Black Americans and Interracial Marriage: A Focus on Black Women

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This paper claims that although there has been a significant increase in the number of scholarly publications on interracial marriages in the United States in recent decades, most of these publications tend to focus on the small but visible increase in marriages, co-habitations and dating; how Whites or European Gentile Americans are gradually becoming accepting of these relationships; the factors that are causing non-Blacks to “reject” Blacks; and specifically factors that are causing White men and other non-Black men to “reject” Black women. As a result, the paper attempts to contribute to this topic by focusing on an important phenomenon—that it could actually be Black women who are turning down non-Black men. The paper presents eight factors that may be causing Black women to turn down interracial romantic relationship requests from non-Black men.

Keywords: Black American Women; Interracial Marriage; Economics; Education Levels; History; Gender and Race

Introduction

There has been a significant increase in the number of scholarly publications on interracial marriages in the United States in recent decades. These publications tend to focus on selected areas. One such area is the relatively small but visible increase in the number of interracial marriages, co-habitations, and dating in the post Civil Rights and Women’s Rights era. Another area that has been examined is the gradual acceptance in recent decades of these relationships by Whites or Gentile European Americans, especially acceptance of Asians, Hispanics and other non-Black human beings. A number of these studies have also focused on the factors that are causing non-Blacks to reject Blacks as potential marriage or dating partners, and specifically factors that are causing White Gentile European American men, certain Black men and other non-Black men to reject Black women (Banks, 2011; Blau et al., 1988; Cready & Saenz, 1997; Crowder & Tolnay, 2000; Huges, 2003a, 2003b; Kaba, 2011a; Kalmijn, 1993, 1998; Mare, 1991; Model & Fisher, 2001; Porter & Bronzaf, 1995; Tucker & Mitchell-Kernan, 1990; Qian, 1997; Walsh, 2012; Wong, 2003).

There has been very little or no attention paid to the fact that Black women in the United States might actually be the ones rejecting or turning down romantic relationship requests from Whites or non-Black men. This is an important neglected phenomenon that needs scholarly attention. As a result, this article attempts to contribute to this topic by focusing on this important phenomenon—that it is actually Black women who are turning down non-Black men’s requests for interracial romantic relationships.

This article examines the factors that are causing Black women to turn down interracial romantic relationship requests from non-Black men, especially White Gentile European American men. The article begins by presenting various statistics illustrating the trends in interracial romantic relationships in recent decades. Next, the article presents information focusing on the opinions of non-Blacks as to why so few of them “prefer” interracial romantic relationships such as marriage with Black people, and also more specifically, the reasons that have been presented as to why White Gentile European American men, other non-Black men, such as Asians and Hispanics, and Black men who prefer non-Black women, all do not get involved in marriage with Black women in the United States. Finally, the article makes the claim that it is actually Black women who turn down or reject non-Black men’s request for romantic relationships and goes on to present many factors responsible for this phenomenon.

Numbers and Percentages of Black Men and Black Women Involved in Interracial Romantic Unions

In 1980, there were 167,000 married Black/White couples and 34,400 marriages involving a Black person and another race in the United States. Of the 167,000 Black/White-married couples, 122,000 (73%) had a Black husband and a White wife, and 45,000 (27%) had a White husband and a Black wife. In 1990, there were 211,000 Black/White married couples in the United States and 33,000 married couples involving a Black person and another race. Out of the 211,000 Black/White-married couples, 150,000 (71%) had a Black husband and White wife and 61,000 (29%) had a White husband and a Black wife (US Census Bureau, 1999).

As of March 2000, there were 363,000 Black/White married couples and 88,000 Black/White unmarried couples, adding up to a total of 451,000 Black/White couples. During that same time, there were 25,000 Black/Asian and Pacific Islander married couples and 9000 Black/Asian and Pacific Islander (API) unmarried couples (Fields & Casper, 2001: p. 15).

In March 2000, there were 268,000 Black/White married
couples with a Black husband and a White wife, and 95,000 married couples with a Black wife and a White husband. There were 25,000 Black/Asian and Pacific Islander married couples with a Black husband and an Asian and Pacific Islander (API) wife. There were 12,000 Black/API married couples with a Black husband and an American Indian and Alaskan Native (AIAN) wife. There were 13,000 married couples with American Indian and Alaskan Native (AIAN) husbands and Black wives (Fields and Casper, 2001).

In a further breakdown using different race and ethnic classifications, as of March 2000, there were 41,000 marriages with Hispanic husbands and Black wives. There were 72,000 marriages with a Black husband and a Hispanic wife. There were 80,000 marriages with a White husband and a Black wife. There were 227,000 marriages with a Black husband and a White wife. There were 35,000 marriages with a Black husband and a wife belonging to a group classified as other. There were 11,000 marriages with a husband classified as other and the wife as Black (Fields and Casper, 2001).

In March 2000, there were 11,000 unmarried couples with a White male and a Black female. There were 69,000 unmarried couples with Black males and White females. There were 12,000 unmarried couples with Black males and Hispanic females. There were 5000 unmarried couples with Black males and females classified as other. There were 3000 unmarried couples with Hispanic males and Black females. There were 6000 unmarried couples with males classified as other and Black females (Fields and Casper, 2001).

In 2010, there were 2,413,000 interracial married couples in the United States. Of that total, 1,723,000 (71.4%) were between Whites and people in other racial groups. In 2010, there were 558,000 Black-White married couples in the United States, with 390,000 (69.9%) representing Black husbands and White wives and 168,000 (30.1%) representing White husbands and Black wives. In 2010, there were 132,000 marriages between Blacks and people in another race who were not White.

Pertaining to interracial dating, Ellis Cose cited an unpublished report claiming that: “In a survey of residents of 21 cities, Tucker & Co. found that 78 percent of black men (average age: 32) had dated interracially at least once, as had 53 percent of black women (average age: 34)” (Cose, 2003: p. 46). It is reported that the percentage of adult Blacks who have dated at least one White American in their lifetime was 43%, and 17% for Whites who have dated at least one Black in their lifetime (High Beam Research, 2003).

The above statistics illustrate that the overall Black-White and Black-Other races marriages or couples are not as large relative to the total number of Black people in the United States, which was 40 million in 2010, while the non-Hispanic White population was almost 200 million. The statistics above also show that although there are more marriage age Black women than Black men in the United States, there are more Black men involved in interracial romantic relationships.

Kaba (2011a) presents several factors that have been cited as responsible for the visible increase in the number of interracial marriages in general or co-habitations in the United States in recent decades. Among the factors cited are: Increase in tolerance in the United States, Assimilation, Socioeconomic/Status Exchange Theory and Education, Geographic Location, Military, and Age (pp. 123-124). However, all of these factors apply less to Blacks, especially Black women. Why then are so few Blacks involved in these relationships? For example, Kaba (2011a) cites the following factors that have contributed to very few Blacks married to Whites in the United States: Family and Racial Community Acceptance of Interracial Romantic Relationships, Group Size and Third Party Influence, Marginalization and Stigma, the History of Forced Sexual Relations on Blacks by Whites in the United States, Politics/Laws Preventing Blends from Interracial Marriages, and Concern about the Potential Transfer of Wealth in Interracial Marriages (pp. 124-127).

### Why Do So Few Whites and Non-Blacks Marry Blacks in the United States?

Although the proportion of Whites who support interracial marriages or unions has increased in the past several decades, as the data above show the actual marriage numbers are very small, especially with over 42 million Blacks and almost 200 million non-Hispanic Whites in the United States by 2011. A 1958 poll found that 96% of Whites disapproved of marriages between Blacks and Whites. In 1997, 77% of them approved (Kaba, 2011a: p. 124). By 2011, 84% of White Americans approved Black-White marriages (Kaba, 2011b: p. 168). However, an increase in approval of Black-White romantic relationships or marriages does not actually mean that substantial rates of Whites and other non-Blacks are in such relationships with Blacks. Moreover, dating is a lot different from being in a committed relationship. What has remained constant in the past 400 years is that actual sexual relations between the two groups have never stopped. In an article that reviews the book Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemmings; An American Controversy, by Annette Gordon-Reed (1998), Camp (2000) writes that: “Miscegenation in America is often a spectacular story, even when neither participant is famous: black/white liaisons in the United States are imbued with the love and hate, attraction and repulsion, desire and fear that exists across the color line. At the same time, though, miscegenation is a commonplace. Black and white couples, families, affairs, sexual predations share the banalities of all sexual and intimate relations. Most important, they are far from new and their status as scandal or surprise has not been static” (p. 279).

Let us examine some examples of these contradictions. In a study in which 60 individuals living in Southern California and involved in Black-White marriages, Walsh (2012) tells the story of a Black Husband-White wife: that when they started dating her “... parents were thrilled when we started seeing each other. In 1950s having your daughter going with a Neeg-roe (pro-nounced deliberately in two emphatic syllables) was like an endorsement for them, “Look everyone; we raised her with the right values. It was a validation for them. Nawt so-oo happy when we decided to get married” (p. 77). McClintock’s (2010) study of interracial romantic relationships among undergraduate students at Stanford University presents this example of a Black male student: “A Black male who described himself as having grown up in a poor minority neighborhood felt that he was an object of sexual novelty for White women. He said that the women he hooks up with ‘tend
to be White... and upper-class. And they're, they're 'slum-
ning'... they're 'slumming'! ... There's a class divide here that
no one talks about, but it really comes out in dating, because,
like, girls who will really hook up with me would never date
me”” (p. 67).

According to a 2001 Washington Post survey, about 4 in 10
Americans reported to have dated someone of another race and
a companion survey found that more than two-thirds of those
relationships were “serious romantic relationships.” According
to the Washington Post survey, 70% of Asian men and 63% of
Asian women have dated someone of another race. Sixty-two
percent of Black men and 47% of Black women reported to
have dated someone of another race. Fifty-five percent of La-
tino men and 36% of Latina women reported to have dated
someone of another race. Forty-four percent of White men and
35% of White women reported to have dated someone of an-
other race (Fears & Deane, 2001).

In a poll of people in the United States in 2001, the follow-
ing question was asked: “Considering everything, do you think
it’s better for people to marry someone of their own race, better
to marry someone of a different race, or doesn’t make any dif-
ference?” Seventy-seven percent of Blacks answered that it
does not make any difference. Twenty-one percent of Blacks
answered that they preferred for people to marry their own race.
Fifty-three percent of Whites answered that it makes no differ-
ce to marry another race and 46% answered that they pre-
ferred for people to marry within their own race. Sixty-eight
percent of Hispanics answered that it makes no difference to
marry another race and 29% answered that they preferred for
people to marry within their own race. Fifty-five percent of Bla-
cks answered that they preferred for people to marry their own
race (Fears & Deane, 2001).

Age seems to make a significant difference in the perception
of interracial dating and marriage, with younger Americans
showing less opposition to such relationships. Among those
who answered that it is “better to marry your own race,” 68%
were 65 years or over, 52% were 50 to 64 years, 34% were 30
to 49 years and 17% were 18 to 29 years (Fears & Deane, 2001).
Age has been cited for the increase in cross-cultural romantic
relationships. Younger individuals are said to be more open to
such relationships (Model & Fisher 2001; Joyner & Kao 2000;
Wilensky, 2002; McWhorter, 2003: pp. 70-71). According to
Model and Fisher (2001), “... younger people are expected to
exhibit higher rates because the passage of time is associated
with increasing tolerance for exogamy” (p. 179). Moreover,
America’s schools and colleges are more diverse than ever be-
fore and the teachers and professors are teaching students not
to judge people based on their ethnic or racial backgrounds,
rather they should judge people based on their character. Joy-
ner and Kao (2000) point out that Black male students on average
tend to attend schools that are 44% Black, while White male
students attend schools that are 73% White. Joyner and Kao
add that “… 10% of white students, 20% of black, 40% of His-
panic and Asian students, and the vast majority of Native
American youth report an interracial friendship” (p. 813).

Due to increased interactions among youths of all races and
ethnicities, and the increase of television programs and Holly-
wood movies depicting interracial activities and relationships,
most young people today of any race tend to be tolerant of
members of other ethnic or racial groups. McWhorter (2003)
noted that, “… increasingly movies for teens depict a world

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where, with no particular attention called to it, blacks and
whites coexist in easy harmony” (pp. 70-71). An investigation
of the “... the ratio of both-black marriages to mixed-black mar-
riages in 1990” shows that:

“It is in the early days of rollicking boyhood that the
revelation first bursts upon one, all in a day, as it were. I
remember well when the shadow swept across me. I was a
little thing, away up in the hills of New England, where
the dark Housatonic winds between Hoosac and Tagh-
kanic to the sea. In a wee wooden schoolhouse, something
put it into the boys' and girls' heads to buy gorgeous vis-
ing-cards-ten cents a package — and exchange. The ex-
change was merry, till one girl, a tall newcomer, refused
my card—refused it peremptorily, with a glance. Then it
dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was dif-
ferent from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life
and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil. I
had thereafter no desire to tear down that veil, to creep
through; I held all beyond it in common contempt, and
lived above it in a region of blue sky and great wandering
shadows. That sky was bluest when I could beat my mates

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at examination-time, or beat them at a foot-race, or even beat their stringy heads. Alas, with the years all this fine contempnt began to fade; for the worlds I longed for, and all their dazzling opportunities, were theirs, not mine. But they should not keep these prizes, I said; some, all, I would wrest from them” (p. 214; also see Granger, 2002).

In a study by Robnett and Feliciano (2011) of heterosexual individuals in the United States who are seeking romantic partners on the internet by posting their profiles, 96.69% of White men (444 sample size), 81.5% of Latino men (400 sample size), and 94.56% of Asian men (423 sample size) excluded Black women from their search for partners; 91.62% of White women (489 sample size); 76.4% of Latina women (504 sample size); and 94.44% of Asian women (468 sample size) also excluded Black men from their search for partners. Also, 29.23% of White men, 15.5% of Latino men, 20.8% of Asian men, 65.44% of White women, 16.5% of Latina women, 6% of Asian women said they prefer their own race (p. 815). Robnett and Feliciano (2011) add that:

“While limited research has focused on the primary structural assimilation of Middle Easterners or East Indians, recent studies argue that similar to the inclusion of European immigrant groups, the boundaries of ‘whiteness’ are extending to include Latinos and Asians, but remain closed to blacks... Evidence for this thesis is found in both the greater acceptance by whites of Latinos and Asians than blacks, and also the greater acceptance of whites than blacks by Latinos and Asians. For example, whites are more accepting of their children marrying Asians and Latinos than blacks... and, in turn, intermarriage between whites and Latinos or Asians is much more common than black-white intermarriage... Moreover, Asians and Latinos rate whites and one another more favorably than blacks... and both groups prefer to live with whites over blacks...” (p. 809).

According to Perry and Sutton (2008): “Although most inter-ethnic marriages include a white person, white people are the least likely to be married to someone outside their ethnic group—only 1 percent of white men or women had done so” (Quoted in the Introduction section of article).

Authors and scholars have pointed out that Black Americans are more accepting of interracial romantic relationships. Leslie (1996) points to observations that White American families were less accepting of interracial romantic relationships than Black American families. The reason for this was that Black mothers play a primary role within their families and that they tend to be more open and to relate to Whites than White men, who play a key role within their families, but tend to be less likely to accept people from outside racial groups. Leslie (1996) also adds that African American families tend to accept White-in-laws because of an Africentric heritage, which normally “emphasize the inclusion of blood grandchildren... close blood ties among African American families are related more to this Africentric concept on immortality and strong family traditions than to clannishness” (pp. 530-531). Kalmijn (1993) notes that among the reasons why White women marry Black men is that “… white women are generally more tolerant towards blacks than white men are” (p. 140), but also points to a 1990 US Census survey that shows a lower proportion of White men than White women who support laws banning Black-White marriages: “… 24% of white women favored these laws, while only 17.4% of white men did so (N754). When we just focus on high school graduates, the difference is of a similar magnitude, 21.5% for women and 16.2% for men” (p. 140).

The persistent unnecessary negative image of Black Americans in the society in the past centuries is a big part of this phenomenon. For example, Sivanarayanan (2005) points to research that claims that: “… the long history of photographic representations of black women into three broad groups: the naked female of the National Geographic or the ‘Jezebel aesthetic’ (the one I was most familiar with), the sexless ‘mammy’ aesthetic,” and the dignified figure of the black female that is part of the “noble savage” aesthetic” (p. 1109).

There is the perception in the society of Black Americans, especially Black women that they are angry, thereby causing non-Blacks not to desire them for romantic relationships, including marriage. According to Carter et al. (2008):

“The experience and expression of anger in Black populations has been widely documented... and some scholars discuss anger and its manifestations as a response to racism-related experiences... Although some scholars have recognized the centrality of anger and the racialcultural double-edged nature of its expression for Black Americans, these scholars have argued that the stereotypical social view of Blacks as being an angry people may also contribute to counselors’ and mental health professionals’ tendency to overpathologize them...” (p. 102).

Morgan and Bennett (2006) challenge the claim of a scholar with “… the stereotypes about Black women as angry and bitter, which have been embedded in contemporary discourses about Black male/White female relationships,” and explain “… the stereotype of the ‘Angry Black Woman’ as cultural ideology rather than social or psychological reality, an ideology that serves to silence and dehumanize Black women by blaming them for experiences of racist sexism that affect them in personal and political ways” (p. 486; also see Harris-Perry, 2011; Toldson & Marks, 2011).

In an article published in Psychology Today entitled “Why are Black Women Rated Physically Less Attractive Than Other Women, But Black Men are Rated Better Looking Than Other Men”, Kanazawa (2011) used data of a survey of adolescents on the attractiveness of females in the United States: 3.716 for White females; 3.567 for Black females; 3.675 for Asian females; and 3.657 for Native American females, and used that very tiny difference to claim that Black females are unattractive and that is the reason why non-Black men do not seek romantic relationships with them: “The only thing I can think of that might potentially explain the lower average level of physical attractiveness among black women is testosterone. Africans on average have higher levels of testosterone than other races... women with higher levels of testosterone have more masculine features and are therefore less physically attractive.” Simmons (2003) writes that: “Ongoing sexual stigmatization made it very risky for African American women to claim sexual freedom or pleasure” (p. 170).

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One can present a strong argument that among all of the racial and cultural groups and sub-groups in the United States, Black American women or Black females are actually the group that is least angry. For example, although Black females in the United States are almost 22 million, Kaba (2008a) points out that in June 2006 there were only 68,800 Black females in jails and prisons in the United States (p. 330). If one were to just stop and think about this: no other group has suffered as Black females in the history of the United States. This means that they have all of the excuses to commit crimes and yet only 68,800 of them were in jails and prisons in June 2006. Only people without anger and with a lot of discipline, calm temperament and deep faith can be so extraordinary. Is it not anger against Black females that is causing so many unnecessary deaths of Black baby girls, the exclusion of Black women from top leadership positions in the country, even though they and European American women are the most native to the United States apart from Native Americans, or the ongoing gender and racial prejudices targeted at them? (Kaba, 2012a, 2011c; Philpot & Walton Jr., 2007; Washington, 2006).

It takes deep anger to exhibit prejudice and racism against others. Let us now examine literature on Black men who do not date or marry Black women in the United States.

**Black Men Who Do Not Date or Marry Black Women**

Pertaining to the group of Black males who only date or marry White females or other non-Black females, Jeter (1982) points to a study of 40 Black-White couples in four states during the period from 1970 to 1974, in which the couples had dated for an average of 16 months before they got married. The couples entered their marriages at the average age of 24, and they had been married for five years after the study (an in-depth taped interviews with the couples) was conducted. According to the study, for 28 Black male-White female couples, and three White male-Black female couples, love and compatibility were cited as motive for their union. Three other Black male-White female couples cited “... love and compatibility and added that the white female was less domineering, pregnant, or perceived as a status symbol.” For two Black male-White female couples in the study, they did not cite love and compatibility, but for one of the couples, “... the husband wanted a less domineering white woman and to rebel against tradition. His wife was attracted to black men.” Finally, for the second couple, “... the husband felt he increased his social status. His spouse perceived herself as an outcast with white people” (p. 105).

Walsh’s (2012) study presents this account of a Black Husband-White wife on this claim:

“Marilyn Waters, 38, divorced her black husband after 18 years”. Marilyn not only relies on an image of “nice white girls” to explain her lack of assertiveness, she implicates me in her circle of white femininity with use of “us” and “we” to describe the hyper-politeness associated with “‘refined southern white la-dies’...” She uses her innocence associated with whiteness and femininity to excuse her inability to take a stand. Then, Marilyn engages in essentialist discourse while noting, “they hear everything, they see everything”. While it is unclear whether she attribute-

ing about both gender and race in her description of her ex-husband’s alleged omnipotence. When she invokes the metaphor of “being eaten up alive”, Marilyn relies on a familiar cultural representation, with a long history, which portrays black men, in general, and black sexuality, specifically, as predatory and all-consuming” (p. 78).

According to Morgan and Bennett (2006):

“The reversal of the discourse about interracial relationships from the historical construct in which White men sexually dominated Black women to the contemporary one in which Black men sexually commune with White women has significant consequences for constructions of all the racial groups involved. In asserting their gendered authority to place White women on a pedestal of femi-

nineity, Black men in interracial relationships with White women are also asserting their right to embody a norma-

tive masculinity from which they have been historically excluded. Thus Fanon’s prescient explanation of how Black men can grasp White civilization and dignity by grasping the White breasts remains valid in the twenty-

first century. Through partnering with White women, Black men escape the traps of degraded masculinity and offer the possibility of fancying themselves as privileged gentlemen, White knights to their, literally, fair ladies...” (p. 495).

Hughes (2003b) provides more reasons that Black males cited for courting and marrying women outside of their race. Hughes (2003b) cited a writer as saying that some Black men seek physical qualities such as “... long hair, light eyes, pale or caramel skin tone-describe women of Asian, Hispanic or mul-

tiracial descent...” (p. 70; Jones & Shorter-Goodeen 2003, pp. 117 and 178). Another writer is cited as saying that other rea-

sons: “... include allegations that the Black woman is attitude-

nal, selfish, lazy and sexually uptight...” (Hughes, 2003b: p. 74).

Hughes (2003b) adds that some Black women also appear to support Black men who date outside of their race, instead of condemning them. Also in other cases, Hughes (2003b) cited a writer as saying that Black women also influence Black men to marry outside of their race “... by unwittingly spreading nega-

tive ideas about other Black women in front of their male chil-

dren” (Hughes, 2003b: p. 74).

On the topic of Black men choosing White women over Black women because they are “nice”, Morgan and Bennett (2006) write: “Thus we often hear that Black men are choosing White women because they are ‘nice, gentle, know how to treat their men, etc., in short, because they conform to standards of femininity from more than a century in the past’ (p. 495). A-

ccording to Rogers (1944):

“A black man of social standing rarely, if ever, marries a woman of his own complexion. In the West Indies one who does so would be charged with having done nothing to elevate his race... The black man desires the white woman not for what she is, but rather for what she repre-

sents, that is, better social and economic opportunity, while the white man desires the black woman not for what she represents but for what she is. The urge of the former is sociologic; of the latter biologic. The black as a rule, seeks gain or prestige; the white sensual, or sensuous, love...” (pp. 69,93).
Calls for Black American Women to Date or Marry Whites and Other Non-Black Men

As a result of all of the examples presented above, there are calls from the media, academia and some Black women who are already in interracial marriages for Black women in general in the United States, especially native-born, to start dating and marrying White men and other non-Black men. In a review of the book *Is Marriage for White People?* (2011) by Ralph Banks, Banard (2011) writes:

“What to do about the black family is a dilemma that has preoccupied sociologists, psychologists, journalists, screenwriters, novelists, and ordinary people for decades. Few have unreservedly advocated the refreshing solution Banks offers: interracial marriage. While black men have long felt free to choose white mates, he notes, black women are ‘more segregated in the intimate marketplace than any group in American society’” (p. 90).

It has been noted that interracial marriages including Blacks last longer than Black-Black marriages. According to the study of Jones (2010): “In this sample, there are a lower number of interracial marriages that end in divorce compared to White-only and Black-only marriages. Specifically 25.1% of interracial marriages ended in divorce, compared to 30.9% of White-only marriages and 37.2% of Black-only marriages” (p. 247). According to the study of Wong (2003), Black American men who intermarry, had less difficulty in staying married than their counterparts who intramarried: the mean duration is 8,667 years for intermarried Black men and 8,357 years for their intramarried cohorts. Wong (2003) adds that the percentage of “... interrupted marriage spell for the intramarried families exceeded that for the intermarried by 16.2%” (p. 813).

In addition, due to their increasing gains in higher education and entrance into high-paying professions, Black American women also find it difficult to marry Black men of similar social status (Crowder & Tolnay, 2000; Fenyo, 2001; Kalmijn, 1993; Lichter et al., 1991: pp. 844-845; McClain, 2004; Mills et al., 1999; Porter & Bronzwa, 1995; Qian, 1997; Wilson, 1987; Wong, 2003). Also, up to one million Black males are in prison or under the control of the criminal justice system (Lichter et al., 1991: p. 846; Williams, 2003), and in the military overseas, where they tend to meet non-Black women. Williams (2003) points out that in 2000, there were 791,600 Black males (almost half of those incarcerated) incarcerated in American jails and prisons (p. 30). As of 2000, there were 272,818 (20.1% of total) African Americans in uniform in the US military, with males accounting for over 200,000 (The New York Times Almanac, 2004: p. 153).

Crowder and Tolnay (2000) point out that from 1970 to 1990, the proportion of African American women age 18 and over, who were married declined from 62% to 43%. In 1990, 35% of African American women under age 35 had never married. In 1970, that figure was 49% (p. 792). As of March 2000, there were 562,000 non-Hispanic Black men and 498,000 non-Hispanic Black women who were unmarried partners. There were 4,294,000 Black men and 4,097,000 Black women who were married spouses (Fields & Casper, 2001: p. 7).

Porter and Bronzwa (1995) assert “... that as Black single women seek good educations and high-paying jobs, they find it more difficult to locate suitable marriage partners of any race” and that many of those educated black women “will accept nothing less than a mate of similar educational level” (p. 163). They claim that the higher the level of education a Black woman has, the higher her chances of divorce. They point to claims that the sometimes aggressive and violent behavior of Black men towards Black women are due to “… their attempts to adopt White men’s role…” and that Black men’s inability to fully participate as men, like that enjoyed by White men in the society, “…exacerbates Black male/female tension” (p. 163).

In the United States where Blacks, Whites, Asians, Hispanics and other races will live together for the rest of time. Kennedy (2002) provides an account of Harvard University Sociologist, Orlando Patterson’s suggestion that Black women should attempt to meet other men of different races and ethnic backgrounds. According to Kennedy, Patterson suggests removing the racial barriers within the marriage market will benefit Black women, “because large numbers of white men are and will increasingly become open to marrying black women, if given a chance.” Patterson also notes that if only one out of every five non-Black men “were to court black women, the pool of potential spouses available to those women would immediately double.” According to Kennedy, Patterson claims that: “… this would be good not only because it would make marriage more accessible to black women but also because larger numbers of white (and other) suitors might well fortify black women in their dealings with black men. As Patterson sees it, by forswearing nonblack suitors, many black women have senselessly put themselves at the mercy of black men, who have declined to be as accommodating as they might be in the face of greater competition” (Kennedy, 2002).

Hughes (2003a) quoted a 24-year-old Black woman who is a native of Memphis, Tennessee, as saying that: “Your soul mate may not be what you expect. He may not be this tall, bald, chocolate-covered Brother; he may be this beautiful, blond-haired, blue-eyed man, or this beautiful yellow man. He can be Asian, Spanish, Arabian, anything, you never know who you’re going to fall in love with, or who is going to love you the way you need to be loved. So why wait on a Black man?” (p. 56).

Hughes (2003a) also cited a writer as saying: “If Black women are going to have partners they’re going to have to look at Italian men, Latino men, men of other ethnic groups... Black women have to open doors. They have to give themselves more options” (p. 56).

It is useful to point out that with all of the suggestions above for Black American women to date and marry White men in particular, the most recent numbers actually show a very substantial decline in marriages between Black women and White men in the United States from 2009 to 2010. For example, while the number of Black husband and White wife married couples increased from 354,000 to 390,000 (36,000 increase) from 2009 to 2010; from 128,000 to 132,000 (4000 increase) for Blacks married to people of another race that were not White; the figure for White husbands and Black wives declined from 196,000 in 2009 to 168,000 in 2010 (a decline of 28,000)

This brings us to the question: With all of these factors, why then is the vast majority of Black American women not marrying outside of their race as has been suggested above?

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Why Do Black American Women Turn down Courtship Requests from Non-Black Men?

An interesting observation of the tiny fraction of Black women who marry White men in the United States is that a significant number of those Black women actually marry foreign-born White European men and Jewish men. Also, a significant number of foreign-born Black women tend to marry White men in the United States. Black men, however, tend to marry native-born White American women, when compared with Black women. For example, according to research by Cready and Saenz (1997), 67% of Black husbands who marry outside their race married “an Anglo”, compared with 51% of Black wives (p. 343). Research findings by Model and Fisher (2001) show that more West Indian Black females who arrived in the United States as children, and native-born (in United States) West Indian females, are more likely than African American females to be in a romantic relationship with White males (p. 182).

Kalmijn (1993) points out that marriages involving Black women and foreign-born White men comprised a significant proportion of interracial marriages involving Blacks. In 1986, such marriages represented 28 percent (p. 140). Within the Black population in the United States, Cready and Saenz (1997) note that “only 1.5 percent and 2.4 percent of native-born African American husbands and wives, respectively, married a foreign-born Black” (p. 343). Also, research by Romano (2006: pp. 123-124), Kaba (2011a: pp. 168-169), and Brettschneider (2010) all provide examples of visible or significant interracial romantic relationships, including marriages between Blacks and Jews in the United States.

Banard (2011) writes of Black women that: “They view interracial relationships as too complicated and see partnering with black men as an expression of a larger commitment to the race itself; often, black women aren’t as attracted to men of other races as they are to black men” (p. 90). Kitwana (2002) presents an account of a professional Black woman writing about her difficulty in meeting the right Black man. According to the account, this professional Black woman claims to have achieved a lot in her life, including attaining a very good college education, but her chances dimmer, comes mainly because I am a black woman trying to love a black man...” (p. 110).

According to the study of Robnett and Feliciano (2011) on the preferences of various racial and cultural groups in the United States on their selection of potential mates on an internet dating website, 76.5% of Black women (567 sample size) exclude White men, 92.24% exclude Asian men, 63.14% exclude Latino men. Also 45% of Black women said they prefer their own race. For Black men (401 sample size), 11.5% exclude their own race and 23% prefer their own race; 71.32% exclude White women; 71% exclude Asian women, and 39.15% exclude Latinas (p. 815). The fact that up to 4 out of every 5 Black women excluded White men as a potential partner is very significant. This is partly due to the fact that while Black Americans are reported to be at least 21.68% White or European (Jin et al., 2011: p. 2), there are a lot more Black females who look almost White in complexion or have very light skin than Black men. According to Rogers (1952), one important proof of the number of Black males who crossed the line to live as Whites was that “...very fair Negro women are much more in evidence than very fair Negro males” (p. 200). Kaba’s (2012b) study of 100 prominent Black Americans from all walks of life aged 25 to 45 shows that 47% of them are light skinned, but of the 34 women in the study, 53% are light skinned; and of the 66 men, 44% are light skinned (p. 14). Interestingly, light skinned Black American women, it is observed, tend to prefer not just Black males, but dark or brown skinned Black males. Or that these dark and brown skinned males tend to prefer them. Rogers (1944) points out that: “... in the United States where intermarriage is unpopular light girls will marry dark men. As was said, whiteness is a standard of social value, and certain black men, feeling greatly the handicap of color, desire to identify themselves with white, and failing that, as near to white as possible. Besides, to be seen with such a woman makes them the envy of certain Negroes... Black men, in short, win ‘light’ women for the same reason that plain men are usually more successful suitors than handsome ones. The former, in endeavoring to atone for what they consider a defect, are less proud and more considerate. I have this statement direct from the lips of many of these ‘light’ women themselves. One of them told me that there is hardly anything black men will not do for her. Another who ‘passed for white’ told me that she was prompted to accept her husband not because she really loved him but because he was so very attentive.” “Kindness,” she said, “goes a long way toward winning a woman.” (pp. 71-74).

In this section of this article, I will present the following eight interrelated factors that have contributed to Black American women resisting interracial romantic relationship requests or courtship, including marriage from White men and other non-black men in the United States: 1) History of Slavery and Rape/Forced Relationships; 2) Concubinage/Politics/Laws Preventing Blacks from Interracial Marriages; 3) Harsh and Cruel Punishment of Black Males and Females; 4) Maintaining Racial Cultural Heritage and Communities; 5) Fear of Perception of Being a Prostitute; 6) Physical Appearance or Attraction/Body Hair; 7) Education and Financial Success and Concern about Transfer of Wealth; and (8) Religion/Religiosity. These eight factors combined have at least three important characteristics: 1) Importance of history; 2) Economics; and 3) The importance of gender as a variable, meaning that there are many important instances when gender becomes a stronger or more important variable than race or ethnicity.

History of Slavery and Rape/Forced Relationships

By the second decade of the twenty-first century, the diagnosis of Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome has been established to explain the painful experience and legacy of slavery going on at this moment. According to Degloma (2009): “Advancing a collective experience framework, proponents of Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome claim that the psychological impact of American slavery spreads beyond those who directly experienced those events to reach present generations of African Americans” (p. 111; also see Green and Darity Jr., 2010). One of the most disturbing aspects of slavery and Jim Crow is the rape and forced sexual relationships that Black people, especially Black females, experienced in the United States. This tragedy is so hurtful that it is one of the most im-
important factors causing the vast majority of Black females not to get involved in interracial romantic relationships with Gentile European American men and other non-Black men. Black women want to show that unlike previous times they now have control over their bodies. Yarbrough (2005) points out that: “In the eyes of many ex-slaves, relationships between whites and blacks were usually matters of forced sex between the powerful and the powerless: "[I] immoral white men have, by force, injected their blood into our veins..."” (p. 560). Yarbrough (2005) adds that:

“The dynamics and differentials of power between masters and slaves complicate the notions of consent and choice. The subtext for interaction of this sort is the threat of violence: both slaves and masters recognized that masters could force their will upon slaves by means of physical punishment. The prospect of violent reprisal impinged on decisions by slaves to comply with or resist the sexual demands of masters... Ellen Sinclair recounted the incestuous tangle of relationships on the plantation where she grew up: ‘Ol man Anderson he hab a daughter by one of he slaves and he son hab a chile by dat daughter [his half-sister]. Dey mek de wimmen do what dey want and cose, dey slaves and couln’t help deyself” (p. 565; also see Belknap, 2010: pp. 1089-1090).

According to Millward (2010): “White men could legally marry white women and at the same time force their sexual desires upon enslaved women. While the laws of slaveholding supported violations by slave owners against enslaved women, legislation also erased evidence of bondwomen’s intimate relationships with enslaved men. As human property, enslaved women and men were legally ‘incapable of civil marriage...’” (p. 22). Millward (2010) adds that:

“Early laws of colonial America reveal planter dependence on the natural reproduction of the enslaved population. In 1662 the Virginia state legislature determined that racial chattel slavery would be a permanent, inheritable condition by asserting that the status of the child follows that of the mother. If the mother was enslaved, so too would be the children, regardless of the status of the children’s father... This law ensured that children of free black men and enslaved women also faced a lifetime of enslavement and that children descended from white men could not lay claim to their fathers’ free or Christian status. The laws of this era privileged white male authority: whereas the 1662 law upheld the power of a slaveholder to engage in relations with enslaved women, a 1664 law of Maryland criminalized relationships between white women and black men... A white woman who married a black man was declared a ‘slave’ for the duration of the life of her spouse. Any children born to these women became slaves. As these early laws of slavery reveal, interracial relationships often held legal consequences for those who were not part of the power structure” (p. 24).

Firmin and Firebaugh (2008) also note that: “Caucasian and African American Romantic relationships are not new and evidence suggests their occurrence from before the time of slavery. During slave times opposition between these two races was exacerbated by some slave owners raping African American women. Evidence also suggests that some Caucasian women used African American slaves as concubines” (p. 782). Hughes (2003a) cites a scholar by writing that: “There was a time when Black women considered interracial dating, dating White men in particular, as something no respectable woman would do because of the widespread belief that men of other races are only interested in Black women for sexual reasons... And the other [deterring] factor is the legacy of slavery. Black women did not have control of their sexuality during slavery, so during the post-slavery period they took control. And part of what evolved from that [newfound control] was an avoidance of men other than Black men” (p. 56). Cose (2003) writes that: “For years, there has been a general assumption that while black men were comfortable dating white women, black women (for many reasons, some having to do with exploitation dating back to the time of slavery) generally steered clear of white men” (p. 46).

Concubinage/Politics/Laws Preventing Blacks from Interracial Marriages

A very important factor contributing to Black American women turning down romantic relationship requests from White Americans and other non-Black men is the centuries-long belief by these White men in the country in treating Black women as concubines instead of standing up and taking responsibility and accountability and engage in committed relationships. This behavior, which has been either due to the individual White male himself or it is due to politics and law (Fryer Jr., 2007: p. 74; Strub, 2007)—making it illegal to marry Black women, but will have children with these Black women and abandon their own children and let the Black women and their families raise the children. Scanlon (1998) writes about Black women in the Caribbean and their experience and the issue of illegitimate births: “...the rate of illegitimate births to be 75 percent... the common problems of widespread concubinage and paternal desertion... ‘The only fulfilled woman is the one who uses her reproductive organs’... pointing to the problem of single mothers’ abandoning children” (p. 63; also see Oakley, 2007: p. 108; Peterson, 2012²).

In other instances, these men enslaved their own children. For example, the late abolitionist, Frederick Douglas, writes that his own White slave master was said to be his father: “If the legal descendants of Ham are alone to be scripturally enslaved, it is certain that slavery at the south must soon become unscriptural; for thousands are ushered into the world, annually, who, like myself, owe their existence to white fathers, and those fathers most frequently their own masters” (Douglas, 2002: p. 28).

Although Black women and White men have had far more mating than Black men and White women in the history of the United States, most White men involved in such relationships have done so by treating the Black woman as a concubine, while Black men and White women carried their relationships “as equal” partners. Scanlon (1998) cites a line in a poem pertaining to the use of Black women as concubines: “I am not your concubine by night. Transformed by memory by day” (p. 59; also see Drake, 1997: p. 104; O’Brien, 2006; Morgan & Bennett, 2006: pp. 499-501; Rogers, 1944: pp. 28-29, 156 and 202). Sowell (1978) adds that: “An estimated 1 to 2 percent of the children born to plantation slave women were fathered by

white men whereas in the Southern cities this proportion approached 50 percent. Since only about 6 percent of all slaves were in the cities, while 60 percent were on cotton plantations alone...” (p. 28).

Jeter (1982) cites: “...accounts about Benjamin Franklin and George Washington engaging in sexual affairs with black women and Alexander Hamilton being mulatto and bearing two black sons. [and]...the notorious story of a Thomas Jefferson/Sally Hemings relationship” (Quoted in “Marriages between Blacks and Whites” section of article). Camp (2000) writes that: “Jefferson was perhaps the most striking and articulate example of the fusion of American slavery with American freedom. That he had an ongoing sexual relationship with an enslaved woman only deepens Jefferson’s embodiment of the contradictions that constitute both this nation and the South.” (p. 275). Camp (2000) continues:

“Sally Hemings bore Thomas Jefferson six children, four of whom lived beyond childhood. Jefferson’s appeal for Hemings may have been the relative privileges he could and did offer to her and her children. It may be, too, that Hemings more or less assumed she would have a white paramour: her father was white, as were both her grandfathers; for two generations before her, black women in her family had engaged in sexual relations with powerful white men. Hemings’s possible attractions for Jefferson include her renowned beauty, their shared lives in Paris and at Monticello, as well as the fact that he could never marry her, which allowed him to remain true to the pledge he made to his dying wife that he would never marry another”(p. 276; also see Washington-Williams & Sidiademi, 2005).

Writing about Black women in the Caribbean during slavery, Soomer (2000) points to a study by a scholar:

“Bush points to a variety of connections made between the robust nature of African women and animals. These women were perceived to have no problems bearing children and were expected to serve as wet nurses for their more fragile counterparts. She adds that, ‘despite the unflattering picture painted by white men, in practice the physical appearance of black women failed to repel them sexually.’... This would account for the increasing number of people of mixed ancestry found in the Caribbean, especially in the French colonies and Jamaica. It would also explain the expected concubinage and prostitution of black and colored women. These facts, according to Bush, point to the hypocrisy of white males during slavery. For example, in San Domingue (Haiti) at the time of the revolution in 1789, there were approximately 400,000 slaves, 30,000 free coloreds and 20,000 whites” (p. 4).

According to Millward (2010): “The placage system and the facility of manumission within Spanish and French colonial laws produced a large free black class prior to and after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Some Louisiana planters appear to have delighted in attending social functions with their black mistresses while their white wives pretended to be oblivious. Others participated in buying and selling bondwomen in the ‘fancy girl’ trade, where slaveholders purchased women for their sexual gratification” (p. 22). According to W. E. B. DuBois: “...having finally gotten myself born, with a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, but thank God No ‘Anglo-Saxon,’ I come to the days of my childhood” (Lewis, 1993: p. 26).

According to Millward (2010): “Given the complexities of sexual relationships in which it was impossible for a woman to withhold consent, and human emotions being as fraught as they are, it is not surprising that dialogues about enslaved women’s sexuality and their experiences with white men, in particular, remain contentious. Was an enslaved woman a mistress, a concubine, a forced breeder, or an unwilling victim of the slaveholder?” (p. 23). According to Jacobs (2002):

“In general, interracial relationships between white men of the colonizing, dominant group and nonwhite women of colonized, conquered, and/or enslaved groups have been tolerated. Although laws in many colonies and states forbid interracial marriage between white men and black women, for example, many white slave owners commonly engaged in forced sex, concubinage, and informal relationships with their female slaves without social opprobrium... As we shall see, relationships between white men and Indian women were similarly tolerated within American society. Liaisons between white men and non-white women did not violate the hierarchical order that developed between European Americans, African Americans, and American Indians. Rather, they represented extensions and reinforcements of colonialism, conquest, and domination” (p. 31; also see Malherbe, 2006; Mitchell, 2001: pp. 65-66).

In an article about the following Black women: Harriet Jacobs, Billie Holiday and Sister Souljah, Pittman (2007) presents this quote: “[B]lack women writers responded to the myth of the black woman’s sexual licentiousness by insisting fiercely on her chastity. Fighting to overcome their heritage of rape and concubinage,... they stripped the characters they created of all sexual desire, impring instead the ‘purity,’ the sexual morality of the Victorian bourgeoisie” (p. 49; also see Fisher & Wizebe, 2003).

Writing about the plight of Black women in Louisiana from the 1700s Brattain (2005) points out that: “Spanish colonial officials, who took control of the territory in 1769, found it equally difficult to prevent interracial sex, even though prohibitions on marriage and on public sexual affairs outside of marriage-known legally as ‘concubinage’—remained in place. Indeed interracial unions occurred often enough that the French and the Spanish legal systems recognized three distinct populations: Europeans, free people of color, and slaves” (pp. 628-629). During the the first few decades of the 1900s, Brattain (2005) points out that: “Various kinds of disguises have been utilized by parties to conceal the relation of concubinage—housekeeper, storekeeper, cook, maid, nurse, niece, sister-in-law, etc.’... The first five categories were particularly meaningful for black women and white men, as black women more often held such jobs in white households” (pp. 639-641).

Today, most Black American females, including those in college or even high school, would only consider White American males or other non-black males courting them if they are willing to be in a committed relationship, where they can be seen in public by everyone and would accept no concubinage activities. McClintock’s (2010) study of interracial romantic relationships among undergraduate students at Stanford University quoted one of her subjects, a White male as saying:
“This sense of novelty in having an interracial partner was also expressed by a White male, who commented: “Least I’ve gotten some different ethnicity. I haven’t gone out with a Black girl yet. I feel like that’s something I ought to do” (p. 67).

As a result, McClintock’s (2010) study finds that Black females were least likely to be involved in “Hookups”—having sex with someone without any commitment or relationship. Of the 1368 students in her study, McClintock (2010) finds that:

“For example, Asian women and Black men are over-represented in hookups, compared to Asian men and Black women (96 Asian women to 54 Asian men and 61 Black men to 39 Black women)... White and Black men and Asian women participate in significantly more interracial hookups than their same-race other-gender peers, and White men and Asian women also participate in significantly more interracial dates... Although the differences in rates of interracial partnering are not always significant, White women display a higher homophily bias than White men in all relationship forms, and Asian women display a lower homophily bias than Asian men in all relationship forms. The gender difference among Blacks is not consistent: In hookups, the homophily bias is stronger among Black women, in dates there is little gender difference, and in long-term relationships the homophily bias is stronger among Black men. Hispanic students generally have a low homophily bias and display less gender difference in homophily bias compared to the other groups... Black women are somewhat overrepresented in dates, compared to their representation in hookups and relationships...” (pp. 56-66).

Harsh and Cruel Punishment of Black Males and Females

One must never underestimate the continuous severe punishment of Black people by people of European descent in the United States, the New World and the Old World (Africa, Asia and Europe) in the past five centuries as a contributing factor as to why Black American women refuse to date and marry Whites and other non-Blacks. From severe punishment of Black girls (including handcuffing a six-year old Black girl and taking her to a police station due to a claim that she was disruptive in school in the state of Georgia by government officials) and women (Strauss, 2012; Smith, 2012; Salomon, 2011). According to a March 12, 2012 study released by the United States Department of Education, among boys in school, 20% of Black males and 7% of White males were suspended out of school and among girls, 11% of Black girls and 3% of White girls were suspended out of school (US Department of Education, 2012: p. 3); false charges against Black males and severe beatings and killings of Black boys and men by White Americans and others to this day (Burton, 2012); the extremely high incarceration rates of Black boys and men in the United States (Alexander, 2010; Bobo, 2009; Bobo & Thompson, 2006; Kaba, 2010); and the constant public humiliation of Black people in the United States, including the first Black President, Barack Obama, Black legislators and other prominent and not so prominent Blacks, who have suffered all kinds of abuse and humiliation from Whites. But President Barack Obama and other Black leaders always show calm temperament and never attempt to fight back or take revenge for their humiliation, and quick to publicly forgive those people. As Kaba (2011c) points out in an article entitled: “Race, Conquest and Revenge: Why Do Black People Resist Racial Revenge?” Black people world-wide are the one group who have refused to take revenge against people of European descent and also against those of other racial groups for all of the humiliation and terrorization they have suffered under them. However, Black women might use these experiences and decide not to get involved with people who treat them and their male children, husbands and relatives in this manner. Might it be that, because of the almost one million Black males in prisons in the United States where they are “...paid 4 cents to 20 cents an hour” to work in White communities (Kaba, 2010: p. 118; also see Blackmon, 2009; Taslitz, 2009: pp. 393-394) a reason why most Black women do not want to get involved in romantic relationships with White men and other non-Black men? In June 2006, of the 2,042,100 males in local jails, State or Federal prisons, non-Hispanic Whites males accounted for 718,100 (35.2%), Black males accounted for 836,800 (41%) and Hispanic males accounted for 426,900 (21%) (Kaba, 2008a: p. 330).

The late Black American abolitionist Frederick Douglass wrote about his disapproval of the way Black women were beaten by White men during his time. For example, Millward (2010) points out that, “Frederick Douglass depicted the violent whipping of his aunt Hester” (p. 23). W. E. B. DuBois notes that: “I shall forgive the white South much in its final judgment day: I shall forgive its slavery, for slavery is a world-old habit; I shall forgive its fighting for a well-lost cause... I shall forgive its so-called ‘pride of race’... but one thing I shall never forgive, neither in this world nor the world to come: its wanton and continued and persistent insulting of black womanhood” (Morgan & Bennett, 2006: p. 486). Writing about Black women in the Caribbean during slavery, Soomer (2000) points out that: “There was no difference in the punishment of men and women on the plantations. Women were often subjected to whipping by male slave drivers or overseers. The slave owner was usually the one to inflict corporal punishment. In the post 1820 period there were attempts to improve these conditions and in 1823 floggings of women became illegal. Before this period however, all women even if pregnant were stripped and beaten publicly” (p. 7). Perry and Sutton (2008) examine: “... the broad public prejudices and hostilities against interracial relationships, and more concretely, how these negative reactions to sexed and raced border crossings might condition violence against those in such relationships. They provide the context and pretext in which perpetrators engage in a particular form of hate crime. We argue here that the ‘ethnosexual imaginings and ideologies’ noted above often manifest themselves in violent
The extremely high incarceration rate of Black males has not only contributed to Black females deciding not to date or marry Whites and other non-Blacks because some might see it as a conspiracy to remove as many Black males as possible out of the general society, which might pressure Black females to accept concubinage relationships from White men, but it has also cause the almost Black baby boys born for every 100 Black baby girls born versus 1.06 baby boys born for every 100 baby girls born in the world (pp. 141-142).

Maintaining Racial/Cultural Heritage and Communities

One of the most important reasons that not only Blacks and Whites but other racial and cultural groups have presented in opposing interracial marriage or romantic relationships is to maintain their racial or cultural heritage. According to Morgan and Bennett (2006): "In actuality, for African Americans of both genders, interracial relationships are not simply about individuals in a multi-colored bubble looking for "true love" beneath a romantic rainbow. Choosing to intermarry or not to intermarry involves love, commitment, promises, memories, and culture-building that reinforce cultural knowledge... Interracial marriage in the United States will not dismantle the nations of China, Japan, Korea, etc. Because African Americans are a minority community without a clear nation of origin, interracial marriage raises practical concerns regarding the endurance, independence, and uniqueness of Black communities and whether their cultural practices are in jeopardy. These are concerns raised when any minority community, in any national context, assesses the impact of romantic, sexual, and marital relationships with members of a majority community. Yet, Black women are dismissed as angry when they express these concerns" (pp. 487-488).

Maillard (2012) points out that: “People date and marry with friends and family in mind. Community reprisal could be a big factor, as blacks and whites may fear reactions from their home communities about their choice of partner. Their personal decision is not so individual—it becomes something larger.” Mitchell (2006) writes: “Such concerns would persist, with Marcus Garvey arguing in 1922 that black men needed to strike back on white men trying to get too close to black women.” It was important, in his view, to protect “the purity of the black race not only down South, but all through the world... Writers and activists exhorted black women to shun the attentions of white men, believing that "rape, concubinage, and miscegenation compromised racial reproduction"... This thinking was seconded by Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro
Improvement Association, which actively promoted ‘racial purity’...” (p. 689).

According to Williams (2009), when the late Black American movie and entertainment star Lena Horne married a White man in the late 1940s, she was so worried about the reactions of both the Black and White populations that they kept it secret for years: “In 1947 Horne secretly married MGM musical director Lennie Hayton, a white conductor, arranger, and pianist, in Paris. Fearing negative reactions from both white and African American fans, the couple dated secretly for three years prior to their marriage and decided to continue their clandestine relationship until publicly announcing their union in 1950... Overall, the reasons for Horne’s secrecy concerning her relationship with Hayton and the responses it garnered once publicized reflect African Americans’ contempt of, ambivalence about, and support for interracial marriage during the 1940s and 1950s” (p. 130).

In May 2003, the CBS television program “60 Minutes” replayed some of its old programs to celebrate its 35th year on the air. Among some of the stories was that of Lena Horne’s marriage to a White/Jewish man. Here is a short transcript of the interview:

“Ed Bradley also talked to Lena Horne about her second husband, Lennie Hayton, a musical arranger who was also white and Jewish. For three years, Horne kept her marriage a secret.

‘He had more entree than the black men,’ says Horne. But did she love him?

‘Not at first. I learned to. He loved me very much, and I learned to love him because of how good he was to me, and patient and the things he taught me,’ says Horne.

‘And he could come in the club with me and ask for this and that and the other and that would happen, where a colored man—I revert to that word, because in those days that’s what we said—couldn’t get me a job. And I had to love him for that, because you see, then I began to be very hungry for him to see me as black.’” (CBS Television “60 Minutes” 2003, May 18).

Walsh (2012) presents this account of a Black man who is married to a White woman, but in opposition to his daughter marrying a White man:

“Notice how Maurice Holland’s beliefs about gender cannot be disentangled from his racial notions:

Unm I don’t know about my baby, but my older two picked black people to marry. Whether she will or not I don’t know. I don’t know. (ETW: Will it matter to you?) Oh yeah (Talk about that to me).

Kris. Umm I hope she doesn’t. I mean, I don’t like white men. In general I don’t. It would be hard. Yeah I would not be in favor of that. I couldn’t know his white family’s outlook, see, about racial things. And it could impact her. How would he raise kids? Ya know? I would be very, very upset if that was the case, a white man. I would actively discourage it. (ETW: What if your son married a white girl. Would you feel the same way?) No.

(ETW: Tell me about that) Because generally the wife adapts to and enters into the husband’s world. I’d say that essentially is what it is. Ya know? And um, if my son married white, she’d come into his world. And I would imagine if my daughter married white, her life would be in his world. Just the way it is. Maurice married his white wife in 1967” (p. 78).

McClintock (2010) presents this account of a Black female student in her Stanford University study:

“In contrast, Black students, particularly Black women, expressed hesitation to engage in any interracial sexual or romantic partnership (including hookup). When asked whether it was important that potential hookup partners be of her own race, a Black woman seemed uncomfortable, but acknowledged ‘Umm... yeah... it’s kind of... it’s... it’s... yeah... I am a product of my environment. Like, growing up in [city omitted], like, the Black people are pretty much with Black people, like White people are with White people’” (pp. 66-67).

Henry (2008) writes of a young Black American woman and her apprehension about getting involved in interracial romantic relationships: “However, their interracial relationship is threatened not only by Kenya’s own dissonance about dating outside of her race, but also regarding how the relationship will be perceived by her family and friends... In an interview with the Philadelphia Daily News... “[Black female movie star] Sanaa Lathan expressed strong identification with the Something New storyline because, like her character, she has dated outside her race and struggled with feelings of guilt”” (p. 19).

In a study of 100 African American female college students, to determine their rates of interracial romantic relationships, Porter and Bronzati’s (1995) found that 87% of them prefer Black males, 1% prefer Whites males, 4% prefer Hispanic males, 1% prefer Asian males and 2% prefer the group of males called “Other” (pp. 167-168). However, 19% of the students in the study said that they would marry White men if there were a lack of eligible Black men to marry (p. 169). McClain (2004) studied 22 young adults of mixed Black/White parentage over a few years and points out that one of them deliberately sought a dark-skinned Black man to be her romantic partner because she wanted to make sure that her future children were seen and to see themselves as Black (p. 47).

**Fear of Perception of Being a Prostitute**

The topic of prostitution is considered very sensitive to Black American women (Crenshaw, 1997: pp. 267-268). This is due to the fact that government laws, in addition to raw human hatred of Black people resulted in very few to no opportunities for any real gainful employment for Black women after slavery, thereby putting them in a position not much better off than slavery. In addition, Black women took the responsibilities of the children that they have with both Black men and White men, since up to this day most White families refuse to acknowledge their family members with Black blood or ancestry. Also, many White men who refuse responsibilities of a committed romantic relationship, can get involved with Black women for paid sexual service (Coleman, 1998: p. 83; Collins, 2003: p. 54). As a result, many Black women find themselves having sex for money with White men, which results in a perception in society that if a Black woman is out with a White man, people in general might think that she is a prostitute, since White men do not
marry or want to be seen in public with Black women. As Maillard (2012) notes of “Dirty looks on the subway or at the mall. Bringing separate checks to dining couples. Catcalls in the park. Assuming the black partner is a servant or employee.” Walsh (2012) presents this interesting account of one of the subjects (a Black woman) in her study who is married to a White man:

“Dianne Kennedy, a walnut-color with freckles across her nose, has her hair pulled lightly to a bun at her neck. Wearing a white sweater draped over her shoulders, she looked right through me with coffee color eyes as she discussed her strategy for countering the stereotypes of black women, married across the color line, by describing her considerations when out in public with her white husband of twenty years:

One, you got to be more on your P’s and Q’s. You got to be careful how you act. I would never go out with Michael looking like a tramp. I would not. And I think that’s from childhood growing up in the South. You think of a black man with a white woman she’d be all fat and nasty. A black woman with a white guy—that wouldn’t look good. Where I come from, she’s probably a working girl, if you know what I mean.

The awareness of stories that circulate and impressions others might have of an interracial couple works as a social control mechanism for Dianne who continues after twenty years to consider how strangers might misinterpret her for a prostitute. Dianne was not alone with this concern; two other black women interviewed also made pointed comments about being concerned about their appearance in public with their white husbands and their assumption that black women in the company of white men might be mistaken for prostitution” (p. 78).

According to Sivanarayanan (2005):

“The sexualization of the image of the black woman becomes almost a constant refrain in succeeding years. At a 1937 New Orleans street revel, the photographer John Gutman took a close-up photo of a nameless black woman who was wearing a white mask. There is a well-dressed young black man standing with her. Interestingly, the photograph is titled: ‘In the Background: The Pimp’... As the authors note, there is nothing to indicate that the man standing in the back is a pimp. The photographer presents the viewer with a singular mode of reading the photograph that is transparent and uncomplicated, and Willis and Williams note, ‘the couple’s color dissuades most viewers from questioning the title’... The association of the black female with sexual labor is extended in other ways too. The New Orleans police department, in the years 1912-1918, passed around “mug shots”-the standard, front-facing police photographs-of dull-eyed black women who were labeled prostitutes, even though the crime they were accused of committing was not prostitution but robbery” (p. 1111).

Foster (2005) points out that: “In 1897 New Orleans mayor Sidney Story issued an order creating a vice district, which came to bear his name. Established in an area of the city that had long been a location for what at the time were termed ‘Negro dives,’ Storyville became home to concert saloons, other forms of entertainment, and, most famously, houses of prostitution” (p. 220). Writing about Black women in the Caribbean during slavery, Soomer (2000) points out that:

“In the urban setting, women usually were employed as domestics and often were paid wages. Many slave owners in the towns hired their slaves out as day workers and kept some of the wages while giving the slave the remainder. It was also in this setting that prostitution was rife. Many taverns, usually owned by white women or the colored mistresses of white men, served as brothels. Here, African women were bought and sold for the sexual pleasure of planters or visitors to the islands. Barbados is especially known for “whore” houses because it was the headquarters for the British garrison and a primary shipping port. Planters in the rural setting also exploited African women in this manner. Female slaves were expected to provide sexual comfort for male visitors to the plantations” (p. 7).

According to Goss (1997):

“In Ar’n’t I a Woman? Deborah Gray White describes the ‘Fancy Trade,’ the sale of light-skinned black women for the exclusive purpose of prostitution and concubinage as a fairly common occurrence in New Orleans. Charleston, St. Louis, Lexington and even Virginia. The belief that African women were promiscuous (no doubt founded as a result of seeing semi-clad black women on the auction block) generated a widely held belief that black women were immoral and naturally promiscuous. These lighter-skinned sisters, thus, were the perfect outlet for the sexual fantasies of owners whose wives often kept their chastity under lock and key” (Quoted from the “third page of a non-pdf” article).

Physical Appearance or Attraction/Body Hair

In earlier sections above of this article, there was the debate as to which racial groups among women are beautiful and the types of physical characteristics among women that men might consider attractive or beautiful. The truth, however, is that all women from the racial/geographic groups in the Old World (Africa, Asia and Europe) are beautiful! The reason why many prominent magazines have used White women on their cover in recent decades is primarily money—people of European descent have accumulated more wealth (and many might claim at the expense of people of Asian and African descent, see Kaba, 2011c, 2011d) and may demand to see people who look like them on the covers of magazines or else they would not purchase those magazines and the items advertised in them. And like Blacks, Chinese and South Asians, Europeans have over a billion members. For example, there is an estimated 1.2 billion people of Black African descent on the planet, third only to people of South Asian descent (Colonial India today over 1.535 billion as of July 2011: India, 1,189,172,906; Pakistan, 187,342,721; and Bangladesh, 158,570,535), and people of Chinese descent (over 1.337 billion), and ahead of people of European descent (1.1 billion as of 2003) (Kaba, 2011c: p. 97). As a result, magazine editors tend to seek their business.
Yet, it has been very common in recent decades to see beautiful Black women or non-European women on the cover of those same magazines. Humans’ urge for competition, which can occur within families, between neighborhoods, and between ethnic, cultural and racial groups is part of the reason for many individuals’ claims of which racial or ethnic group is beautiful. Jones and Shorter-Goeden (2003) note this point: “In a society where the standard of beauty remains European, where beauty still too often defines woman’s worth, many black women struggle to feel attractive and thus secure and valued. The pressure to look like someone other than themselves, to look more European and less African, is enormous” (p. 117).

Also, both scholarly literature and popular media across the world claim or portray Blacks and Whites to be among the most beautiful or attractive people in the world (Groves, 1989; Zernike, 2004). This is largely due to the fact that a large proportion of Blacks and Europeans tend to possess the physical characteristics, shapes or features (tall, naturally muscular or toned body, etc.) that most societies associate with beauty or attractiveness. For example, in the United States, the mean or average height of females 20 years and over from 1999 to 2002 was 63.8 inches or almost 5’4” tall. When broken down according to race/cultural background both non-Hispanic Whites and non-Hispanic Blacks are taller than the national average (64.2 inches each for those 20 years and over) and they are also both at 64.6 inches tall for those 20 - 39 years old. For males 20 years and over in the United States during that same period, their average height was 69.2 inches, but 69.7 inches for non-Hispanic White males and 69.5 inches for non-Hispanic Black males. As for their average weight, in the general US population, from 1999 to 2002 the mean or average weight of females 20 years and over was 162.9 pounds. For non-Hispanic White females, it was 161.7 pounds, and 182.4 pounds for non-Hispanic Black females during that same period. For those aged 20 - 39 years, it was 158.4 pounds for non-Hispanic White females, and 179.2 pounds for non-Hispanic Black females. For males 20 years and over in the US during that same period, their average weight was 189.8 pounds; 193.1 pounds for non-Hispanic White males; and 189.2 pounds for non-Hispanic Black males (Kaba, 2012c: pp. 97-98). Zernike (2004) reported on a large survey called SizeUSA, conducted “… by clothing and textile companies, the Army, Navy and several universities”, in which the physical shape of 10,000 Americans in 13 cities nationwide were measured. According to Zernike: “… Black women are larger than other women, but they are also most likely to have the classic hourglass figure. Sixty-four percent of women are pear-shaped, and 30 percent are ‘straight,’ meaning they had little perceptible waist... median height remained the same (5 feet 4 inches for women, 5 feet 9 inches for men)... Twenty percent of Hispanic women had ‘full waists’ compared with 10 percent of white women, and 15 percent of black” (p. A1).

Yancey and Yancey (1997) claim in their study of Blacks and Whites who romantically court one another through advertisements, that White individuals tend to be significantly more likely to seek or offer physical attraction, and that they are also less likely to offer financial security, than Whites who court intraracially. They also note that Blacks who seek Whites through advertisements also desire physical attraction. Yancey and Yancey (1997) also note that love and physical attraction have been cited as reasons for interracial romantic unions. Victor Hugo (1802-1885), “Novelist, poet, and dramatist, the most important of French Romantic writers” was quoted as saying of the “mulatto” in his novel Bug-Jargal in which he was said to have made the Black hero say to the White heroine: “Thou art white and I am black but day must join with night in order to bring forth the dawn and the twilight which are more beautiful than they” (Rogers, 1944: p. 123).

Rogers (1944) writes that: “David Livingstone, great missionary, when he saw in Africa black men all about him and he, the lone white: ‘One feels ashamed of the white skin; it seems unnatural like blanched celery or white mice’” (pp. 122-123). It has also been written that throughout history, there have been White males and White females who prefer to date or marry Blacks. According to Rogers (1944); “Peter Nielsen, a white ethnologist, who lived many years among the blacks of South Africa, says similarly: ‘I have often heard white men who have kept native women that they found the black or deep brown colour of the native woman far more beautiful... and I have also heard white women of culture and refinement admit that the black or dark-brown torso and tints of the African man have seem to them a more pleasing sight...’” Rogers adds, “I have met Frenchmen, and Belgians, and even Englishmen, who prefer the blackest Congolese to the whitest German” (pp. 115-116). Another famous White explorer in Africa, Richard F. Burton adds in describing the beauty of the Blacks he encountered on the continent: “Their well-made limbs and athletic frames... were displayed to advantage... and were set off by opal-coloured eyeballs, teeth like pearls, and a profusion of broad massive rings of snowy ivory round their arms, and conical ornaments like dwarf marling-spikes of hippopotamus tooth suspended from their necks” (Ondaatje, 1998: p. 354). Even during the most racist period in South Africa’s history, Maurice Evans (1901-1989), “A grand, robust, highly theatrical British classical actor,” was reported to have said of the Black South African male: “When thoroughly washed and duly anointed there is a peculiar richness about his color...” (Rogers, 1944: p. 117).

This now brings us to an important factor that might be contributing to Black women turning down courtship requests from White men in particular in the United States-Body Hair. While White men may have an advantage because they are relatively taller and women or females in general like or prefer tall men, by the beginning of the twenty-first century, a high number of females or women from all racial groups in the United States tend to make it known that they do not seek to be in a romantic relationship with men who have a lot of hair on their body or men who are very hairy. Moreover, research has shown that men of European descent tend to be more hairy than Black men or men from other racial groups. Or that Black men are less hairy than men of European descent. According to Thomas Jefferson (published 1781-1782), the third president of the United States: “Negroes have notoriously less hair than the whites... Besides those of colour, figure, and hair, there are other physical distinctions proving a difference of race. They have less hair on the face and body.” Hama (2010) writes of the Africans of Ethiopia and Somalia having “Scantiness of body hair, save for on the scalp” (p. 176). According to Tobin (2006): “There also appears to be some variations in HF [Hair Follicle] density between humans of different ethnicities; Africans and Asians have less densely haired skin than Caucasians” (p. 418).
This issue is so important for men in the United States that increasing numbers of men in general and White men in particular are finding ways to remove their body hair so that they can stand a chance to win the heart of a woman they are romantically courting. For example, Boroughs and Thompson (2002) write that: “Removing body hair is not new in western cultures. However, historically this behavior has been culturally sanctioned primarily for females” (p. 247). Jean Louis (2001, July 9) points out that:

“AMERICAN women didn’t shave their armpits en masse until the 1920s, after a perfect storm of sleeveless dresses and a barrage of advertisements by depilatory makers characterized underarm hair as ugly. Next came the tarnishing of women’s leg hair. By the 1930s, beauty writers scolded women with forests under their silk stockings. Decades later, what began as a fad had solidified into custom. Girls coming of age no longer needed to be told their leg hair was unsightly. They got rid of it. Can the same thing happen with men? These days, the hair on men’s chests, backs, armpits and even ‘down there’ has become suspect” (p. E3).

According to Heep (1995): “In the United States, women are required to shave their armpits and their legs—many also shave above the knee. Men, in denial of their masculinity, have to have short hair. Facial hair in high ranking, conservative positions is a taboo. Consequently, men shave their carefully constructed bodies as well. Should hairy men opt not to wax, electrolyte or shave, they are advised to wear an undershirt in order to hide their excessive body hair” (p. 261). Newman (2010, June 15) writes:

“MARK BRYCE, the operations manager at a semi-trailer dealership in Grand Rapids, Mich., has lost most of the hair on his head, but he is ‘really good at growing it everywhere else,’ particularly on his back, said his wife, Anna, a publicist for Amway. ‘My husband is blond, so he doesn’t look like a big hairy ape, but he does look like a golden retriever,’ she said. For years, before the couple packed for the beach or a cruise, Ms. Bryce shaved her husband’s back with a razor in the shower. Then one of her colleagues took a job with Remington, the shaver maker, and Ms. Bryce noticed on the company’s Web site a new shaver with a telescoping handle for unaided trimming of back hair. She jokered with her former colleague that her husband could use one. Two months ago, it arrived in the mail. ‘It works really well,’ Ms. Bryce said. ‘He doesn’t need my help with that anymore, which is nice because I have a lot of other stuff to do besides shave my husband’s back.’ As hairless torsos have become the norm for male models and actors, below-the-neck hair removal has gone mainstream” (p. E6).

According to James (2009, December 10): “Ben, a 6-foot 4-inch, dark-haired, blue-eyed New Yorker, is not a bodybuilder, model or porn star. But the 33-year-old never misses his monthly appointment at Manhattan’s Townhouse Spa for grooming—not just a manicure and a shave, but a $150 back waxing. ‘It doesn’t hurt that much and the girls appreciate it,’ said Ben, who makes infomericals for a living and was shy about going public with his last name. Nowadays, trimming or eliminating unsightly body hair is as ‘important to guys’ as women, he told ABCNews.com. ‘It’s like when you’re in a bar and you see a girl with terrible nails and cuticles,’ said Ben. ‘It’s a turn off. And, I’m sure the girls feel the same way, especially in the summer at the Hamptons when I walk around with my shirt off. I don’t need to have that back hair on display.’ Ben is one of many American men who have embraced manscaping-shaving or waxing the heavily forested parts of their bodies. He won’t go near the ‘nether regions,’ but many men do. Hair anywhere except on the head seems to be verboten these days, and the modern male will take the razor where few man have ever gone before.”

According to McCreary et al. (2007): “Men’s fitness goals are influenced by the lens through which they view their bodies, which is different from the way women view their bodies. Their increased focus on a muscular, hairless body means that they exercise to enhance their physical bulk and are more likely to engage in depilatory behaviors” (p. 307). Boroughs and Thompson (2002): “...conducted 20 structured interviews with males to investigate several facets of a relatively new phenomenon: the removal and reduction of body hair by men. Seventeen of the 20 participants were Caucasian, two were Hispanic, and one was African American. All participants reported using both cardiovascular and resistance training strategies, and all that were asked to participate in this pilot study did affirm they engaged in the hair removal behaviors and agreed to participate” (quoted in Methods section of article). According to Boroughs et al. (2005): “Of the 118 participants in the study, 75 (63.6%) answered affirmatively to the question ‘Do you or have you recently shaved or trimmed any body hair below the neck?’” (p. 639; also see Boroughs et al., 2010: pp. 726-727).

Education, Financial Success and Concern about Transfer of Wealth

Although there is the perception that interracial marriages, especially involving Blacks occur among working class or the poor with low levels of education, research actually shows the opposite. According to Walsh (2012): “Drawing on the conventional wisdom circulating as commonsense in 1930, W. E. B. DuBois refutes the assertion that intermarriage is highest among the class with least prestige and property using empirical data on a sample of 9000 to show interracial marriage at that time was most likely among those who had the most contact. Nonetheless, his frame of the issue reflects long held and enduring notions about the types of individuals who intermarry” (p. 76).

Research has shown that people who interracically marry are usually highly educated (Fenyo, 2001: p. 334), and in the case of Black-White marriages or couples, the Black husband is usually more educated than the White wife (hypergamy) and the Black wife is also said to be more educated than the White
husband (Tucker & Mitchell-Kernan, 1990: p. 213; Qian, 1997). An article by the Statistical Assessment Service entitled, “Can Intermarriage Make You Smarter and Richer?” reports of a study that supports this claim. According to the article, “In 1990, there were over twice as many married couples in which both of the partners were black than there were couples where only one partner was black. This ratio held constant when a number of factors (employment status, number of children in the household, etc.) were introduced.” However, according to the article, when education and income were factored in, it did not remain constant. The article points out that, at lower economic levels, the ratio of both-Black marriages to mixed race marriages leans disproportionately to both-Black couples. The article also points out, however, that, as the income of a Black person increases, the chances of being in a mixed marriage increases “... until at the highest income level ($100,000 and above) they are nearly even, with 86,443 both-black couples and 75,410 mixed race couples.” A similar scenario also occurs when educational attainment is factored in. Blacks without a high school diploma are more likely to be in both-Black marriages. According to the article: “At the ‘non high school graduate’ level, there are more than four times as many both-Black couples as mixed race couples, but with each step of educational attainment, the figures get closer. At the ‘graduate or professional degree’ level they were again almost even, with 160,367 both-black couples and 146,763 mixed race couples.”

The study then suggests that: “... the data appear to indicate that the more educated you are (or the more economically successful you are), the more likely you are to be in an interracial marriage” (The Statistical Assessment Service, 1997).

According to Qian (1997), in 1980, White wives were 109% more likely to marry Black men. For African American women: In 1980, and 1990, respectively, they were 19% and 2% less likely to marry White men who were higher in education, and also they were 10% and 17% less likely to marry Hispanic men who had higher levels of education. In 1980, and 1990, according to Qian (1997), Black women were 1% and 5% less likely to marry Black men higher in education (p. 271). Model and Fisher (2001) note that African American-White unions tend to be slightly more hypergamous than African American-African American unions, 33.8% vs 26.2% (p. 183). According to Wong (2003), from 1968-1997, the mean family incomes ($35828.44) for intermarried Black men in the United States were 6.3% higher than their intramarried cohorts ($33693.25).

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African American men who out married had 0.4 years more (or 3% higher) education than intramarried cohorts (12.81 years to 12.41 years) (p. 812). In the study of 40 Black-White couples in four states during the period from 1970 to 1974, in which the couples had dated for an average of 16 months before they got married that Jeter (1982) points to, for four White male-Black female couples “... the black women involved were admired for their independence and self-sufficiency, were pregnant, or desired to marry a man of comparable education and occupational status” (p. 105).

Walsh (2012) tells the story of a Black Husband-White wife with a focus on the high society status of the Black husband:

“But it wasn’t about the color line. It was that we were getting too (long pause) too middle-class. That was the worst insult my parents could ever say, ‘middle-class’. Jeanne Jamison, age 72 at interview, married a black attorney in 1954. Jeanne Jamison gave many examples of using her husband’s prominence and their social class status to ‘rise above’ criticism. Over the years she used a defiance of convention along with the safe security of social class position as shields strategically employed to deflect criticism, social ostracism and negative comments from others. She gave examples from ‘uppity’ neighbors in her North east urban neighborhood to school officials who were chagrined to discover ‘who we were’” (p. 77).

This brings us to the very important issue of the potential transfer of wealth in interracial marriages, especially those between Blacks and Whites in the United States. Kaba (2011a) points out that the concern about the transfer of wealth through inheritance as a result of death (pp. 124-127) and also through divorce is one of the primary reasons why European American leaders have opposed interracial marriages, because they fear that the White husband might transfer his wealth to his Black wife, because United States law allows the surviving spouse to inherit their estate.

According to Rogers (1944) White Americans “... generally insist on concubinage as the refusal to marry has as its motive the maintaining of social prestige, which is largely economic (Rogers, 1944: pp. 69,93). According to O’Brien (2003): “St. Clair believes that Hagar’s black blood precludes her status as legitimate wife and instead suits her to become an enslaved prostitute” (“Sexual Slavery and Social Purity in an Antebellum Context,” Section of article). Brattain (2005) presents this important account on this issue of the transfer of wealth in interracial marriages:

“The relationship between J. W. Jones, white, and his cook’ Amanda Kyle, Negro, seems to have been such a case. Kyle lived in Jones’s house from 1904 until 1907 or 1908 and, after that, in a house he built for her on her property. Kyle cooked and kept house for Jones and waited on customers at his store. They did not have children, but, according to the neighbors, ‘general talk’ was that Jones was ‘keeping’ Kyle. One acquaintance even claimed to have found them in bed together. Apparently no one ever reported their activity as criminal. The relationship might have never appeared in the record had Jones not left all of his considerable estate, worth approximately $40,000 in 1926, to Kyle, provoking a challenge from Jones’s nieces and nephews. In court, the nieces and nephews attacked the relationship and charged that Kyle and Jones had lived together in a state of illegal ‘open concubinage.’ As defined by Louisiana law, ‘open concubinage’ was more morally repugnant and damaging to community morals than secret concubinage and was therefore punished by limiting the surviving partner’s right to inherit from the other’s estate... Kyle denied that she was any more to Jones than his cook, and at least a dozen witnesses so testified on her behalf. Interestingly the legal issue was not the relationship per se, but whether it was open or secret, which had a direct bearing on her right to inherit. The court concluded that Kyle and Jones had been a couple, citing among other evidence her access to Jones’s cash drawer and their living together, but the court disagreed with Jones’s nieces and nephews, concluding that the relationship was secret. Jones hid his relationship while keeping ‘her in his employ ostensibly as cook and housekeeper and assistant in his store ...’ In fact, by folding the document so that only the signature lines were exposed, he had even kept the contents of his
will a secret from the witnesses who signed it. Therefore Kyle was allowed to inherit Jones’s estate” (pp. 639-641; also see Foster, 2005: p. 220).

As a result, it is unlikely that there has been a case in United States history where a Black wife inherits $50 million or more of her White husband’s wealth or inherits that same amount of money from divorce.

The study of Edlund and Kopczuk (2009) on wealth inheritance by women in the United States using estate tax returns from 1925 to 2000 showed that a significant number of women inherited their wealth from their husbands or family members. Edlund and Kopczuk (2009) identified 422 female millionaires in the United States in 1892 and 348 (83.4%) inherited their wealth. Of 2783 male millionaires, 417 (15%) inherited their wealth (p. 164). Carlyle (2012) reports for Forbes magazine that in 2012, “The 21 richest women in the world (two women tied at 20th place) have a combined total net worth of $248.6 billion, or an average of $11.84 billion each... The richest, for the seventh year in a row, is Christy Walton, who inherited her fortune—not worth $25.3 billion—from husband John Walton after he died in a plane crash.”14 Evans (2010) also reported for Forbes magazine that in 2010; “… only four of the 42 women, or 1% of all Forbes 400 members, are self-made including Gap’s Doris Fisher and ABC Supply’s Diane Hendricks, who each cofounded a company with her late husband... The other 38 women inherited all or part of their fortunes from their husbands or fathers including three who ranked among America’s top 20.”15 It is widely reported in 2011 and 2012 that the wife (a White American woman) of the late Apple Corporation CEO, Steve Jobs inherited at least part of their $8 billion estate.

Kaba (2011a) points out that: “This transfer of wealth actually impacts the Black community more severely, because proportionally, there are fewer wealthy Blacks than Whites and the life expectancy of Blacks is lower than that for Whites. For example, in 2006, out of 94,029,000 White alone males, 6,018,000 (6.4%) earned $100,000 or more; 299,000 (2.35%) out of 12,716,000 Black alone males; 2,606,000 (2.7%) out of 97,550,000 White alone females; and 213,000 (1.4%) out of 15,413,000 Black alone females” (p. 127). As for the gender and racial differences in life expectancy, in 2010, the life expectancy of White females was projected at 81.3 years; 77.2 years for Black females; 76.5 years for White males; and 70.2 years for Black males.16

There are examples of wealthy Blacks in the United States whose White wives have inherited or received tens of millions of dollars or more in divorce settlement. For example, Sie-


maszko (2010, October 18) reported in the New York Daily News that the White wife of Black Golfer Tiger Woods: “Newly divorced from Tiger Woods, Elin Nordegren is cutting back on the help—even though she got a reported $110 million [divorce] settlement from”17 her husband. Also, Dwyer (2012, January 20) reports for Yahoo News of the divorce of Black professional basketball player Kobe Bryant from his White wife: “Did you know that Kobe Bryant owns three mansions in Newport Beach, alone? No! Let that swirl around for a second, and now learn that Kobe Bryant does not own three mansions in Newport Beach anymore. Those houses, and a princely $75 million sum, have been sent to Kobe’s ex-wife Vanessa in the couple’s divorce settlement.”18 (also see “Kobe Bryant Divorce,” 2012). It has also been widely reported that the legal White wives or Common Law wives of the following late prominent Black entertainers benefited or will potentially benefit from their estates: James Brown, Gary Coleman, and Donald Cortez “Don” Cornelius.

By the beginning of the second decade of the twenty first century, a substantial number of Black American females have accumulated substantial wealth through gains in colleges degrees, entertainment and athletics, business, etc. As already noted above there were 213,000 Black women in the United States in 2006 with incomes of $100,000 or more. In 2009, there were 566,000 households with Black females with incomes of $75,000 or more in the United States. In that same year, there were 12,913 million households with White alone males, 557,000 households with Asian males, and 2,887 million households with Hispanic males with incomes of $29,999 or less. According to Kaba (2012a), there were 3,437 million Blacks aged 18 and over with at least a bachelor’s degree, with 2,028 million (59%) comprising Black women and 1,409 million (41%) Black men. Of the 1.275 million with master’s degrees, 808,000 (63.4%) were women and 467,000 (36.6%) were men. Of the 189,000 with professional degrees (such as Juris Doctorates and Medical Doctorates), 119,000 (63%) were women and 70,000 (37%) were men. And of the 181,000 with doctorate degrees, 79,000 (43.6%) were women and 102,000 (56.4%) were men (p. 138).

Cocchiara and Bell (2006) point out that at least 30% of Black women and 21% of Black men, respectively, work in management and professional positions, the top job category in the United States (p. 277).

It is then possible that many of these financially successful Black women might be using the same concept of these White men by refusing to marry them to avoid any potential transfer of their wealth to these White men or non-Black men either through inheritance from death or from divorce. Also, Black women once had the experience of having children with White men who then left those children to the Black women to be
raised by themselves—“Fool me once, shame on you. Fool me twice, shame on me!” According to Jordan-Zachery (2007):

“Evolutionary psychologists suggest that human mating strategies have evolved over the years, with women concentrating on men who are willing to and able to invest in their children. Men who fit this description are marriageable...” (pp. 85-86). According to Kaba (2008a), there were 73,523,000 children under 18 years old in the United States in 2005, with 67.4% of them living with both parents; 23.4% of them living with their mother only; 4.7% living with their father only and 4.5% living with neither parent. For 10.1% of those living with their mother only, the mother as never married. For Black Americans, there were 11,295,000 under 18 years old, with 35.1% of them living with both parents; 50.1% living with their mother only; 4.9% living with their father only; and 9.8% living with neither parent. For 32% of those living with their mother only, the mother has never married (p. 315).

Religion/Religiosity

Religion and Religiosity must not be ruled out as important factors as to why Black women turn down the romantic courtship requests from White men and other non-Black men in the United States. The high level of religiosity of Black females in the United States could also be a factor that leads some Black men not to seek romantic relationships with Black women because they are less religious than their female counterparts. In the United States, for Blacks and Whites, Religion is directly connected to politics, which in turn connects to residential segregation. Religion also is responsible for Black women in general to be different from all other groups including Black males when it comes to any number of human behaviors. Let us examine a number of examples to substantiate some of these claims. Most Black American females are very religious, attending religious services and religious activities more than any other groups or sub-group including Black males. In a January 30, 2009 report released by The Pew Forum, at least 87% of Black American women and 78% of Black American men in the United States were affiliated with Christian churches and that “African-American women also stand out for their high level of religious commitment. More than eight-in-ten black women (84%) say religion is very important to them, and roughly six-in-ten (59%) say they attend religious services at least once a week. No group of men or women from any other racial or ethnic background exhibits comparably high levels of religious observance” (Kaba, 2010: p. 114). For any man, Black, White or any other color who wants to be in a romantic relationship with a Black American woman, he must be ready to show some form of religiosity. For example, such a man must be willing to attend religious services regularly, contribute 10% of his earnings to a religious organization, and consume less or no alcohol or drugs since Black women in particular consume less or no alcohol or drugs compared with all other groups and sub-groups. For example, writing about women in prison in the United States, Bellnap (2010) points out that the Black women were “…less likely to suffer from alcoholism…” (p. 1079). The Black American female mathematician, Iris Mack (2010) writes “…I was raised as a Christian Scientist and don’t drink alcohol…”21 (also see Kaba, 2008a: pp. 327-330).

Although the majority of Black Americans and Gentle European White Americans are not only Christians but more specifically Protestants, they tend to be divided politically. As a result, they worship separately on Sundays and other religious days, which leads them to live separate lives by residing in areas in very high proportions among themselves. This causes them not to have the opportunity to get to know one another and discuss issues that affect them all as human beings and Americans (Kaba, 2011e; Nealy, 2009). Kaba (2011e) points out that “Black Americans, including Black females are not only over 80% Christian, but the majority of them are also Protestant... The religion (Christianity) that Black and White Americans share, which was supposed to be the third major force to unite them has paradoxically turned out to divide them” (p. 189). According to Kosmin and Keysar (2009), in 2008, among non-Hispanic Whites in the United States, 21% were Catholic, 15% Baptists, 17% Mainline Christians, 15% Christian Generic, 3% Pentecostal/Charismatic, 3% Protestant Denominations and 16% said they belong to no religion. For non-Hispanic Blacks, 6% were Catholics, 45% Baptists, 7% Mainline Christians, 15% Christian Generic, 7% Pentecostal/Charismatic, 6% Protestant Denominations, and 11% said they belong to no religion (p. 14).

According to Roland (1982): “The saying holds true that the hour from 11 to 12 on Sunday morning is the most segregated time of the week in the South” (pp. 10-11). According to Hadaway et al. (1984), the Church in general in the United States has been criticized for its lack of racial integration, especially that between Blacks and Whites and that “So much so, in fact, that 11 o’clock on Sunday morning has been called ‘the most segregated hour in the United States’” (p. 204). Lawson (2007) presents many examples of Black Americans in the 1960s attempting to desegregate White churches in the South using a tactic known as “Kneel-Ins,” where they would kneel in front of the churches. Among the cities in the South where these “Kneel Ins” protests took place are: Atlanta, Georgia, Birmingham, Alabama, Jackson, Mississippi, and Memphis, Tennessee. Roland (1982) explains this exclusion of Blacks from White churches by pointing out that: “If the southern white churches have sustained a sense of sectional independence, both they and the black churches have sustained a sense of racial independence. A British observer in the South during Reconstruction described the withdrawal of the blacks then occurring from the white churches as an extension of emancipation. It has remained thus to this day. The great majority of southern congregations are still completely black or white, or almost so, apparently by mutual consent” (p. 10).

Pertaining to residential segregation between Blacks and Whites in the United States, according to Charles (2003): “Blacks in 16 metropolitan areas were hyper-segregated from whites in 1980, exhibiting extreme isolation on at least four of five standard measures of residential distribution... In 29 US metropolitan areas—containing 40% of the total black population—blacks experienced ‘extreme, multidimensional, and cumulative residential segregation’” (pp. 170-171).

In terms of political affiliation and voting in national elections, while Blacks in general, and Black females in particular support or vote for the Democratic Party 90% of the time or more, the majority of European White Americans support or vote for the Republican Party. So during their Party Conven-

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tions, almost all Blacks are at the Democratic Party Convention, while very few to no Blacks, but a vast majority of European White Americans are at the Republican Party Convention (Kaba, 2011e). One can then deduce that for Black and White Americans, political differences lead to weak or lack of romantic relationships and marriage, or lack of romantic relationships and marriage lead to political divide.

In the United States, if European White American men become Democrats, they are more likely to be accepted by Black American women as romantic or marriage partners, just as Jewish American men have been accepted as romantic or marriage partners by Black women because they are Democrats (Kaba, 2008c: pp. 119-121). Religiously, Black American women and Jewish American men are connected or related through the Old Testament Bible and they are the center of attention in the stories of that part of the Holy Bible. So it is very common for each to visit the other’s religious services, where they get to meet and know each other. This is in addition to also meeting regularly at thousands of Democratic Party meetings and conferences in states all across the vast United States all through the year to discuss the well-being of the party and the country before they meet again for the big Convention just before a presidential election.

For other non-Black men such as Asians, religion is also a factor as to why they may not be successful in their courtship of Black American women. This is because while the vast majority of Black American women are Christians, Asians in the United States may tend to be Buddhist, Hindu or Muslim.

Conclusion

This article began by presenting useful data illustrating that interracial romantic relationships, including marriage have increased substantially in the post 1960s era. The data illustrate that such relationships are a lot more common between Whites and Asians and Whites and Hispanics than between Whites and Blacks. This is especially the case with Black American women. The article then goes on to present as many examples as possible as to why so few White American men and other non-Black men engage in romantic relationships, including marriage with Black women in particular. Finally, the article attempts to present a counter argument that it is actually Black women in the United States who are turning down the courtship requests of White men and other non-Black men. Numerous examples are then presented to substantiate this claim, with any of those examples connected one way or the other to history, economics and the importance of gender as a variable.

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