family members.					
6. If they fall apart, Black women will be failures.					
7. Black women are usually angry with others.					
8. Black women often feel ignored by others.					
9. Black women find it difficult to ask others for help.					
10. Black women do not want others to know if they experience a problem.					
11. People respond to Black women more if they are loud and angry					
12. Black women tell others that they are fine when they are depressed or down					
13. It is difficult for Black women to share problems with others.					
14. Black women are hardly ever satisfied.					
15. Black women often have to put someone in their place, read them or check them.					
16. Black women often threaten to cuss someone out.					
17. Black women are overworked, overwhelmed, and/or underappreciated.					
18. Black women are demanding.					
19. Black women are always helping someone else.					
20. Black women will let people down if they take time out for themselves.					
21. It is easy for Black women to tell other people their problems.					

## Appendix H: Internalized Racial Oppression Scale

Below are a series of statements. Please tick the box which you feel best indicates the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statements given.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1. There were no institutions of higher learning in Africa.					
2. Earlier Egyptians were either White or Arabic.					
3. The earliest civilizations were in Africa					
4. The first mathematicians and scientists were European					
5. There were universities and other learning centers in Africa more than 2,000 years ago					
6. There were Africans in the Americas prior to Europeans					
7. Cannibalism was widely practiced in Africa.					
8. I wish my nose was narrower.					
9. Having full lips is not attractive to me.					
10. I wish my skin was lighter than it is now.					
11. I would like a partner with lighter skin, to ensure that my children will have lighter skin.					
12. African people have no written history					
13. It is fine to use skin care products to lighten skin color.					
14. Lighter skin is more attractive.					
15. It is okay for Black people to change their appearance through surgery.					
16. I wish I looked more White.					
17. Black women are controlling.					
18. Black women are confrontational.					
19. Money management is something that Black people cannot do.					
20. Black men are irresponsible.					
21. Most criminals are Black men.					
22. Black people are lazy.					
23. Most Black people are on welfare.					
24. It is okay to straighten or relax my hair.					
25. I prefer my hair to be natural.					
26. I like it when my partner wears/I would like it if my partner wore their hair natural.					
27. I texturize my hair.					
28. Straight hair is better than my natural hair texture.					

## Appendix I: Revised Intimate Partner Violence Attitude Scale

Below are a series of statements. Please tick the box which you feel best indicates the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statements given.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I would be flattered if my partner told me not to talk to someone of the other sex.					
2. I would not like for my partner to ask me what I did every minute of the day.					
3. It is okay for me to blame my partner when I do bad things.					
4. I don't mind my partner doing something just to make me jealous.					
5. I would not stay with a partner who tried to keep me from doing things with other people.					
6. As long as my partner doesn't hurt me, "threats" are excused					
7. During a heated argument, it is okay for me to bring up something from my partner's past to hurt him or her.					
8. I think it helps our relationship for me to make my partner jealous.					
9. I would never try to keep my partner from doing things with other people.					
10. It is no big deal if my partner insults me in front of others.					
11. It is okay for me to tell my partner not to talk to someone of the opposite sex.					
12. Threatening a partner with a knife or gun is never appropriate.					
13. I think it is wrong to ever damage anything that belongs to a partner.					
14. It would not be appropriate to ever kick, bite, or hit a partner with one's fist.					
15. It is okay for me to accept blame for my partner doing bad things.					
16. During a heated argument, it is okay for me to say something just to hurt my partner on purpose.					
17. It would never be appropriate to hit or try to hit one's partner with an object					

## **Appendix J: Participant Debrief Form**

### **SAPPHIRES AND SUPERWOMEN: THE ROLE OF AMBIVALENT SEXISM, RELIGIOUSITY AND INTERNALIZED RACISM ON PERCEPTIONS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE (2023)**

**Researcher:** Oluwademilade A. Adefope (21506103@emu.edu.tr, +90 539 106 2196)

**Supervisor:** Prof. Dr. Shenel Husnu Raman (shenelhusnu.raman@emu.edu.tr, +90 392 630 1042)

Dear participant,

Thank you very much for participating in this study with the title SAPPHIRES AND SUPERWOMEN: THE ROLE OF AMBIVALENT SEXISM, RELIGIOUSITY AND INTERNALIZED RACISM ON PERCEPTIONS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE. Please take a few more minutes to read the following information, which will explain the aims and purpose of the research further. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask the researcher whose contact details are stated below.

This study aimed to investigate the relationship between certain stereotypes about Black women, ambivalent sexism, internalized racism, and religiosity on attitudes towards intimate partner violence. Previous research has shown that Black women are at higher risk of intimate partner violence, and the variables of religiosity, ambivalent sexism, and internalized racism have been shown to be correlated with more permissive attitudes towards domestic abuse. Thus, we are extending this work to see what role endorsement of Black female stereotypes plays. This research is being conducted as part of the researcher's MSc. thesis with the goal of providing relevant empirical data that will hopefully benefit and educate young African adults. Please be aware that the measures used in this study are not official diagnostic tools, and therefore the results are not indicative of any definitive psychological or emotional issues. If, during the completion of this study, you felt any distress or discomfort and would like to ask further questions or request that your data be expunged, please contact Oluwademilade A. Adefope (21506103@emu.edu.tr, +90 539 106 2196) for assistance. You may also contact the research supervisor Prof. Dr. Shenel Husnu Raman (shenelhusnu.raman@emu.edu.tr) with any questions.

As a student of EMU, if you would like professional assistance, you are encouraged to contact the EMU Psychological Counselling Guidance and Research Centre (PDRAM) (counsel.pdram@emu.edu.tr, 0392 630 2251). If you would prefer to seek outside assistance, you may instead contact the Cyprus Central Hospital (info@magusatipmerkezi.com, 0392 366 5085).

Once again thank you for your time and your valuable contribution to this research. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Oluwademilade A. Adefope

Student No.: 21506103