
Research on Lesbian and Gay Populations Within the African American Community: What Have We Learned?

Juan Battle, Associate Professor, Sociology, Hunter College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York

Michael Bennett, Assistant Professor, English, Long Island University at Brooklyn

Introduction

Research on lesbian and gay populations within African American communities has, not surprisingly, focused on many of the same issues that have confronted the sometimes opposed and sometimes intertwined social movements for Black and gay liberation. Our review of this literature examines these issues following the same general historical trajectory within which they arose. Thus we begin with the question of homophobia, examining how early work in the field adopted a homophobic stance in viewing homosexuality as a mental illness or European American strategy for destroying the Black race, while more recent work has looked at homophobia itself as the real illness and/or destructive strategy. Most of this early work, and its legacy today, has focused on Black gay men. Beginning in the 1970s, however, the rise of the second wave of the feminist movement meant that lesbianism became an important issue in research on African American sexuality. With gender added to the matrix of race and sexuality, research began to focus on the effects of double and triple minority status on the mental health outcomes of Black gays and lesbians. In the 1980s, of course, HIV/AIDS became a dominant area of concern in research on this population. Only recently have researchers taken a healthy black gay and lesbian identity as a given in studies comparing homosexual and heterosexual African American populations.

Homophobia

Until 1973, homosexuality was considered a mental illness by the American Psychiatric Association (APA). This blatant homophobia was given a special twist in research on gay and lesbian African Americans. Such research tended to adopt the Black Power or Afrocentric line that homosexuality was a practice unknown in Africa that had been thrust upon the peoples of the African diaspora through contact with Europeans. Thus in an article first published in 1974, entitled "The Politics Behind Black Male Passivity, Effeminization, Bisexuality, and Homosexuality," Frances Cress Welsing (1990) argued that homosexuality was a "strategy for destroying Black people" (p. 91). This history of this argument that homosexuality is a cancer spread in the African American community by Western capitalist influences is discussed by Potgieter

(1997). More recently researchers have seen *homophobia* as the real cancer—a view supported by the APA’s later declaration that homophobia, not homosexuality, is the truly abnormal condition—though the earlier view has certainly not disappeared.

In fact, even after homosexuals emerged, like Blacks a generation earlier, as an official “minority” (Barron 1975), research has shown that African Americans possess disproportionately negative attitudes toward homosexuals (Lorde 1978; Staples 1981). Several sources have been named as the cause for homophobia in the African American community. The most often cited is probably the Black Church (Bonilla and Porter 1990); however, other research has shown no such relationship (Seltzer 1992). Black cultural nationalism of the 1960s (Harper 1991) runs a close second in the “blame game.” Another popular source for homophobia in Black America has been heterosexual African American women (Ernst, et al. 1991), according to the theory that heterosexual women see homosexuality as exacerbating the black male shortage. Unfortunately, even education doesn’t stem the tide – educated populations within Black America tend to be more homophobic than their white counterparts (Chng and Moore 1991).

Because of the homophobia within the African American community, African American youth engaging in homosexual behavior perceive that their friends and neighbors are unsupportive (Siegel and Epstein 1996; Stokes, et al. 1996), and so they are often reluctant to disclose their sexuality (Cochran and Mays 1988a; Mays 1989). Similar results were found when examining older African American gay populations (Adams & Kimmel 1997).

Homophobia’s impact is far reaching in the African American community. It has been linked with mishandling sexual abuse cases by professionals working with racial and sexual minorities (Fontes 1995), and with the transmission of HIV/AIDS in the African American community (Stokes and Peterson 1998). Though the bulk of research on African American families focuses on biological/extended and non-biological/fictive kinship members (Chatters et al., 1993; Taylor, et al., 1990), little has focussed specifically on openly homosexually-identified family members. Mays and her colleagues (1998) put it this way:

"Negative beliefs and misconceptions about homosexuality, including the myth that gay men and lesbians are pedophiles, and conservative religious belief condemning homosexuality will interfere with the acceptance of gay/lesbian identified family members."

Bennett and Battle (in press) argue that homophobia in the African American community has made researchers on the Black family reluctant to even mention lesbian and gay issues.

Lesbianism

Some of the earliest research concerning African American lesbians came from Black feminists in the 1970s (Lorde 1978; Smith 1979). These early writers and researchers acknowledged the paralyzing effect homophobia had on lesbians in the Black community (Lorde 1978). Though historically some researchers saw lesbianism as a choice in response to the shortage of males (Staples 1978), current research recognizes the limits of such a “choice” perspective.

Research specific to African American lesbians has evolved to include not only multiple manifestations of same-sex attraction among Black women but also the way in which this population interacts with the larger population. Wekker (1994), for example, purports that Black mati-ism – the Sranan Tongo word for women who have sex with women – provides an Afrocentric and working class alternative to notions of Black lesbianism, which is seen to be more middle class and Eurocentric in nature. Eversley’s (1981) research analyzed the events surrounding a state employee in California who came out, got fired, and with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union, unsuccessfully attempted to get reinstated. This case, and many before it, brought to light Black lesbian experiences of multiple forms of structural/institutional domination and exploitation on the basis of race, gender, class, and sexual orientation. The term “double minority” came to signify the dual effect of domination based on race and sexual orientation (Jones and Hill 1996; Manalansan 1996), while “triple jeopardy” signified when gender entered the equation (Green and Boyd-Franklin 1996). Of course the layers of jeopardy simply increase when other variables like disability and age enter the matrix (Kimmel and Sang 1995).

The experiences of lesbians of color have been chronicled in various workplaces, as well as health care settings (Cochran & Mays 1988b; Stevens 1998). Further, researchers have examined the negative impact of perceived discrimination on the intimate relationships of Black lesbians (Mays, et al. 1993). Researchers have begun to examine the psychological toll of this particular matrix of domination (Collins 1990) and its many implications (Zinn and Dill 1994) for Black lesbians (for a discussion, see Green and Boyd-Franklin 1996). Recently, they have also begun to look at some of the positive counter effects of such discrimination, such as the benefits of African American lesbians developing “community” with lesbians of other racial and class backgrounds (Hall and Rose 1996).

Mental Health Outcomes

Homophobia, double and triple minority status, and fear of disclosure have lead many researchers to explore the impact of homosexuality on mental health outcomes. Not surprisingly, the preponderance of evidence found African American homosexuals

had higher levels of negative mental health outcomes than their Caucasian counterparts (Siegel and Epstein 1996). A major source of anxiety for non-heterosexual African Americans is fear of disclosure. In a small sample of African American and White gay men, Ostrow, et al. (1991) found that their African American respondents were less likely to be open about their sexuality and that they had less affirmative social support than their white counterparts. Stokes, et al. (1996) used a much larger sample of behaviorally bisexual men and found that African Americans were much less likely to disclose their sexual orientation to their female partners than were whites. Despite their reticence, when African American men do disclose their gay or bisexual orientation it is usually to women first (Mays, et al. 1998). Mays and her colleagues went on to find that two major predictors of disclosure for African American men were current age and age at initial engagement in homosexual behavior, with older and more experienced men being more willing to disclose their sexuality.

Despite the stress surrounding disclosure, some researchers have found openly gay African American men who have handled their sexual orientation rather well. Edwards (1996) administered a questionnaire to a sample of African American adolescent homosexual males. The instrument focussed on four areas of social psychological functioning: self-identity, family relation, school/work relations, and social adjustment. He found that even in the presence of homophobia and racism, his subjects possessed positive social psychological attitudes and survival skills. Peterson, et al. (1996) studied a large sample of African American gay, bisexual, and heterosexual men. The relationship between depressive mood scores, social psychological stressors, psychosocial resources, and coping strategies were quantitatively and qualitatively examined. They found no significant difference in depressive mood scores across the three groups.

Even given the successes, however, the bulk of research has shown that African American homosexuals have difficulty with issues of sexual orientation (Cochran & Mays 1994). For example, Richardson, et al. (1997) studied 311 non-HIV/AIDS-infected African American men and found gay/bisexual orientation to be a primary predictor of anxiety disorder. In their study of 136 gay and bisexual teenaged male youths, Rosario, et al. (1996) found that gay-related stressful life events were related to emotional distress.

HIV/AIDS

Without question, the AIDS epidemic in the United States has been instrumental in forcing society in general, and the African American community specifically, to address issues of sexuality (Cohen 1999). Gay black men, in particular, have been hard hit by the epidemic. And so much of the research focused on this population from the 1980s to the present has focused on the causes and effects of HIV/AIDS.

Clearly Black gay men have a significantly higher rate of infection than both their straight and their white counterparts (Koblin, et al. 1996; Sullivan, et al. 1997; Williams, et al. 1996). The problem is so overwhelming for this population that many researchers have chosen to focus their efforts on specific regions. Not surprisingly, the two most popular are New York (Koblin, et al. 1996; Quimby & Friedman 1989) and San Francisco (Peterson, et al. 1996). However, other regions with significant at-risk populations – e.g., Houston, Texas – have also been the subject of focused research (Williams, et al. 1996). And more recently researchers have decided to compare the “more popular” sites – New York and San Francisco – with less studied ones, like Pittsburgh (Sullivan, et al. 1997). Regardless of the region or number of cases in a sample, researchers tend to conclude that there is a strong need in the African American community for culturally sensitive programs which stress preventing risky behaviors (Peterson, et al. 1996; Rotheram-Borus & Rosario 1994). This need for cultural specificity is further highlighted in Mays, et al.’s (1992) work, which located a unique sexual vernacular among gay black males that is often unaddressed by mainstream AIDS organizations. In addition to cultural perspectives, researchers have argued that HIV/AIDS prevention programs need to also consider economic and social factors (Icard 1992). Peterson (1997) does a thorough job of examining the literature in this area to probe individual, interpersonal, and contextual factors associated with high-risk behaviors among homosexually active African American men. Cohen’s (1999) work is arguably one of the most comprehensive efforts to address the African American community’s response to HIV/AIDS:

What began as a comparison of the political responses to AIDS by a visibly active lesbian and gay community and a seemingly more distant and less confrontational African American community is now focused much more exclusively on a detailed exploration of the way in which African American communities understood and responded politically to [the AIDS] social and health crisis (1999: 22).

For various reasons, including the lack of culturally specific programs for Black gays and lesbians, prevention efforts have been much less effective for people of color than for other sectors of the population. Statistics from 1996 showed that while the rate of infection among gay white men began to decline, it was rising among heterosexual and minority populations (AIDS Policy Law 1997). Social researchers found similar results. For example, in a three year longitudinal study Brunswick and Flory (1998) examined heterosexual risk factors for HIV/AIDS and found that the infection rate resembles the global trend (increasing rates for heterosexuals, particularly people of color) as opposed to the initial rates in the United States (which were highest among gay white males). As one begins to ponder the effect of this epidemic on the future of the African American community, it is particularly disheartening to note that Black adolescents have a higher rate of infection than their white counterparts (Bowler, et al. 1992). Oddly enough, this racial gap exists even among drug users – African

American I.V. drug users are more likely to get AIDS than whites (Friedman, et al. 1988). These results lead Friedman and his colleagues to conclude that cultural factors clearly impact the transmission of HIV/AIDS.

Comparisons Between Homosexual and Heterosexual Populations

In spite of the domination of HIV/AIDS in research on gays and lesbians in the African American community, researchers have used both qualitative (Dubeau 1997) and quantitative (Mays & Jackson 1991) methods to gain larger insight into the similarities between the experiences of this population and the larger African American community. Price-Spratley (1996), for example, examines the lives of Audre Lorde, Marlon Riggs, and W.E.B. DuBois to demonstrate issues of negotiating legacies. Researchers have found that, like the larger African American population, Black lesbian and gays are more likely to be distrustful of health care providers (Cochran & Mays 1988b; Siegel and Raveis 1997) and are suspicious of social workers (Icard 1985; Icard & Traunstein 1987). Reitman, et al.'s (1996) work suggests that theoretical models used to describe adolescent male homosexual behavior may be generalizable to the larger adolescent African American community. In examining the experiences of older African American gay men, research has shown not only diversity within that population, but similarities between them and older African American heterosexual men (Adams & Kimmel 1997).

Beyond the similarities, however, research has discovered some clear differences in lifecourse experiences. Though extremely underutilized in academic work, there is a rich body of work in which lesbian and gay African American activists and cultural workers have explored unique interactions of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation (Baldwin 1956; Beam 1986; Boykin 1996; Hemphill 1991; Lorde 1982; Smith 1983; also see Marlon Riggs's film *Tongues Untied*). And recently, more traditional researchers have entered in the discussion. Peplau, et al.'s (1997) work, for example, highlighted unique dimensions to the intimate relationships of homosexual African Americans; and thus contributed significantly to our knowledge in this area (Mays and Cochran 1988). Peplau and her colleagues (1997) went on to show that homosexual African Americans were more likely to engage in interracial dating than were their heterosexual counterparts; and that these lesbian and gay African Americans were highly satisfied in their relationships – regardless of the race of the other partner. Crow, et al. (1998) conducted an interesting controlled study with over 500 participants. They examined hiring bias against women, Blacks, and homosexuals. They found that Black male homosexuals were most likely to be discriminated against. To study sexual abuse patterns, Doll, et al. (1992) conducted interviews with over 1,000 adults in Chicago, Denver, and San Francisco; higher rates of abuse were found in Black gay populations. In her study of suicide in the African American community, Gibbs (1997) found homosexuality to be a significant predictor, and Icard and

Traunstein (1987) discovered unique sociopsychology factors specific to Black alcoholic men who were gay. As a result of research findings similar to these, mental health workers are beginning to develop models specific to minority lesbian and gay populations (Greene 1997).

Conclusion

Research on lesbian and gay populations within the African American community has covered a great deal of ground over the last quarter century. While early work on homophobia was based on the assumption that the fear of Black gays and lesbians was justified because homosexuality was either a disease or a strategy of European domination, the latest research starts with the recognition that gays and lesbians are a significant part of the Black community. Though such research has, for the most part, clearly moved from intolerance to tolerance, it has tended to stop short of acceptance. There is clearly room for further research which is not focused so much on the ways in which the problems of the past continue to haunt Black gays and lesbians — from oppression and its negative effects to HIV/AIDS — but on their hopes and dreams for the future that are unfolding in the present. What positive contributions have Black lesbians and gays made to their larger communities? How is their cultural and political creativity reflected in African American society? In the United States in general? Can more creative dialogue be built and maintained between activists/cultural workers and academics in delineating the breadth and scope of future research areas? These are some of the questions that will guide new areas of research on gay and lesbian populations in the African American community during the new millennium.

References

- Adams, C. & D. Kimmel. 1997. Exploring the lives of older African American gay men. In B. Greene (Ed.), Ethnic and cultural diversity among lesbians and gay men. Psychological perspectives on lesbian and gay issues, (pp. 132-151). Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: Sage Publications.
- AIDS Policy Law Newsletter Article. 1997. Deaths drop sharply; Blacks now exceed Whites in AIDS cases. AIDS Policy Law 12(5):1, 14-5.
- Baldwin, J. 1956. Giovanni's room. New York: Dell.
- Barron, M. 1975. "Recent developments in minority and race relations." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 420: 125-176.
- Beam, J. (Ed.) 1986. In the life: A Black gay anthology. Boston: Alyson Publications.

Bennett, M. & J. Battle. We can see them, but we can't hear them: LGBT members of African American families." In M. Bernstein & R. Reimann (Eds.), Queer families, queer politics: Challenging culture and the state. New York: Columbia University Press. In press.

Bonilla, L. and J. Porter. 1990. A comparison of Latino, Black, and non-Hispanic White attitudes toward homosexuality. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 12(4): 437-452.

Bowler, S., A. Sheon & L. D'Angelo. 1992. HIV and AIDS among Adolescents in the United States: Increasing risk in the 1990s. Journal of Adolescence, 15(4): 345-371.

Boykin, K. 1996. One more river to cross: Black & gay in America. New York & London: Doubleday Press.

Brunswick, A. & M. Flory. 1998. Changing HIV infection rates and risk in an African-American community cohort. AIDS Care, 10(3): 267-281.

Chatters, L., R. Taylor, & R. Jayakody. 1993. "Fictive kinship relationships in Black extended families." Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 25(3): 297-312.

Chng, C. & A. Moore. 1991. Can attitudes of college students towards AIDS and homosexuality be changed in six weeks?: The effects of a gay panel. Health-Values, 15(2): 41-49.

Cochran, S. & V. Mays. 1988b. Disclosure of sexual preferences to physicians by Black lesbian and bisexual women. Western Journal of Medicine, 149: 616-619.

Cochran, S. and V. Mays. 1988a. Epidemiologic and sociocultural factors in the transmission of HIV infection in Black gay and bisexual men." In M. Shernoff and W. Scott (Eds.), The sourcebook of lesbian/gay health care, (pp. 202-211). Washington, DC: National Gay and Lesbian Health Foundation.

Cochran, S. and V. Mays. 1994. Depressive distress among homosexually active African American men and women. American Journal of Psychiatry, 151: 524-529.

Cohen, C. 1999. The boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and breakdown of Black politics. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Collins, P. 1990. Black feminist thought. Cambridge: Unwin Hyman.

Crow, S., L. Fok & S. Hartman. 1998. Who is at greater risk of work-related discrimination: Women, Blacks or homosexuals? Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal, 11(1): 15-26.

Doll, L. & D. Joy, B. Bartholow, J. Harrison, G. Bolan, J. Douglas, L. Saltzman, P. Moss, & W. Delgado. 1992. Self-reported childhood and adolescent sexual abuse among adult homosexual and bisexual men. Child Abuse and Neglect, 16(6): 855-864.

DuBeau, T. 1997. Survival and sexual identity: Calvin—A gay adolescent. Reclaiming Children and Youth: Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Problems 6(1): 22-25.

Edwards, W. 1996. A sociological analysis of an invisible minority group: Male adolescent homosexuals. Youth and Society, 27(3): 334-355.

Ernst, F., R. Francis, H. Nevels and C. Lemeh. 1991. Condemnation of homosexuality in the Black community: A gender-specific phenomenon? Archives of Sexual Behavior, 20(6): 579-585.

Eversley, R. 1981. Out on the job: A Black lesbian feminist takes a courageous stand: An interview with Andrea Canaan. Catalyst, 4(12):13-19.

Fontes, L. (Ed.). 1995. Sexual abuse in nine North American cultures: Treatment and prevention. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Friedman, S., E. Quimby, M. Sufian, A. Abdul-Quader, & D. Des-Jarlais. 1988. Racial aspects of the AIDS epidemic. California-Sociologist, 11(1-2): 55-68.

Gibbs, J. 1997. African-American suicide: A cultural paradox. Suicide and Life Threatening Behavior, 27(1): 68-79.

Greene, B. 1997. Ethnic minority lesbians and gay men: Mental health and treatment issues. In B. Greene (Ed), Ethnic and cultural diversity among lesbians and gay men. Psychological perspectives on lesbian and gay issues, (pp. 216-239). Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: Sage Publications.

Greene, B. and N. Boyd-Franklin. 1996. African American lesbian couples: Ethnocultural considerations in psychotherapy. Women and Therapy, 19(3): 49-60.

Hall, R. and S. Suzanna. 1996. Friendships between African-American and White lesbians. In J. Weinstock, et al.'s Lesbian friendships: For ourselves and each other. The cutting edge: Lesbian life and literature, (pp. 165-191). New York: New York

University Press.

Harper, P. 1991. Eloquence and Epitaph: Black Nationalism and the homophobic impulse in responses to the death of Max Robinson. Social Text 28: 68-86.

Hemphill, E. (Ed.) 1991. Brother to brother: New writings by Black gay men. Boston: Alyson Publications.

Icard, L. & D. Traunstein. 1987. Black, Gay, alcoholic men: Their character and treatment. Social Casework, 68(5): 267-272.

Icard, L., R. Schilling & N. El-Bassel. 1992. Preventing AIDS among Black gay men and Black gay and heterosexual male intravenous drug users. Social Work, 37(5): 440-445.

Icard, L. 1985. Black gay men and conflicting social identities: Sexual orientation versus racial identity. Journal of Social Work and Human Sexuality, 4(1-2): 83-93.

Jones, B. and M. Hill. 1996. African American lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals. In R. Cabaj, et al.'s Textbook of homosexuality and mental health, (pp. 549-561). Washington, DC, USA: American Psychiatric Press, Inc.

Kimmel, D. & B. Sang. 1995. Lesbians and gay men in midlife. In A. D'Augelli & C. Patterson (Eds.), Lesbian, gay and bisexual identities across the lifespan: Psychological perspectives, (pp. 190-214). New York: Oxford University Press.

Koblin, B., P. Taylor, S. Avrett & C. Stevens. 1996. The feasibility of HIV-1 vaccine efficacy trials among gay/bisexual men in New York City: Project ACHIEVE. AIDS, 10(13): 1555-1561.

Lorde, A. 1978. Scratching the surface: Some notes on barriers to women and loving. Black Scholar, 9(7): 31-35.

Lorde, A. 1982. Zami: A new spelling of my name. New York: Persephone Press.

Manalansan, M. 1996. Double minorities: Latino, Black, and Asian men who have sex with men. In R. Savin-Williams, et al.'s (Eds.), The lives of lesbians, gays, and bisexuals: Children to adults, (pp. 393-415). Ft. Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Mays, V. & J. Jackson. 1991. AIDS survey methodology with Black Americans. Social Science and Medicine, 33: 47-54.

Mays, V. & S. Cochran. 1988. The Black women's relationship project: A national survey of Black lesbians. In M. Shernoff & W. Scott's A Sourcebook of gay/lesbian health care. Washington, DC: National Lesbian and Gay Health Foundation.

Mays, V. 1989. AIDS prevention in Black populations: Methods of a safer kind. In V. Mays, G. Albee, and S. Schneider (Eds.) Primary prevention of AIDS: Psychological approaches. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Mays, V., L. Chatters, S. Cochran, & J. Mackness. 1998. African American families in diversity: Gay men and lesbians as participants in family networks. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 29(1): 73-87.

Mays, V., S. Cochran & S. Rhue. 1993. The impact of perceived discrimination on the intimate relationships of Black lesbians. Journal of Homosexuality, 25(4): 1-14.

Mays, V., S. Cochran, G. Bellinger, R. Smith, N. Henley, M. Daniels, T. Gear, G. Victorienne, O. Osei, & D. Birt. 1992. The language of Black gay men's sexual behavior: Implications for AIDS risk reduction. Journal of Sex Research, 29(3): 425-434.

Ostrow, D., R. Whitaker, K. Frasier, & C. Cohen. 1991. Racial differences in social support and mental health in men with HIV infection: A pilot study. AIDS Care, 3(1): 55-62.

Peplau, L., S. Cochran, & V. Mays. 1997. A national survey of the intimate relationships of African American lesbians and gay men: A look at commitment, satisfaction, sexual behavior, and HIV disease. In B. Greene (Ed), Ethnic and cultural diversity among lesbians and gay men. Psychological perspectives on lesbian and gay issues, (pp. 11-38). Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Peterson, J. 1997. AIDS-related risks and same-sex behaviors among African American men. In M. Levine & P. Nardi (Eds), In changing times: Gay men and lesbians encounter HIV/AIDS, (pp. 283-301). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Peterson, J., S. Folkman and R. Bakeman. 1996. Stress, coping, HIV status, psychosocial resources, and depressive mood in African American gay, bisexual, and heterosexual men. American Journal of Community Psychology 24(4): 461-487.

Peterson, J., T. Coates, J. Catania, & W. Hauck. 1996. Evaluation of an HIV risk reduction intervention among African-American homosexual and bisexual men. AIDS, 10(3): 319-325.

Potgieter, C. 1997. From apartheid to Mandela's Constitution: Black South African lesbians in the nineties." In B. Greene (Ed.), Ethnic and cultural diversity among lesbians and gay men. Psychological perspectives on lesbian and gay issues, (pp. 88-116). Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Price-Spratley, T. 1996. Negotiating legacies: Audre Lorde, W.E.B. Du Bois, Marlon Riggs, and me. Harvard Educational Review, 66(2): 216-30.

Quimby, E. & S. Friedman. 1989. Dynamics of Black mobilization against AIDS in New York City. Social Problems, 36(4): 403-415.

Reitman, D., J. St. Lawrence & K. Jefferson. 1996. Predictors of African American adolescents' condom use and HIV risk behavior. AIDS Education and Prevention, 8(6):499-515.

Richardson, M., H. Myers, E. Bing & P. Satz. 1997. Substance use and psychopathology in African American men at risk for HIV infection. Journal of Community Psychology, 25(4): 353-370.

Rosario, M., M. Rotheram-Borus & H. Reid. 1996. Gay-related stress and its correlates among gay and bisexual male adolescents of predominantly Black and Hispanic background. Journal of Community Psychology, 24(2): 136-159.

Rotheram-Borus, J. & M. Rosario. 1994. Sexual and substance use acts of gay and bisexual male adolescents in New York City. Journal of Sex Research, 31(1): 47-57.

Seltzer, R. 1992. The social location of those holding antihomosexual attitudes. Sex Roles, 26(9-10): 391-398.

Siegel, K. & V. Raveis. 1997. Perceptions of access to HIV-related information, care, and services among infected minority men. Qualitative Health Research, 7(1): 9-31.

Smith, B. (Ed.) 1983. A Black feminist anthology. Albany, NY: Kitchen Table, Women of Color Press.

Smith, B. 1979. Toward a Black feminist criticism. Women's Studies International Quarterly, 2(2): 183-194.

Staples, R. 1978. The myth of Black sexual superiority: A re-examination. Black Scholar, 9(7): 16-23.

Staples, R. 1981. The changing world of Black singles. Westport, CT: Greenwood