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STEREOTYPES AND THE SELF-PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK WOMEN: HOW PLACES
AND IDENTITY STRATEGIES MATTER

A Thesis
presented in fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
The University of Mississippi

BrieAnn Avery

May 2017

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ABSTRACT

Black women are one of the most oppressed groups in America because they possess two qualities of being a minority in terms of race and gender. Whether it is magazines, television shows, or music videos, controlling images are established in the preservation of hegemonic power and to condone the remaining marginalization of black women. Black women are seen mostly sexually exploited in hip-hop. Black women are continuously being oppressed through hip-hop's constructions created to reinforce ideals about race and gender positioning and inferiority in a hegemonic masculine world, Hip-hop promotes negative images of black women as sexual objects and the exploitation of black women's bodies. The purpose of this study is to explore if college setting is associated with hip-hop fandom, endorsement of Jezebel stereotypes, density and duration of identities, self-objectification and self-esteem. Places might matter for dealing with stereotypes because the overall cultural atmosphere, ideas and ideologies, and general structure of the place may contribute to overall construction of racial and gender identity. I collected data by giving questionnaires to black female students at Jackson State University and the University of Mississippi. The questionnaire consisted of three novel scales created by the researcher, the Density and Duration of Identities Scale, Self-Objectification by Appearance Scale, and Self-Objectification by Personality Scale, and also included the Hip-hop Fandom Scale, Modern Jezebel Scale, and Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale. Chi-square tests were used to determine statistical differences between campuses and there was a statistical difference where young black females endorsed Jezebel stereotypes more at JSU. A series of multiple regressions

were performed using campus, hip-hop fandom, and identity strategies as independent variables, skin color type, hair type, and body type as control variables, and the Modern Jezebel Scale, a scale used to assess stereotypic images, as the dependent variable. Based on regression analysis, campus does matter when it comes to black young females endorsing black women's sexual stereotypes. Major implications of my findings suggest that place influences black women's identity, controlling for endorsing or resisting sexual stereotypes and identity strategies.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my mother and grandmother, and all of the strong black women in my life. Thanks for always being there for me, and being great examples of what it means to be fearless black women. For Forest Avery, Jr. (Granddaddy) and Hattie Arie Avery (TeTe), in memoriam. You both were my strength getting through my last semester as a Master's student. I know that success is in my future because my guardian angels are watching over me. This work is also dedicated to all the black girls and women who are embracing and self-defining their black womanhood.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Images of African American women seen as untamed, sexually promiscuous, and impure are broadly circulated, accepted, and utilized to establish thoughts about this population (hooks 1992; Stephens and Phillips 2003: 4). Media portrayals of African American women, especially in hip-hop, reinforce this and supply explanations that influence interpersonal, community, and societal expectations within sexual contexts. Individuals create an impression of their sexual selves through sexual messaging that occurs within constantly changing cultural and social contexts. So, sexual identity is socially scripted—that is, “learned and acted out within a social context, and different social contexts have different social scripts” (Stephens and Phillips 2003:5). How a black woman thinks about herself, how she relates to others, and how others think and relate to her are based on representations or sexual messages seen in media. The sexual stereotypes available to black women depend on negative stereotypes that have not changed much in the past century (Stephens and Phillips 2003: 4). It is important to examine how black women’s sexual identities are influenced by negative stereotypes that may lead to black women behaving in stereotype-accordant manners that affect their self-worth.

This study aims to compare which identity strategy college-aged black women use at predominately white institutions (PWIs) and at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) to determine their association with black women’s sexual identities. Because of sociohistorical context, PWIs “reify whiteness and devalue and even denigrate blackness” (Cox

2015: 3). Black students are made aware of their status as minorities constantly, which includes beliefs of illegitimacy and deviance, and are said to be “limited to actions consistent with these images” (Cox 2015: 3-4). At HBCUs, the majority of the student population is black, “creating a normative social context around blackness” (Cox 2015: 4). At HBCUs, black students “experience a freedom of self-expression—they can be whoever they want to be without the fear of it reflecting on their blackness,” but at PWIs “blackness becomes a limiting force, constraining black student expression to scripts that are acceptable by the dominant group (whites)” (Cox 2015: 25). I have to test this theory because I expect that black students at HBCUs to endorse stereotypes acceptable by the dominant group, while students at PWIs resist stereotypes to navigate in that context.

Wayne H. Brekhus explains that a person’s identity depends on where and when one is (Brekhus 2003). For many urban gay men, identifying as homosexual is key to their identity because they live, work, and socialize in almost exclusively gay circles. Brekhus calls such men lifestylers (Brekhus 2003: 35-39). Commuters, on the other hand, live and work in common suburban settings, but take part in gay social and sexual lives outside the suburbs, normally on the weekends (Brekhus 2003: 48-53). Integrators mix common suburban jobs and homes with low-density gay social and sexual activities. In other words, lifestylers see homosexuality as something they wholly are, commuters as something one does, and integrators as a part of oneself (Brekhus 2003). Brekhus explains that lifestyling, commuting, and integrating embody competing identity strategies that occur not only among gay men but across a broad range of

social categories, and in the case of this study, black women.

Hip-hop serves a meaningful role in many people's lives. Research has suggested that hip-hop can be used as an informal learning tool by communicating normative values and gender-specific behaviors (Flynn et al. 2016: 164). Also, there is expanding interest about the impact of females' exposure to messages that focus on objectification in popular hip-hop music, and that exposure to objectification in music can have a negative effect on females, affecting body satisfaction and the development of risky sexual norms (Flynn et al. 2016: 165).

The purpose of this study is to find a relationship between the social context of university, predominately white institution or historically black college or university, and black women's sexual identity. This relationship is important to find because black women are stereotyped as oversexualized due to history and media's perpetuation of black women's sexual stereotypes, especially in hip-hop. How do black women at PWIs and at HBCUs compare in defining their sexual identities?

CHAPTER II

OBJECTIFICATION AND BLACK WOMEN

Many studies have suggested that being exposed to objectified images and participating in self-objectification could have a negative impact on females. Objectification theory suggests that girls and women are typically “acculturated to internalize an observer's perspective as a primary view of their physical selves” (Fredrickson and Roberts 1997). Fredrickson and Roberts suggest that this perspective could increase women’s shame or body monitoring (1997). Theories of socialization predict that with repeated exposure to external pressures to enhance physical attractiveness, “girls and women come to experience their efforts to improve their appearance as freely chosen” but that an individual’s sense of self is “a social construction, reflecting the ways that other people view and treat that individual” (Fredrickson and Roberts 1997: 179). Being examined in sexually objectified ways may persuade women to internalize an observer’s perspective on self, which Fredrickson and Roberts term as “self-objectification” (1997: 179-180).

Sexual objectification has been conceptualized as the “separating of a person’s body, body parts, or sexual functions from his or her person, reducing them to the status of mere objects, or regarding them as if they were capable of representing him or her” (Aubrey 2006: 367). Body surveillance and self-objectification are closely related; body surveillance is “monitoring one’s appearance necessary to comply with sociocultural body standards and to

avoid negative judgments” (Aubrey 2006: 368). Females learn that looks matter due to culture’s sexual objectification. Body surveillance can have negative effects on physical and psychological well-being. Overstreet and Quinn attempted to examine whether compromising in certain contexts such as approval from others and appearance was associated with decreased or increased body surveillance and appearance satisfaction in a sample of 115 black and 222 white college women (2012: 316). Results indicated that investing self-worth in appearance and approval from others was correlated with increased body surveillance.

For black women, race also affects objectification. Media, such as hip-hop, celebrates a masculinist, commodified field of cultural production that is particularly important for black women's views of themselves. The rappers in hip-hop conduct their videos by playing “host” to the sexual plot and sexual labor, but they do not perform sex acts within it (Miller-Young 2008: 273). The rappers thus perform as pimps or players directing the sex workers—often black women—to perform as video honeys. The video honeys are often dressed in lingerie, swimsuits, or other equally revealing clothing, enhancing the heteronormative masculinity of the male rappers in the video (Hunter 2011: 18). Also, in the videos, black women are represented as interchangeable bodies instead of active roles. This means that a black woman in the videos can be replaced by another black body, if need be.

The Jezebel image is still well known in society. The Jezebel image is perceived as “seductive, manipulative, and unable to control her sexual drives” (Townsend et al. 2010: 274). The Jezebel image is most likely to be represented in hip-hop music videos that represent African American women as sexually promiscuous. Black women’s bodies, historically, have been sites of sexualized commodification and spectacle for the white mind (Henry et al. 2010).

During slavery their bodies represented production and reproduction, allowing slave owners to increase their property while satisfying their lust. When considering contemporary culture, hip-hop has been criticized for perpetuating the internalized oppression of black women (Henry et al. 2010: 238). Some women are demanding to get paid themselves, self-objectifying for personal gain, and calling it agency, and some black women are protesting more against exploitation and objectification in hip-hop and therefore setting off an interesting exchange between black women—one group asserting agency and another asserting resistance. These types of images support the idea that as hip-hop continues to spread in popular culture, “it’s messages have been found to be both degrading and empowering, and as a result can be found to both damage and defend the identity of young black women (Henry et al. 2010: 242).

Stephens and Few’s (2007) study identifies African American preadolescents’ acceptance and usage of what Stephens and Phillips (2003) call sexual scripts—the Diva, Gold Digger, Freak, Dyke, Gangster Bitch, Sister Savior, Earth Mother, and Baby Mama (Stephens and Few 2007: 48). These eight sexual scripts were found to be “recognized and have shared meanings about sexual behaviors for participants, and were found to influence participants’ conceptualizations of their own and general African American female sexuality, which differed significantly according to gender” (Stephens and Few 2007: 48). Misogyny is the “hatred or disdain of women,” especially black women, and it is very common in rap music (Gourdine and Lemmons 2011:58). Historically, “black women have not been respected or regarded as beautiful” (Gourdine and Lemmons 2011:59). Due to the importance placed on physical appearance, “self-esteem has been described as the most pivotal personality attribute related to body attitudes” (Oney, Cole, and Sellers 2011: 619). The body ideals for black women are “light

skin tone, long and straight or loosely curled hair, and a curvy body shape” (Oney et al. 2011: 620). Studies have supported the idea that hip-hop music has affected black women’s self-perception, and it has been suggested that it is difficult for black women to be empowered if “they are constantly presented with negative images of self through the venues of hip-hop music and videos” (Henry et al. 2010: 245).

CHAPTER III

BLACK FEMINIST THOUGHT AND SELF-DEFINITION

Black feminist thought helps black women learn that their own “ideas and actions” suggest not only self-definitions, but that their “presence has been essential to U.S. black women’s survival” by promoting empowering images for black womanhood (Collins 2000: 98). By insisting on self-definition, black women “question not only what has been said about African American women, but the credibility and the intentions of those possessing the power to define” (Collins 2000: 148). Black feminist thought develops the projection of race and gender in identity formation. Black women use black feminist thought to “develop a healthy, internally based self-concept that is formulated within the context of their everyday lives” (Henry et al. 2010: 240). Understanding the interconnectedness among factors that may “threaten the psychological well-being” of black female college students such as self-objectification is “crucial in assisting black women to successfully navigate the tumultuous journey toward forming a positive self-identity” (Henry et al. 2010: 241).

Based on the idea of self-definitions, black feminist thought may give black women a positive coping mechanism to help them develop positive self-esteem if they are victims of negative influences such as self-objectification; instead, self-definition becomes internalized and produces positive self-esteem (Collins 2000). Viewed within the frameworks of Objectification Theory and black feminist thought, Watson et al.’s study examines African American women’s sexual objectification experiences (SOEs), grounding them within a matrix of intersecting

oppressive ideologies based upon race, gender, and class (2012: 458). Indeed, to minimize one form of oppression de-contextualizes other forms, as these oppressions are inextricably linked. Thus, a central goal of black feminist thought is to understand and communicate the linkages among these systems of oppression. Black feminist thought also espouses that black women's social locations provide a unique set of experiences and worldviews (Watson et al. 2012: 459). As marginalized members of society, African American women have lived as "outsiders within" larger society, and this social location "has provided a unique standpoint on self, family, and society" (Collins 2000: 47). I suggest, black feminist thought is simply one venue for formalizing these views and strategies; and that black feminist thought is itself based on the bodies of black women's experiences over the past centuries.

The purpose of Watson et al.'s study was to develop a theory or story line of African American women's experiences with sexual objectification utilizing grounded theory methodology with black feminist thought and Objectification Theory (2012: 461). Watson et al. also sought to understand African American women's experiences of sexual objectification; whether sociohistorical and cultural factors contribute to their sexual objectification; whether they have been affected by these experiences; and if so, how they may have coped with and resisted these experiences (2012: 461).

Watson et al. found that the historical impact of slavery and a patriarchal social structure contributed to a sociocultural milieu whereby the sexual objectification of African American women is rife (2012: 470). As a result, participants noted experiencing several different forms of sexual objectification—including body evaluation, sexualized imagery of African American women, and unwanted sexual advances and/or experiences. These experiences were viewed as

contributing to a number of harmful effects among African American women, including self-objectification, disordered eating behaviors, physical safety anxiety, and psychological, emotional, and interpersonal consequences (Watson et al. 2012: 470). Despite these harmful effects, Watson et al.'s theory illustrates that many African American women have developed coping skills and resiliency. Participants frequently relied upon social support, spiritual and/or religious affiliations, emotion-focused and cognitive coping, and personal responses to objectifiers, while also finding avenues for growth within these experiences (Watson et al. 2012: 470). Black feminist thought supports the idea that, in creating empowering self-definitions, African American women have developed a number of coping and resiliency strategies to deal with their longstanding history of oppression (Watson et al. 2012: 471).

Exposing women to both subjection and empowerment, hip-hop plays a large role in the way that black women act and view themselves; its messages have been found to be both degrading and empowering, and as a result can be found to both damage and defend the identity of young black women. The marginalization of black women as members of a specific group characterized by their gender and race creates a shared experience (Collins 2000). Both as a biological construct and sociohistorical reality, ideas about race have placed African American females in a complex dual relationship to both black culture and the dominant culture that black women have to negotiate in their daily interactions (Stephens and Phillips 2005:40). It is argued that these broad shared set of experiences, framed within a unique racial and gender context, influence the ways in which sexual scripts or stereotypes shape their development as sexual beings, and may impact ways African American female “sexuality socialization takes place at multiple locations, and how these locations’ degree of influence may differ as a function of racial

and gender experiences” (Stephens and Phillips 2005: 40). Black women develop a sense of sexual meanings through social interactions and exposure to the sexual messages in sexual scripts or stereotypes, and black feminist thought centers the meanings and values given to the messages (Stephens and Few 2007).

CHAPTER IV

PWIs AND HBCUs: BACKGROUND ON CONTEXTS

Historically black colleges and universities, or HBCUs, are schools that were founded on the idea that everyone regardless of race deserves access to a college education (Philadelphia Tribune 2016). The Higher Education Act of 1965 defines a HBCU as “any historically black college or university that was established prior to 1964, whose principal mission was, and is, the education of black Americans” (Philadelphia Tribune 2016: 15). Predominately white institution or PWI is a term used to describe institutions in which whites account for 50% or greater of the student enrollment (Lomotey 2010). The majority of PWIs may also be understood as historically white institutions in acknowledgement of segregation by the United States prior to 1964 (Lomotey 2010).

In the post-World War II era, presidents of white colleges and universities applied meritocratic standards to protect the extensive and ingrained opposition to the existence of African American scholars in the Academy (Anderson 1993: 175). According to Anderson, black people have been prohibited admission to college faculty due to the accepted and uncontested circumstance of the past (1993: 156). This suggests that black scholars were not hired into white colleges’ faculty due to them having an inferior status in mainstream society. This history suggests that white people at predominately white institutions would retain stereotypes and stigmas that previously emerged in white popular culture.

In comparison, the educational aims of many historically black colleges and universities reflected whiteness by suggesting that black people were intellectually inferior, because many of the schools were organized by white people and were white-controlled (JBHE Foundation 1997: 93). Because many of the founders of black colleges were unwilling to give authority over the institutions to black people, many HBCUs were headed by white presidents. HBCUs were established because states did not allow black students to be admitted into predominately white institutions.

Students at Fisk University, a private historically-black university in Nashville, Tennessee started a strike against the administrative standards of the school's president, Fayette Avery McKenzie, a white man, on February 4, 1925 (Lamon 1974: 226). The Fisk students wanted a president that would get to know the black community of students, and suggested that students who entered a college under white authority would have the feeling of uneasiness and displeasure (Lamon 1974: 229). The students desired realization of their distinction as black young adults in place of "accepting increased white paternalism in the form of curricular and extracurricular restriction" (Lamon 1974: 225). Through boycotting, the Fisk students did receive a more liberal president who was empathetic toward their issues in administrative-student relations. This idea that HBCUs were created to mirror whiteness and to educate black educators could suggest why young black females in this study endorse stereotypes perpetuated in popular culture. Although in the present time, HBCUs celebrate blackness more and have more black presidents, funding and grants still come from a white source, so whiteness is still a part of the chain of administration.

PWIs are still challenged in retaining African American students because of barriers to

acceptance including racial atmosphere, campus surroundings, culture, and lack of diverse faculty and staff. African American students “spend significant time and energy attempting to establish their credibility at PWIs” (Hunn 2014: 304). Many times, black students perceive themselves or receive apparent messages that they are not wanted at PWIs. White students may see themselves as superior and more intelligent than their black counterparts, and would externalize this by excluding black students from academic and social interaction. A sense of belonging is necessary for successful acceptance at PWIs. This sense of belonging can be less challenging for white students attending PWIs where the commonality is automatic and can be more challenging for African Americans. According to previous research, peer support is positively associated with increase of sense of belonging over time for African American students, and black females reported less peer support at the beginning of their academic career compared to black males, and there is a reversed result for white students (Hunn 2014: 305).

Mentoring plays an important role in reducing isolation and alienation in students. It provides systematic support. Many students of color are first-generation college students; their parents have “no direct college experience to pass on about negotiating application to colleges, enrollment, choosing a major, strategies for studying in higher education, negotiating and understanding the university culture, and beginning networks in a diverse community” (Hunn 2014: 306). Although many universities have formal mentoring programs, students of color often seek out informal mentoring resources, generally with faculty of color. Students of color seek out people who look like them, who can relate to them, have similar life experiences (i.e., the black experience in America), and those who are knowledgeable about and can give guidance to the culture and politics of the university.

Students of color often utilize faculty of color for venting about challenges, fears and concerns, experiences with racism and oppression, and strategies for academic success. It is often these informal mentoring processes that build faculty/student relationships and increases retention. Students of color at PWIs experience challenges not experienced by their white peers. Many African Americans who grow up in predominately African American neighborhoods and attend predominately African American churches and other predominately African American social circles feel alienated and isolated upon acceptance at PWIs. When entering a PWI, many African American students can experience psychological distress leaving an environment of color for a white environment of the university. Because of the shared life experience, the responsibility of mentoring African American students at PWIs is primarily that of faculty of color and is significant in African American student retention.

While both male and female students of color can experience racism at PWIs, female students of color can be victims of both racism and sexism. African American females are continually demeaned by stereotypes of being angry, overly sexual, unattractive, and academically inferior. While these stereotypes permeate the larger society, college campuses do not insulate female college students of color. The 2007 incident in which the radio host, Don Imus, referred to a college basketball team of predominately African American women as “nappy headed” was blatant, but not an isolated event (Hunn 2014: 306). These overt acts of racism and more covert micro aggressions create barriers to recruitment and successful matriculation of female students of color. Isolation, discrimination, and stereotyping are still important for the discussion of how students of color navigate within the context of PWIs.

CHAPTER V

HOW PLACES MATTER FOR IDENTITY

Identity authenticity is “strategies members use to assert commitment to an identity and to police claims to that identity” (Brekhuis 2015: 112). Brekhuis formed three ideal-typical “identity strategies”—“identity lifestylers,” “identity commuters,” and “identity integrators” (2015: 116-117). According to Brekhuis, lifestylers make up the “most visible and publicly recognized members of any marked identity category” (Brekhuis 2003:46). In this study, the black woman lifestyler lives, works, and spends most, if not all, of her time in the black woman places of large urban areas, and her social networks are predominately or exclusively black and female. Because historically black colleges and universities are majority African American, it is expected that black female students at HBCUs will be identity lifestylers.

Commuters use the strategic choice to “manage their marked identity while living in an unmarked environment” (Brekhuis 2003: 46). Commuting allows the individual to “try out her identity, and act it out when freed from the constraints of the larger society” (Brekhuis 2003: 71). Black women who are commuters do their unmarkedness in the space of the PWI, but move to safe and temporal spaces to turn their marked identity on, either with the association of other black women or predominately black spaces. Commuters, by passing in both contexts, “show that both the marginal and the mainstream are engaged in performances of identity” (Brekhuis

2003: 73). I expect more commuters at PWIs because they may have to travel to different context to really show their marked identity attributes because they do not want to show all of their blackness at a PWI campus.

While the lifestyler's identity strategy is to present "one singular, unidimensional self and the commuter's strategy is to present different selves for different contexts", the integrator's strategy is to present "a nuanced multidimensional self" (Brekhus 2003: 86). The commuter balances identity affiliations by traveling to different selves, while the integrators balance them by mixing entities to form one complete self (Brekhus 2003: 87). The integrator mixes her politically salient and nonsalient affiliations; she spreads her black female sexual identity in a "diluted form across every sphere of her life" (Brekhus 2003: 94). The integrator reminds us that all of us are mixtures of many different "attributes, worldviews, social networks, and standpoints" (Brekhus 2003: 94). There would be more integrators at PWIs because they are more likely to communicate with diverse people and build relationships with them.

In order to understand identity strategies, one must understand the correlation between time, space, and identity presentation (Brekhus 2003: 23). Identity duration is the time one spends performing a specific identity attribute of oneself (Brekhus 2003: 23). Identity density is the intensity with which one performs a specific identity attribute of oneself (Brekhus 2003:23). Identity duration for black women is how often they present their black woman's sexuality; it determines if the black woman's sexuality is present all of the time or some of the time. Black women may choose to play up or play down auxiliary characteristics of their sexuality which determines how concentrated or diluted those characteristics are for the presentation of oneself (Brekhus 2003: 24-25). I expect that black women at HBCU's would have high duration and

high density of auxiliary characteristics, as seen in hip-hop. Some black women at PWI's will have moderate duration and moderate density, while some will have low duration and low density.

Black women are "bound by the macrocosm of American-white culture, but also racially identify with a specific sub-culture" (Hesse-Biber et al. 2010: 697). Black women at predominately white colleges are both "insiders" and "outsiders," where some of them may seem "too white" for their ethnicity or not "white enough" for their white peers (Hesse-Biber et al. 2010: 697). Research suggests that the meaning of self is linked to gender, race, class, and culture (Jackson 1998: 171). Lisa R. Jackson suggests that a woman's identity may "vary depending on the context that she is in;" she suggests that a person's self-concept consists of "several schema that serve to organize how a person defines and identifies herself" that depend on social interactions that are connected to sociocultural and historical contexts and to repeated exposure (Jackson 1998: 172-173). Black women have a dual status of "double jeopardy" being that they are defined by race and gender at all times (Jackson 1998: 175). Using black feminist thought, some black women would promote a self-definition of themselves that includes more than just race or gender. African American women struggle in society not only for the gratification of self-definition, but for their very survival (Jackson 1998: 175). Black women's survival includes how, what, why, when, and where they decide to define themselves.

Just like black women, some black men are both race and sexual minorities and they experience feelings of isolation and marginalization at PWIs (Goode-Cross and Tager 2011: 1236). African-American gay and bisexual men experience both racial and sexual prejudice at PWIs, difficulty with finding same race peers at PWIs, and "hear anti-gay messages in black

popular music at African-American community events on campus, and experience their heterosexual African-American male peers as homophobic” (Goode-Cross and Tager 2011: 1236). Gay and bisexual black men tend to suffer from low self-esteem and identity confusion from their experiences at PWIs and in society (Goode-Cross and Tager 2011: 1236). However, researchers describe HBCUs as “nurturing and affirming of black students in general, who, in return feel a deeper connection to the institution, possess higher levels of engagement, and have stronger images of self-compared to their peers at non-HBCUs” (Ford 2015: 353). Ford wanted to see what were the lived experiences of black gay men who attended and graduated from an HBCU, and how perceived social and cultural constructions of blackness, whiteness, masculinity, and effeminacy in black men affect how they are received at HBCUs (2015: 354). Black gay men experience “heterosexism, homophobia, and pressures of cultural conventions in predominately black communities, subjected to racism, heterosexism, and stigmatization in mainstream society and mostly white environments, and they struggle with racism and marginalization in the mainstream and mostly white gay community (Ford 2015: 354). Being a gay, black male, one could hide their aspect of being gay to avoid homophobia by the black campus community. In this case, these black men can hide being gay, but black women cannot hide being black or a woman, so this may mean that there is no such thing as commuter for black women, but rather lifestyle or integrator. Because of this, societal norms of race and gender are accepted in the HBCU community.

Ford’s article offer an examination of the ways in which black gay men negotiate the synchronism of a black, gay, and male identity at HBCUs (2015: 356). This parallels with my study in which I seek for how black women navigate in either PWIs or HBCUs based on their

race, gender, sexual orientation, skin tone etc. Also like Ford, my thesis work seeks to increase understanding about the lived experiences of black women, how they perceive images of black women, and how they navigate these contexts while exploring their multiple identities at the same time. I am interested in whether the college context mediates black women's beliefs about the racist and sexist stereotypes perpetuated in hip-hop music.

My first research question is exploratory: Is college setting associated with hip-hop fandom, endorsement of Jezebel stereotypes, density and duration of identities, self-objectification, and self-esteem? The Hip-Hop Fandom Scale, Modern Jezebel Scale, Identity Strategies Scale, Self-Objectification by Appearance Scale, Self-Objectification by Personality Scale, and Self-Esteem Scale were used in this study because the Jezebel image is still being used today. For example, the Jezebel image may be observed in hip-hop that depicts black women as sexually promiscuous. Research has suggested that the more exposure of hip-hop's ideals, the more women will internalize those ideals (Watson et al. 2012). Research has also found that endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype among African American females is correlated with "rejection of black standards of beauty and a perception that sexual risk behaviors are less risky" (Watson et al. 2012: 459). In addition, black female survivors of rape are often viewed as more sexually promiscuous and accredited more blame than white women (Townsend et al. 2010).

My second research question is explanatory: Do college campus, hip-hop fandom, and identity strategy influence whether black female students endorse Jezebel stereotypes? I hypothesize that black female students at a historically black college or university would have greater hip-hop fandom, greater density and duration of identities, and therefore they would have

greater self-objectification and score higher on the Modern Jezebel scale compared to black students at predominately white institutions. I have these expectations because the majority of the student population at an HBCU is black, developing a regulating social context around blackness. Considering that hip-hop was established by black youth, hip-hop may be more apparent in a context of blackness.

The purpose of my research is to add to the discourse regarding the effects of hip-hop culture on the identity of black female college students using college context as a factor. Black students attending a public white institution, where the majority of students, faculty, and administration are not similar to them are confronted with constructing and maintaining their identity in an environment that often reminds them of their differences. When black students attend a university that is predominantly white, it is noted, that the overall cultural atmosphere, ideas and ideologies, and general structure have a feel of being 'white' (Cox 2015). This fact in itself may also contribute to the overall construction of race and racial identity.

On the other hand, when constructing ideas of what it means to be black, this experience may signify a different meaning for students attending a historically black college or university. From the aspect of constructing identity in this context, students are likely to be in an environment where other African Americans dominate the student population, faculty, and administrators. These students are not obligated to construct their meaning to coincide with those who are non-black. Students attending predominantly black colleges are allowed to experience racial group collectivity while obtaining a diverse social experience by relating to individuals from various social classes and regions. While attending predominantly black universities, students have an opportunity to interact more often with students they feel they can relate to and

share personal experiences with. However, identity is not determined solely or even mostly by the institution that one attends. There are several factors that determine identity and college choice; and these may or may not be related. For example, a family's economic status is an important, but unrelated determinant for where one attends college. Acknowledging complexities such as this is important.

My research question also implies that black female students at a predominately white college would have lower hip-hop fandom, lower density and duration of identities, and therefore they would score lower on the Modern Jezebel Scale compared to black students at a historically black college or university. I have these expectations because by being black and female, blackness becomes a restricting influence at PWI's, constraining black student expression to stereotypes that are acceptable by the dominant group of whites. Because PWI's are majority white, black females may be more conscious of showing their identity and they may choose to let their sexual identity be a smaller part of their overall identity in order to navigate through a predominately white context. These women adopt black feminist thought to combat black female sexuality stereotypes. I wonder if lower fandom and lower density and duration of identities would coincide with lower support for Jezebel stereotypes.

CHAPTER VI

METHODOLOGY

Participants were black female college students ranging in age from 18 to 22. The women were undergraduate students at a predominately white institution or historically black college or university: the University of Mississippi and Jackson State University, respectively. Most HBCUs were created in the aftermath of the Civil War, and majority of HBCUs are in the former slave states (Philadelphia Tribune 2016). Since HBCUs were created for the education of black Americans, and the majority of the student makeup are black, Jackson State University represents a HBCU. Because PWIs have student bodies made up mostly whites with some diversity of different races of African American, Hispanic, Asian, and so on, the University of Mississippi represents a PVI. At the University of Mississippi, a PVI, black students are still establishing their place on campus. A noose hanging around the neck of the James Meredith statue, and the recent removal of the Mississippi flag due to its prominent Confederate emblem had black students feeling uneasy about their safety. These types of problems make minority students feel that they are not welcomed or valued.

My project was based on quantitative research where I examined participants using a questionnaire. I used a questionnaire because it seemed more practical due to me collecting large amounts of information from a large number of people in a short time from two college campuses. I obtained 60 completed questionnaires from each school. I gave out the questionnaires in the student union at each campus. I had pens and pencils available for each

participant. I asked females that were sitting alone, females that were in groups of just females, and females that were in groups of females and males to take my questionnaire. I also gave participants space to fill out the questionnaire. Questionnaires were completed in a time range from ten minutes to 20 minutes. I used a questionnaire that consists of a Hip-hop Fandom Scale, the Modern Jezebel Scale, the Identity Strategies Scale, Objectification by Appearance Scale, Objectification by Personality Scale, and Rosenberg's Self-esteem Scale.

I used quota sampling and recruited participants by asking them to participate while in the school's student union. Quota sampling is a "convenience" sample, but allows me to compare the two schools. My quota was at least 50 respondents from each campus. One benefit of quota sampling was that it was quicker and easier to carry out because it did not require a sampling frame and the strict use of random sampling techniques. The use of a quota sample, which led to the stratification of a sample, allowed me to more easily compare the groups of females at the University of Mississippi and Jackson State University. A limit using quota sampling was that the sample was not chosen using random selection, which means it was impossible to determine the possible sampling error.

According to Forbes.com, the University of Mississippi consists of 76.2% of white students and 14.3% of black students, and the Jackson State University consists of 91.4% of black students and 4.3% of white students. Jackson State University has a program named Bridge to the Future that helps black people in the STEM fields where blacks are underrepresented, and the University of Mississippi has multiple majors and programs including about 40 degrees in the liberal arts college (Forbes.com). These schools represent PWIs and HBCUs in general considering their racial makeup (Lomotey 2010, Philadelphia Tribune 2016). Both the University

of Mississippi and Jackson State University are schools in the Deep South, and this makes them different than other parts of the country. The Deep South is the Cotton Belt where slavery dominated the economy during the antebellum era. This is important to note because sexual objectification of African American women dates back to the slave era, whereby they were considered subhuman and likened to animals with uncontrollable sexual appetites (Collins 2000). Slave owners recognized the potential for economic gain by “breeding” Black women in order to increase the number of slaves. Black women who were able to produce large numbers of children were prized and valued, resulting in higher costs for such women (Watson et al. 2012: 459). These examples demonstrate how African American women’s bodies have been socially controlled as sexual objects based upon racist, classist, and sexist ideologies.

The participants filled out a questionnaire letting me know their zip code that they grew up in or are from originally, their age, academic self (GPA), their sexual orientation, skin tone color, body type and height, texture of hair, if they have children or not, if so, how many, and social class. The participants’ zip code gives lieu to how they were raised. The participants’ age was important because I am looking at a specific age group from the age of 18 to 22. The GPA of participants allows me to compare self esteem to how well a student is doing in school. Asking about sexual orientation provides more pieces that shape a person and how they objectify themselves. Skin tone, body type, height, and texture of hair are important because it helps to find a relationship with beauty ideals and colorism to self-objectification and self-esteem. I came up with the specific questions measuring these items by looking at sample survey questions on Google. I notified the participants before taking the questionnaire that personal questions regarding appearance would be asked.

The following scales were used to address the first exploratory research question about campus differences. The Hip-hop Fandom Scale was used to measure if the participants are exposed to hip-hop or not and how much exposure (Kistler and Lee 2009: 76). The scale included six questions and tells about the measures of watching hip-hop videos and being a fan of hip-hop music. The Modern Jezebel Scale (Townsend et al. 2010: 277) measured black women's identification with stereotypes that are constructed about black girls/women; this scale had twenty questions. The Identity Strategies Scale measured how long and when a black woman feels proud to be a black woman to determine whether they are an identity lifestyle, identity commuter, or identity integrator based on Brekhus's identity strategies theory. This scale consisted of nine questions. The Objectification by Appearance Scale and Objectification by Personality Scale consisted of sixteen items each measuring how black women identify themselves by asking them who they think they resemble by appearance and personality using Stephens and Phillips sexual scripts. The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, M. 1965) consisted of ten items that measured both positive and negative feelings about the self.

I designed the Identity Strategies Scale based on Brekhus's theory because I wanted to compare how black women at these different institutions present themselves when they are around a majority white crowd or a majority black crowd. This scale would help explain how black female students navigate their identity in a college campus context. The Objectification Scales were designed to compare the common sexual stereotypes mostly seen at PWIs and HBCUs, and if they are different or similar based on context. Stephens and Phillips suggested eight sexual stereotypes that emerged from the four foundational images—the Diva, Gold Digger, Freak, Dyke, Gangster Bitch, Sister Savior, Earth Mother and Baby Mama (2003).

Stephens and Phillips also suggested some celebrities that fit into these categories. To make these images more inclusive, I made two questions for each sexual stereotype but I alternated each sexual stereotype by either skin tone or body type. I created an appearance and personality scale for objectification because Stephens and Phillips not only explain what these stereotypes look like, but how they behave in interpersonal and intrapersonal relationships.

For the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale scores were calculated as follows: For items 1, 2, 4, 6, and 7: strongly agree=3, agree=2, disagree=1, strongly disagree=0, and for items 3, 5, 8, 9, and 10 (which are reversed in valence): strongly agree=0, agree=1, disagree=2, strongly disagree=3. The scale ranged from 0-30. Scores between 15 and 25 were within normal range; scores below 15 suggest low self-esteem.

The dependent variable was the modern Jezebel scale. The independent variables were the Hip-hop Fandom Scale, and the commuter and lifestyler identity strategies. Body type, skin color, and hair type were used as control variables. The following regression models were used to assess the second explanatory question. The purposes of the Townsend et al. study were to explore the relationship among stereotypic images, beauty standards that are consistent with colorism, and identity components of African American girls and to determine the impact of these variables on girls' sexual attitudes. A series of multiple regressions were performed using identity components, stereotypic images, and colorism as independent variables and sexual attitude variables as the outcome (Townsend et al. 2010). Strengths of factor loadings for the Modern Jezebel Scale were evaluated based on the proportion of variance in item responses explained by factors: loadings of .55 are good or better (30% or more variance explained). In the one-factor solution, seven items (1, 2, 4, 9, 17, 19, 20) loaded strongly onto the factor and

exhibited factor loadings exceeding .55, which is indicative of a good factor-item relationship (Townsend et al. 2010). In order to determine the influence of identity components and societal messages on the sexual attitudes of participants, a series of multiple regressions was conducted, including ethnic identity belongingness, academic self-concept, stereotypic images (Modern Jezebel Scale), and colorism measures as explanatory variables; age was entered as a covariate as well as dichotomous variables for mother's and father's employment (Townsend et al. 2010). In my regression analysis, I used campus, hip-hop fandom, and lifestyle and commuter identity strategies as independent variables; body type, hair type, and skin color as control variables; and the modern Jezebel scale as the dependent variable.

For each scale, I used descriptive statistics to compute average scores, and used crosstabulations to get chi-square and p values. Then, I used factor analysis for summary scale construction. Then, I used a regression to test my hypothesis.

CHAPTER VII

RESULTS

For each scale, average scores and chi-squares were computed. Chi-square tests were used to assess whether each question differed by school. Then, a factor analysis was used to explain the correlations between questions on each scale. Where relevant, summary scales were computed. The hip-hop fandom summary variable was computed by adding each question and getting a sum, the lifestyler summary variable was computed by adding questions 4 and 7 together; the commuter summary variable was computed by adding questions 6 and 9 together, and the modern Jezebel summary variable was computed by adding questions 1, 2, 4, 6, 9, 14, 17, 19, and 20 together.

Hip-Hop Fandom Scale

Table 1 summarizes the mean scores of hip-hop fandom by campus. According to Table 1, there is a small difference between the JSU and UM samples based on average scores, especially for questions 2, 3, and 6. In Kistler's and Lee's study (2009), questions 2 and 3 are reverse coded, so I reverse coded, as well. This scale used a 5-point Likert type scale from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). It seems to be that hip-hop is a genre of choice for these samples of undergraduates. The JSU sample seemingly enjoyed watching hip-hop videos more compared to the UM sample.

Table 1: Average Scores for Hip-Hop Fandom by Campus

Question	JSU	UM	Grand Total
1. Listen mostly to hip-hop	3.8	3.8	3.8
2. Can't stand hip-hop music	4.3	4.5	4.4
3. I rarely, if ever, listen to hip-hop	4.0	4.2	4.1
4. Hip-hop is one of my top two types of music	3.9	4.0	4.0
5. I am a fan of hip-hop music	4.2	4.3	4.2
6. I love watching hip-hop videos	3.5	3.3	3.4
Count of Cases	60.0	60.0	120.0

Note: Six questions comprised the hip-hop fandom scale. This scale used a 5-point Likert type scale from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). A Chi-square test was used to determine if the two samples had significant differences and they did not.

Chi-square tests were done for all six variables, and there was no statistical difference between hip-hop fandom and campus, which means that these samples tend to enjoy hip-hop in similar ways.

Table 2 summarizes the correlations between each question and the estimated components in a factor analysis. Factor 1 account for 56.7% of the variability in all 6 variables in the Hip-Hop Fandom Scale. This means that all six questions have high positive scores on the first factor, suggesting that they all measure the same underlying concept. I added all of the questions on the hip-hop fandom scale to calculate a summary measure.

Table 2: Factor Analysis Component Matrix for Hip-Hop Fandom by Campus

	Factor 1
HHF1	.672
HHF2	.753
HHF3	.812
HHF4	.806
HHF5	.815
HHF6	.640

Note: Only one factor accounts for all six questions measuring the same underlying concept. Each question is loaded strongly on this scale. Note: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Modern Jezebel Scale

Table 3 summarizes the mean scores for the Modern Jezebel scale by campus. According to Townsend et al. (2010), participants who identified more strongly with their group may be more susceptible to the negative group stereotypes that are salient in a particular situation, and may expect to be viewed in ways that are consistent with that stereotype. This is interesting because according to the average scores seen in table 3, the JSU sample is endorsing the Jezebel stereotype more than the UM sample. This coincides with my hypothesis that because black women at UM are surrounded by mostly whiteness, they are more conscious of how to navigate in a public space. They are more likely or capable of rejecting sexual stereotypes as compared to the women at JSU who may have more networks of “blackness” and unconsciously perform the attributes of the Jezebel sexual identity.

A Chi-square test was used on each item to see if there’s a statistical difference. Consistent with my hypothesis, There was a statistical difference between the two campuses for the following questions: question 2 (chi-square= 12.781, p= .012), question 4 (chi-square= 12.448, p= .006), question 6 (chi-square= 13.370, p= .010), and question 14 (chi-square= 9.287, p= .054).

Table 3: Average Scores for Modern Jezebel Scale by Campus

Question	JSU	UM	Grand Total
1. Black girls are loud and have an attitude.	2.6	2.0	2.3
2. Black girls always want to have sex.	2.2	1.6	1.9
3. Black girls have to be strong.	4.4	4.4	4.4
4. Black girls use sex to get what they want.	2.1	1.6	1.8
5. Boys can be controlled with sex.	3.2	3.0	3.1
6. Black girls disrespect black boys.	2.6	2.1	2.3
7. I have to take care of my younger brothers and sisters.	2.6	2.4	2.5
8. I hate to make mistakes.	3.9	3.9	3.9
9. Black girls are always mad and ready to fight.	2.3	1.8	2.1
10. Sometimes I help people before I help myself.	4.3	4.4	4.4
11. People do not pay attention to me.	2.5	2.7	2.6
12. I do not pay attention to me.	3.8	3.6	3.7
13. I do not like to ask others when they need it.	4.0	4.0	4.0
14. I get what I want when I am loud and angry.	2.2	1.7	1.9
15. Boys like me because of my body.	2.5	2.6	2.6
16. I never get my own way.	2.1	2.1	2.1
17. Black girls will steal your boyfriend.	3.0	2.6	2.8
18. I often have to put someone in their place or check them.	3.3	3.0	3.2
19. Black girls are gold-diggers.	2.0	1.7	1.9
20. Black girls always want their way.	2.8	2.5	2.6
Count of Cases	60.0	60.0	120.0

Note: Twenty questions comprised the modern Jezebel scale. This scale used a 5-point Likert type scale from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). A Chi-square test was used on each item to see if there's a statistical difference. There was a statistical difference between the two campuses for questions 2, 4, 6, and 14.

Table 4 shows that there are seven factors that account for variability in all twenty variables in the Modern Jezebel scale, but on factor one, eight questions loaded strongly, and were very similar to the factor loadings from Townsend et al.'s study (2010). Townsend et al. (2010) used factor loadings to evaluate the interpretability of each factor and 7 items loaded strongly: 1, 2, 4, 9, 17, 19, and 20. The factor loadings were .66, .64, .67, .77, .68, .64, and .67, respectively. According to factor 1, questions 1, 2, 4, 9, 14, 17, 19, and 20 loaded strongly on the Modern Jezebel scale for this study. Question 14 is the only major difference between Townsend et al.'s (2010) study and this one; .20 was the factor loading for question 14 for Townsend et al.'s study. In Townsend et al.'s study, the participants were adolescents, and for this study, the participants were college-aged, so that could have had an effect on why question 14 loaded strongly for this study. The factor loadings were so similar that I just used the first factor for a summary scale, i.e., I chose questions same as Townsend et al., and added question 14 to recompute a summary variable. I calculated the summary variable by adding questions 1, 2, 4, 9, 14, 17, 19, and 20.

Table 4: Factor Analysis Component Matrix for Modern Jezebel by Campus

Question	Factors						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
MJEZE1	.683	-.013	-.135	-.093	.070	-.133	.007
MJEZE2	.607	-.102	-.044	.000	.329	.333	.038
MJEZE3	-.033	.426	.232	-.309	-.243	-.175	-.218
MJEZE4	.728	.000	-.287	.045	.120	.101	-.031
MJEZE5	.288	.379	-.275	-.532	.100	.147	.142
MJEZE6	.320	.382	-.466	-.259	-.050	-.249	.056
MJEZE7	.161	.042	.418	.160	.574	-.150	.347
MJEZE8	.012	.699	.002	.003	.167	-.210	-.256
MJEZE9	.796	.010	-.054	.144	.003	.041	-.074
MJEZE10	-.330	.670	.054	-.209	-.050	.174	.130
MJEZE11	.291	.321	-.127	.599	-.207	.069	-.231
MJEZE12	.006	.389	.191	-.009	.458	.413	-.109
MJEZE13	-.324	.462	.150	.432	.268	-.002	-.050
MJEZE14	.589	-.019	-.042	.161	.136	-.561	.099
MJEZE15	.120	.198	.553	.157	-.341	-.094	-.048
MJEZE16	.005	.322	-.403	.284	-.337	.140	.536
MJEZE17	.455	.215	.353	.144	-.274	.106	.451
MJEZE18	.435	.031	.528	-.286	-.047	-.348	.081
MJEZE19	.666	.056	.001	.090	-.176	.142	-.398
MJEZE20	.479	-.122	.442	-.215	-.208	.468	-.003

Note: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. According to factor 1, questions 1, 2, 4, 9, 14, 17, 19, and 20 loaded strongly on the Modern Jezebel scale for this study. Factor 1 from the factor loadings shown here are similar enough to Townsend et al.'s study that this first factor could be used for a summary scale, i.e., to choose questions for constructing a summary scale because for the other 6 factors in the table, none of the questions from Townsend et al.'s study loaded strongly.

Identity Strategies

Table 5 summarizes the mean scores for identity strategies by campus. In this study, the black woman lifestyle lives, works, and spends most, if not all, of her time in places of large urban areas, and her social networks are predominately or exclusively black and female. Black women that are commuters do their unmarkedness in the space of the PWI, but move to safe and temporal spaces to turn their marked identity on, either with the association of other black women or predominately black spaces. The integrator mixes her politically salient and nonsalient

affiliations; she spreads her black female sexual identity in a diluted form across every sphere of her life; the integrator is common at a PWI resisting stereotypes. According to the average scores, JSU scored higher on question 4, but UM scored higher on question 7 for the lifestyle questions. UM scored higher on all of the integrator questions, 2, 5, and 8, although the differences were not statistically significant. For the commuter questions, JSU scored higher on question 3, but UM scored higher on question 6.

Since this is a novel scale, a Chi-square test was used on each item to see if there's a statistical difference, and according to Table 5, there was a statistical difference for question 4. Question 4 is "The friends that I hang out with the most are all black" with a chi-square value of 9.977 and p-value of .041. This makes sense due to the context of JSU being majority black, and UM having more diversity amongst people.

Table 5: Average Scores for Identity Strategies by Campus

Questions	JSU	UM	Grand Total
<i>Lifestyler</i>			
1. I feel comfortable as a black woman in a class sitting around mostly black students.	4.2	4.2	4.2
4. The friends that I hang out with the most are all Black.	4.1	3.5	3.8
7. I participate in groups that have only black members.	2.8	3.0	2.9
<i>Integrator</i>			
2. I feel comfortable as a black woman in a class with white students and black students sitting together.	4.1	4.2	4.1
5. I have both black and white friends and we all hang out together.	3.1	3.5	3.3
8. I participate in groups that have both black and white members.	3.9	4.0	4.0
<i>Commuter</i>			
3. I feel comfortable as a black woman in a class with black students and white students sitting separately from each other.	2.8	2.6	2.7
6. I have both black and white friends, but I hang out with them separately.	2.6	2.7	2.6
9. I participate in some groups with black members and some with white members, but I keep them separate.	2.2	2.2	2.2
Count of Cases	60.0	60.0	120.0

Note: Nine questions comprised the identity strategies scale. This scale used a 5-point Likert type scale from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). A Chi-square test was used on each item to see if there's a statistical difference between campuses. There was a statistical difference between the two campuses for question 4.

According to Table 6, there are four factors that account for variability in all nine questions in the Identity Strategies scale. For factor 1, questions 1, 4, and 7 loaded the strongest and represent the lifestyler identity strategy. For factor 2, questions 6 and 9 loaded the strongest and represent the commuter identity strategy. For factor 3, questions 3 and 5 loaded the strongest and do not fully represent the integrator identity strategy. Across factors 1, 2, and 3, question 7 have positive loadings which implies that no matter which identity strategy, people answer yes to

the question. The factor analysis suggests questions 1, 4, and 7 all measure the same underlying concept. Considering that this is a novel scale, this could explain why factors did not represent each strategy in its entirety. Maybe if a pre-test of the identity strategies was done, factor 3 or factor 4 could have represented integrator more strongly, or would have given me an opportunity to revise the questions in order to measure the concepts correctly. Because this scale did not return clear results, it was omitted from the regression analysis.

Table 6: Factor Analysis Component Matrix for Identity Strategies by Campus

Question	Factors			
	1	2	3	4
DENDUR1	.570	-.193	.331	.165
DENDUR2	.282	-.624	.236	.250
DENDUR3	.264	.103	.614	.450
DENDUR4	.661	.022	-.449	.051
DENDUR5	-.558	-.273	.564	-.254
DENDUR6	.007	.565	-.015	.644
DENDUR7	.427	.551	.314	-.357
DENDUR8	-.629	-.206	-.209	.490
DENDUR9	-.436	.634	.165	.007

Note: Across factors 1, 2, and 3, question 7 has positive loadings which implies that no matter which identity strategy, people answer yes to the question. The factor analysis suggests questions 1, 4, and 7 all measure the same underlying concept, of commuter. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Self-Objectification by Appearance

Table 7 shows the mean scores for self-objectification by campus. The concepts may not have been measured accurately due this being the first time that these sexual stereotypes were applied to a quantitative study. The projected sexual stereotypes shape how black women view themselves according to Stephens and Phillips (2003). Stephens and Phillips explicitly used Beyonce, Brandy, Trina, Lil' Kim, Foxy Brown, Queen Latifah, Mary J. Blige, MC Lyte, Erykah Badu, and Jill Scott to describe their respective sexual stereotypes. I used Eve, Azealia Banks,

LeToya Luckett, Zendaya, Blac Chyna, and Ciara based on the explanation of sexual stereotypes by Stephens and Phillips (2003). According to the average scores, the JSU sample scored higher on all of the questions, except question 7 (Erykah Badu, Earth Mother).

Since this is a novel scale, a Chi-square test was used on each item to see if there's a statistical difference between campuses, and there was no statistical difference.

Table 7: Average Scores for Self-Objectification using Sexual Stereotypes (Appearance) by Campus

Questions	JSU	UM	Grand Total
1: Beyonce (Diva)	2.8	2.3	2.6
9: Brandy (Diva)	2.5	2.2	2.3
2: Trina (Golddigger)	2.2	1.8	2.0
10: Eve (Golddigger)	2.2	2.0	2.1
3: Lil'Kim (Freak)	1.9	1.5	1.7
11: Foxy Brown (Freak)	2.1	1.8	2.0
4: Queen Latifah (Dyke)	2.4	2.0	2.2
12: Azealia Banks (Dyke)	2.0	1.8	1.9
5: Mary J. Blige (Gangster Bitch)	2.1	1.9	2.0
13: MC Lyte (Gangster Bitch)	2.1	2.0	2.0
6: LeToya Luckett (Sister Savior)	2.2	2.1	2.2
14: Zendaya (Sister Savior)	2.3	2.3	2.3
7: Erykah Badu (Earth Mother)	2.3	2.4	2.4
15: Jill Scott (Earth Mother)	2.5	2.2	2.3
8: Blac Chyna (Baby Mama)	2.0	1.7	1.8
16: Ciara (Baby Mama)	2.4	2.2	2.3
Count of Cases	60.0	60.0	120.0

Note: Sixteen questions comprised the Self-Objectification by Appearance scale. This scale used a 5-point Likert type scale from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). A Chi-square test was used on each item to see if there's a statistical difference, and there was no statistical difference.

According to Table 8, there are three factors that account for the variability in all 16 questions in the Self-Objectification by Appearance scale. According to the article by Stephens and Phillips (2003), questions 1 and 9 represent the Diva sexual stereotype, questions 2 and 10 represent the Golddigger, questions 3 and 11 represent the Freak, questions 4 and 12 represent

the Dyke, questions 5 and 13 represent the Gangster Bitch, questions 6 and 14 represent the Sister Savior, question 7 and 15 represent the Earth Mother, and questions 8 and 16 represent the Baby Mama. For factor 1, question 10 is loaded the strongest, but questions 6, 11, 12, and 13 are loaded strongly, too. For factor 2, questions 3, 4, and 15 are loaded strong. For factor 3, questions 4, 7, and 15 are loaded strongly. This table suggests that only the first three factors are important, and it may be three images instead of eight. For factor 1, LeToya Luckett is a singer and actress, Eve, Foxy Brown, Azealia Banks, and MC Lyte are all rappers and actresses, as well. I call this group Versatile Star because they are multifaceted in the things that they have in common. For factor 2, Queen Latifah is a rapper and actress, Lil'Kim is a rapper, and Jill Scott is a neo-soul singer and actress. The thing that these artists have in common is their poetic words in their songs, or the flow of their lyrics, and I call them Spoken Word Women. For factor 3, Queen Latifah is a plus-size rapper and actress, Erykah Badu is a curvaceous actress and singer, and Jill Scott is a plus-size actress and singer. The thing that they have in common is that they all have curvaceous bodies and love their bodies and empower all black women to do the same, so I call them Sultry Sisters. Factors 2 and 3 may suggest that question 15 is a good question to use to measure the concept. I am not using this scale in my regressions.

Table 8: Factor Analysis Component Matrix for Self-Objectification using Sexual Stereotypes (Appearance) by Campus

Question	Factors		
	1	2	3
APPE1	.651	-.352	-.086
APPE2	.682	.266	-.371
APPE3	.542	.466	-.389
APPE4	.563	.394	.423
APPE5	.696	-.092	.236
APPE6	.726	-.274	-.041
APPE7	.557	.014	.386
APPE8	.578	.210	-.516
APPE9	.611	-.308	-.021
APPE10	.808	-.166	-.007
APPE11	.726	.261	-.056
APPE12	.760	.104	-.003
APPE13	.737	.127	.047
APPE14	.674	-.246	.066
APPE15	.401	.335	.584
APPE16	.590	-.512	-.037

Note: For factor 1, question 10 is loaded the strongest, but questions 6, 11, 12, and 13 are loaded strongly, too. For factor 2, questions 3, 4, and 15 are loaded strong. For factor 3, questions 4, 7, and 15 are loaded strongly. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Self-Objectification using Sexual Stereotypes (Personality)

Table 9 shows the mean scores for self-objectification of personality by campus.

According to Table 9, it is interesting that the UM sample scored higher on questions 1, 5, 13, 6, 14, 7, and 15 on the personality scale than the appearance scale; these questions imply the “better” or “good” stereotype in popular culture. This makes sense that the UM sample would score higher on the self objectification scale on the more positive sexual stereotypes because this may be their way of participating in hip-hop while also resisting hip-hop’s negative tropes of black women. Since this is a novel scale, a Chi-square test was used on each item to see if there’s a statistical difference between the two campuses, and there was no statistical difference

for any questions on this scale.

Table 9: Average Scores for Self-Objectification using Sexual Stereotypes (Personality) by Campus

Questions	JSU	UM	Grand Total
1: Beyonce (Diva)	2.8	3.0	2.9
9: Brandy (Diva)	2.8	2.7	2.7
2: Trina (Golddigger)	2.5	2.2	2.3
10: Eve (Golddigger)	2.4	2.3	2.4
3: Lil'Kim (Freak)	1.9	1.8	1.8
11: Foxy Brown (Freak)	2.1	1.9	2.0
4: Queen Latifah (Dyke)	2.9	2.7	2.8
12: Azealia Banks (Dyke)	2.1	1.8	2.0
5: Mary J. Blige (Gangster Bitch)	2.5	2.6	2.5
13: MC Lyte (Gangster Bitch)	2.3	2.6	2.4
6: LeToya Luckett (Sister Savior)	2.3	2.5	2.4
14: Zendaya (Sister Savior)	3.0	3.3	3.2
7: Erykah Badu (Earth Mother)	3.0	3.1	3.1
15: Jill Scott (Earth Mother)	3.1	3.2	3.1
8: Blac Chyna (Baby Mama)	2.0	1.7	1.9
16: Ciara (Baby Mama)	2.9	2.7	2.8
Count of Cases	60.0	60.0	120.0

Note: Sixteen questions comprised the Self-Objectification by Appearance scale. This scale used a 5-point Likert type scale from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). A Chi-square test was used on each item to see if there's a statistical difference, and there was no statistical difference.

According to Table 10, there are four factors that account for the variability in all sixteen variables in the Self-Objectification by Personality scale. According to the article by Stephens and Phillips (2003), questions 1 and 9 represent the Diva sexual stereotype, questions 2 and 10 represent the Golddigger, questions 3 and 11 represent the Freak, questions 4 and 12 represent the Dyke, questions 5 and 13 represent the Gangster Bitch, questions 6 and 14 represent the Sister Savior, question 7 and 15 represent the Earth Mother, and questions 8 and 16 represent the Baby Mama. For factor 1, the thing that Beyonce, Queen Latifah, Mary J. Blige, LeToya Luckett, Eve, Foxy Brown, and MC Lyte have in common is that they are nice until someone

pushes them or aggravates them, and I call them “Don’t Push Me because I’m close to the edge.” Since Lil’Kim measured high on factor 2, she can keep the title “Freak”. Ciara measured high on factor 3, so she can keep the title “Baby Mama”. Beyonce measured high on factor 4, so she can keep the title as “Diva.” Because question 10 (Golddigger) was loaded the strongest on both the self-objectification scales by appearance and personality this hints at the idea of the Mrs. Degree for black women. This notion is interesting because most black women are seem to want to be independent, but this finding suggest that attending college may be a reason for black women to get married and avoid independence or responsibility. This scale was exploratory so it won’t be used in the regression analysis.

Table 10: Factor Analysis Component Matrix for Self-Objectification using Sexual Stereotypes (Personality) by Campus

Question	Factors			
	1	2	3	4
PERS1	.618	-.061	-.036	.594
PERS2	.443	.390	-.071	.192
PERS3	.348	.623	.038	.062
PERS4	.610	.002	-.483	.126
PERS5	.662	.002	-.287	.265
PERS6	.684	.023	.061	-.222
PERS7	.502	-.484	-.369	-.198
PERS8	.472	.516	.266	-.025
PERS9	.563	-.282	-.216	-.003
PERS10	.713	.021	.042	-.026
PERS11	.689	.269	.101	-.432
PERS12	.569	.392	-.159	-.061
PERS13	.669	-.087	.143	-.375
PERS14	.483	-.348	.469	.325
PERS15	.475	-.588	.046	-.153
PERS16	.542	-.241	.574	.103

Note: For factor 1, item 10 is loaded the strongest which is the Golddigger. For factor 2, question 3 loads the strongest. For factor 3, question 16 is the strongest. For factor 4, question 1 is the strongest. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Self-Esteem

Table 11 summarizes the mean scores of self-esteem by campus. In Oney et al. study (2011) researchers were attempting to see if racial identity would moderate the relationship between body dissatisfaction and self-esteem for black women and men; the scale scores were calculated by averaging responses to the items and the alpha was .88. The Rosenberg's (1965) scale ranges from 0-30. Scores between 15 and 25 are within normal range; scores below 15 suggest low self-esteem. I calculated the sum of averages of the items, and for the JSU sample the sum of averages was 16.7 and the UM's sample sum of average was 17.4 (that is a moderately large difference of 0.7). Although not significant, the UM sample has more self-esteem than the JSU sample based on average scores. This could be explained by the JSU sample being lifestylers and agreeing more on the Modern Jezebel Scale as compared to the UM sample.

A Chi-square test was used on each item to see if there's a statistical difference between the two campuses, and there was no statistical difference.

Table 11: Average Scores for Self-Esteem by Campus

Question	JSU	UM	Grand Total
1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	2.4	2.4	2.4
2. At times, I think I am no good at all.	1.2	1.0	1.1
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	0.4	0.4	0.4
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.	2.4	2.5	2.5
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	2.4	2.5	2.4
6. I certainly feel useless at times.	1.1	1.0	1.1
7. I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	2.4	2.6	2.5
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1.7	1.9	1.8
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	2.4	2.6	2.5
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	0.3	0.5	0.4
Count of Cases	60.0	60.0	120.0

Note: 10 items comprised the self-esteem scale. Items 1, 2, 4, 6 & 7 were measured on a Likert-scale from 3 (strongly agree) to 0 (strongly disagree). Items 3, 5, 8, 9, & 10 are reverse scored.

According to Table 12, there are two factors accounted for variability in the 10 questions in the Self-Esteem scale. For factor 1, question 9 is loaded the strongest (“All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure”), which means that the participants strongly disagreed on this statement. This is interesting because considering that the JSU sample scored higher on the modern Jezebel scale, they still do not consider themselves a failure. For Factor 2, question 2 is loaded the strongest, but question 6 is loaded strongly, as well, which means participants strongly agreed, and factor 2 could be measuring the concept of high self esteem without using the negative questions, while factor 1 measures the concepts of Rosenberg’s scale.

Table 12: Factor Analysis Component Matrix for Self-Esteem by Campus

Question	Factors	
	1	2
SE1	.653	.157
SE2	-.509	.744
SE3	-.769	-.197
SE4	.693	.277
SE5	.620	-.142
SE6	-.642	.621
SE7	.606	.333
SE8	.502	-.198
SE9	.699	.223
SE10	-.748	-.215

Note: For factor 1, question 9 is loaded the strongest (“All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure”), but items 1, 4, 5, 7, and 8 are loaded strongly, as well. For Factor 2, question 2 is loaded the strongest, but question 6 is loaded strongly, as well. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Regression Analyses

Table 13 shows a series of multiple regressions including college campus, hip-hop fandom, identity strategies, body types, hair types, and variations in skin color. The modern Jezebel scale is the dependent variable for all models. I chose this scale because the factor

loadings coincided with Townsend et al.'s loadings, which means the concepts that I wanted to measure were measured. Campus, hip-hop fandom and identity strategies were considered independent variables because I wanted to see if they caused a change or affected how participants scored on the modern Jezebel scale. Body type, hair type, and skin color were used as control variables. College campus remained a significant factor across the board. College campus was entered as a dichotomous variable. In the first regression, the modern Jezebel summary variable was entered as the dependent variable, and college campus as the only independent variable, which was statistically significant. This means endorsement of sexual stereotypes differentiated across college contexts.

In the second regression model, campus and hip-hop fandom were entered, and campus remained significant, while hip-hop fandom did not. This was interesting because according to the chi-square and factor analysis of the hip-hop fandom scale, both samples enjoyed hip-hop. This result confirms that campus predicts Jezebel, but hip-hop fandom does not. In the third regression model, the lifestyle and commuter identity strategies were added as independent values, but did not have significance. In the final regression analysis, the control groups of hair type, skin color, and body type were entered, and no significant effect were discovered. A limitation in the regression analysis was that I could not use a summary variable for every scale. Possible future directions for research would be to use individual questions instead of summary variables for the self-objectification scales and self-esteem scales, trying models with other combinations of variables included, examining possible interaction terms, and trying other measures of the dependent variable.

Table 13: Multiple Regressions with Modern Jezebel Summary as Dependent Variable

Predictors	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	B		B		B		B	
Campus	-3.467	**	-3.489	**	-3.606	**	-3.582	**
	(0.914)		(0.918)		(0.944)		(-0.976)	
HHR			0.560		0.720		-0.006	
			(0.113)		(0.119)		(0.123)	
Lifestyler					-0.136		0.113	
					(0.314)		(0.329)	
Commuter					0.290		0.176	
					(0.302)		(0.309)	
Pear Body							2.059	
							(1.912)	
Hourglass Body							1.350	
							(1.971)	
Banana Body							3.331	
							(2.055)	
Straight Hair							-1.270	
							(1.661)	
Curly Hair							0.402	
							(1.748)	
Kinky/Coily Hair							-1.677	
							(1.575)	
Very Dark Skin							4.896	
							(3.078)	
Dark Brown Skin							0.053	
							(1.259)	
Light Brown Skin							-3.330	
							(1.996)	
Very Light Brown Skin							0.797	
							(1.201)	
Constant	19.000		17.665		17.055		16.447	
	(0.646)		(2.740)		(3.685)		(4.245)	
F Statistic	14.388		7.274		3.941		1.966	
R2	0.109		0.111		0.121		0.208	

Note: For identity strategies, integrator is the reference category. For body type, apple is the reference category. For hair type, wavy hair is the reference category. For the skin color type, medium brown is the reference category.

CHAPTER VIII

DISCUSSION

Hip-Hop Fandom

According to chi-square tests, there were no statistical differences between the two samples for any of the questions in the Hip-Hop Fandom scale. Although I was trying to find a correlation between the more hip-hop a black woman is exposed to, the more likely she is to endorse black women's sexual stereotypes, it is possible that there was no statistical difference between the two campuses due to hip-hop serving the need to celebrate blackness. Hip-hop has the use of the powerful tradition of "black oration and storytelling to render stylistically compelling music dealing with the pleasures and pains" lived by black people (Rose 2008: x). There could be no statistical difference between the two campuses because although hip-hop is misogynistic, it serves as a black voice to get through issues that are bestowed upon black people in society, and celebrate blackness, and to get through what peers and others expect "blackness" to mean. The limitations of using this scale could be that I did not ask specifically what were the participants' favorite hip-hop artists, and I did not ask specifically how much time participants spent listening to hip-hop or watching hip-hop videos. For possible future research, researchers should ask about dominant artists in hip-hop to see how the participants rate on hip-hop fandom, and maybe ask a question about dominant artists, in hip-hop and the message in their music and how does that affect black women.

Modern Jezebel Scale

The Modern Jezebel scale was used to assess black female students' identification with stereotypes that have been constructed about black girls and women. Based on results, the JSU sample are endorsing stereotypes about black girls and women, while the UM sample is resisting the stereotypes. This suggests that context matters when it comes to stereotypes. The highly coveted commercial market for hip-hop in the United States "reconstructs hip-hop as all-black, and because of this, black youth are marked by it and simultaneously invest in it heavily" (Rose 2008: xii). Since a historically black college is centered around blackness, it was expected that the JSU sample would score higher on the modern Jezebel scale, thus endorsing the stereotypes. Because of the diversity at a predominately white institution, the black female participants in this study at UM maybe want to expose and challenge the state of commercial hip-hop and its association with the black female body. This also suggests that black young women at UM are self-defining their image in order to navigate in the diverse context. These women may be challenging representations of black women within the white mainstream society. Limitations of this scale could be that I did not ask participants whether they were sexually active or not, and how many sexual partners have they had. For possible future research, participants should be asked do they receive money or gifts from their sexual partners, and maybe should be more personal by the questions stating "I" instead of "black girls."

Identity Strategies

According to the chi-square test, there was a statistical difference between the two samples for question 4, "the friends that I hang out with the most are all black." Question 4 measures the lifestyler identity strategy, and according to the average scores in table 5, the JSU

sample scored higher on this question. This is to be expected because JSU has more black people than UM. I did notice that when giving out my questionnaires at both UM and JSU there were larger groups of black female friends at JSU compared to UM. This could suggest that when trouble arises, black sisterhood and friendship is their refuge. These black women are bonded by their respective insecurities bestowed on them by popular culture. These friendships may help these women navigate their respective insecurities, existent because of and perpetuated by forces outside of themselves. This could also mean that they emphasize their cultural visibility and pride as important responses to oppression in society; they are “loud and proud to assert a place in society and to accentuate a distinct subculture” (Brekhus 2003: 43). The limitations in this scale are that the commuter and integrator identity strategies were not measured as statistically significant to determine if black women at UM were commuters or integrators. This problem could be due to how the questions were worded. Maybe there was not enough differentiation between the questions for commuter and integrator to determine specifically which identity strategy was black women at UM. For future research, researchers should maybe ask about a context other than classroom, and choose environments such as clubs and malls.

Self-Objectification by Appearance:

For this scale, none of the items were statistically significant between the campuses. According to the factor analysis, question 10 (Eve, Golddigger) was loaded the strongest. The JSU sample scored a little higher on this question compared to the UM sample. This is justified by the JSU sample scoring higher on the modern Jezebel scale for question 4, “black girls use sex to get what they want.” It is common that female characters in hip-hop and hip-hop videos wear provocative clothes and behave in submissive ways to get monetary rewards (Emerson

2002). I grouped LeToya Luckett, Eve, Foxy Brown, Azealia Banks, and MC Lyte as Versatile Star because they are multifaceted in the things that they have in common. This group implies that women of different skin tones could be versatile, and they could either be nice or assertive. What makes this group different from Stephens and Phillips is that they are composed of many different personalities and they all look differently. For Stephens and Phillips' categories, each person that fits their stereotype looks and acts a certain way. For the JSU sample, this could mean that black women are versatile to get what they want in life whether that is through independence or using their bodies for monetary gain. I grouped Queen Latifah, Lil'Kim, and Jill Scott as Spoken Word Women because these women assert that they want to be respected for their entirety regardless what society tells them through their music. They are powerful and assert heavily about their female sexuality, pleasure, and vulnerability. Their socially conscious lyrics gain acceptance as serious songwriters. According to Stephens and Phillips, these women would not be grouped together based on their sexuality, body type, and sex appeal. I also grouped Queen Latifah, Erykah Badu, and Jill Scott as Sultry Sisters because the thing that they have in common is that they all have curvaceous bodies and love their bodies and empower all black women to do the same. These women offer contemporary women safe spaces for addressing and exploring a full range of female sexual desire by emphasizing self-actualization and self-love. These women would not normally be group together based on Stephens and Phillips because self-love is not a part of having a sexual stereotype. Although I used majority of the female examples from the Stephens and Phillips article (2003), this article was dated in 2003 and this could be a limitation. Some of the participants asked me why didn't I use Rihanna, Dej Loaf, Young Ma, Jazmine Sullivan, and Kelly Rowland as examples. Another limitation for this

scale is this was the first time that Stephens and Few's sexual stereotypes were used for quantitative data. For future research, researchers should focus on more current artists, and do some pretests to determine that they measure the stereotypes they want to measure based on the artists.

Self-Objectification by Personality:

According to the chi-square test, there were no statistical differences on any of the questions between the campuses. Although these women in popular culture have more of a positive role amongst black young females, Beyonce, Queen Latifah, Mary J. Blige, LeToya Luckett, Eve, Foxy Brown, and MC Lyte all are similar in that they are nice until someone pushes them or aggravates them, and I call them "Don't Push Me because I'm close to the edge." You will not normally see these women get upset or let anything bother them; they may speak on issues in their music, but very rarely in interviews. They try to upkeep a nice lady image, but also assert to not push them too far because they make sure that their "hoodish" hometowns are known in their music. According to Stephens and Phillips, these women are dependent on men to define their role in society. However, in reality, these women are successful in their independence, and they are moguls in many ventures that they participate in such as acting, singing, and even hosting their own TV show. This could explain the UM sample perfectly because they resist stereotypes, but also are able to declare their black womanhood if certain situations promote them to. Question 10 (Eve, Golddigger) also loads strongly on this scale, as well. This may suggest that the black young females in college are looking for a successful mate, while in college. This may be a limitation because a researcher may have to define and redefine what a golddigger, and what does a golddigger mean to a black woman. For future research,

researchers may have to do some pretests to determine that they measure the stereotypes they want to measure based on the artists.

Self-Esteem:

According to the chi-square tests, there was no statistical difference between the two campuses. However, the JSU sample did score lower on the self-esteem scale compared UM sample. This could be explained by the modern Jezebel scale and the identity strategy scale. The JSU sample endorsed more stereotypes than the UM sample and based on chi-square tests, and factor analysis, they are definitely lifestylers. Lifestylers play up their distinction from mainstream society “by emphasizing different sexual norms, and urban cosmopolitan sensibility” (Brekhus 2003: 43). This could have a daunting burden on black women who are lifestylers because trying to keep up with what society wants you to be by dancing and strutting for monetary rewards, and expect to be disrespected from men, and to be talked about in disrespectful terms, thus affecting self-esteem. The limitations in this scale could be that this was the last scale on the questionnaire and maybe not many people paid careful attention to what was being asked. For future research, maybe this scale could be used in the beginning of the questionnaire instead of the end.

Regression Analysis:

According to the regression analysis, campus remains a significant factor across all models. This suggests the influence of place for black women’s identity controlling for hip-hop fandom, identity strategies, and personal physical appearance. There could be a difference between the two campuses endorsing black women’s sexual stereotypes by considering self-definitions—“collective definitions of ‘we’ and personal definitions of the ‘I’” (Saracino-Brown

2015: 7). Place has something to do with culture and location. In this study, the University of Mississippi, a predominately white institution, is located in an affluent city in the Deep South, while Jackson State University, a historically black college/university, is located in an urban city in the Deep South. The purpose of my research is to add to the discourse regarding the effects of hip-hop culture on the identity of black female college students using college context as a factor. Black students attending a public white institution, where the majority of students, faculty, and administrators are not similar to them are confronted with constructing and maintaining their identity in an environment that often reminds them of their differences. When Black students attend a university that is predominantly white, it is noted, that the overall cultural atmosphere, ideas and ideologies, and general structure have a feel of being 'white'. This fact in itself may also contribute to the overall construction of race and racial identity.

On the other hand, when constructing ideas of what it means to be black, this experience may signify a different meaning for students attending a historically black college or university. From the aspect of constructing identity in this context, students are likely to be in an environment where other African Americans dominate the student population, faculty, and administrators. These students are not obligated to construct their meaning to coincide with those who are non-black. Students attending predominantly black colleges are allowed to experience group collectivity while obtaining a diverse social experience by relating to individuals from various social classes and regions. While attending predominantly black universities, students have an opportunity to interact more often with students they feel they can relate to and share personal experiences with. In this study, when giving out the questionnaires, there were groups of black female friends sitting together in the student union, and that could have affected how

participants chose entities on the questionnaire. Results from this study suggests that recognition of specific, context locations has a connection with self and group understanding of racialized, gendered, and sexualized stereotypes. This is important for research because it suggests that there could be associations with identity, sexualities, and regions.

Although expected that hip-hop fandom would be different between campuses, it is understandable why there was no statistical difference due to hip-hop expressing anger, fears, and successes of black people in society. When doing factor analysis, findings suggested that the lifestyler identity strategy represents the JSU sample and the commuter identity strategy represents the UM sample. This was to be expected considering the context of these samples, and how they celebrate blackness. The control variables of body type, hair type, and skin color type did not have an affect on how black women endorsed sexual stereotypes. According to my results, physical appearance has little relationship to endorsement of stereotypes and this would go against studies emphasizing how skin color, size and hair affect black women's identities; perhaps all different types of black women are susceptible to stereotypes, just different ones from each other. This could be due to how the categories were worded or having too many distinctions. For example, participants mentioned to me that the liked categories such as plus-size or slim-thick to describe their body type, they also mentioned that curly could be the same as wavy hair, and a few of them could not decide on their skin tone, so they asked their friends around them. So maybe using three categories for hair type and using three categories for skin tone would help with differentiation. For future research, researchers should pay attention to how questions are worded on the identity strategies scale (maybe add different location instead of the classroom); should focus on general terms such as plus-size so that the participants would

understand exactly what the researcher is asking for, maybe ask about whether the participant has relaxed hair or natural hair, then ask about hair type, and determine more carefully how to define skin color type.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The main contribution to research is to understanding how black female students at a predominately white institution and historically black college navigate sexual stereotypes and use identity strategies in their contexts. According to the results, context matters more than hip-hop fandom for black female students in college in regard to endorsing sexual stereotypes. While the JSU sample exhibited a higher acceptance of the Jezebel stereotype, the UM sample had a somewhat lower acceptance of this sexualized stereotype of black women.

The University of Mississippi and Jackson State University are in Mississippi which is considered a prominent state in the Deep South. Our country's history of economic dependence on free, forced labor, and then later on cheap, exploitative labor, meant there were minimal opportunities for social mobility for those outside the economic elite, and particularly for people of color. Although policies and systems that overtly and legally segregated communities based on race were dismantled, the emergence of new ways of dividing lines has concentrated affluence in some places and not as diverse in others. Considering the history of the University of Mississippi and PWIs, black students have to fight for a respected and safe space due to racial slurs, lives threatened, and made to feel like they do not matter. Incidents such as the noose hanging around the James Meredith statue has prompted black students at the University of Mississippi to take a stand against racism.

Black students at PWIs may have to pick their battles about when and how to address the

gendered and racial microaggressions they face everyday. For example, students and professors may single out students for their race during certain conversations during class. Another challenge being a black college student at a PWI may be the pressure to represent one's entire race positively by succeeding at everything. This may lead to students feeling that they have to combat negative stereotypes related to their race or gender. In contrast, HBCUs place black students in a primarily black community, where they are able to explore their own interests and ambitions in the context of the race and culture they belong to. Being black at an HBCU is celebrated, so unlike at PWIs, black culture is praised and respected.

The limitations of this research are that readers are cautioned about making generalizations to black women as a whole. It is important to recognize the socioeconomic status, specific majors, and upbringing of participants in future research. Maybe researchers could use mixed methods with surveys and interviews to get at the real reasons why certain contexts are endorsing sexual stereotypes and others are resisting. Also, maybe researchers could work on support groups to be implemented on college campuses providing black women with education about the influence of sexual stereotypes and safe spaces to discuss their experiences and the fight to overcome stereotypes. This suggests that black students at UM have to constantly resist racialized and gendered stereotypes bestowed upon them, so that they can be valued. HBCUs may seem more intimate to black students compared to PWIs and will not cause culture shock because they do not have as much blatant or subtle racism compared to PWIs. I expected hip-hop fandom and identity strategies to be positively correlated with stronger endorsement of tropes emphasizing negative connotations of black women. The results showed that black women at historically black colleges endorsed these stereotypes more, and this could be due to

close relationships with fellow black women, and therefore more of an uncritical stance towards black popular culture.

Although there was no statistically significant difference for identity strategies, results did suggest that identity lifestylers could represent an enclave of black people such as at Jackson State University, and identity commuters could represent the University of Mississippi. There might be no difference between the identity strategies in this study because I did not use different contexts to ask participants what they do in their free time. For example, in Brekhus's study he examined night life and club life amongst white, gay men. Maybe if I had asked about the race of friends when black women go shopping, go out for coffee, or go out to clubs, it would be more suggestive if whether these identity strategies work for a minority group such as black women.

However, based on results, integration is an identity strategy associated with a degree of social acceptance within the larger culture or in other words, mainstream society accepting what black students choose to attribute openly in one's public self. Because racism is still persists in society, the integrator and lifestyler are not as apparent in a PWI, and students may be more likely to be commuters because of stigmas and reactions to those stigmas. For example, a black guy cannot walk around wearing a hoodie at night, or he might get shot. Commuters are able to exist in mainstream society while traveling to areas of celebrating blackness. Marginalization renders what black women may choose to magnify in most spaces to make their differences not so visible. Because skin color cannot be turned off or dimmed, the integrator identity strategy may not be a choice for black women or black people.

However, commuting to and from black communities or black activities may facilitate solidarity and strengthen commitment to an identity. For lifestylers, social costs to living an

identity openly and around others who do not share the identity is high, which suggests that lifestyleers would want to be surrounded by people who look like them. This may be the case for black women who attend a HBCU where their definition of self is exclusive in their social networks. Future researchers should consider adding more questions to the Identity Strategies Scale to see if black women are confined to certain strategies or if there are more identity strategies for black women considering who can pass or cannot pass due to skin tone, socioeconomic status, and location.

Regarding the source of stereotypes, not all misogyny directed toward black women is due to hip-hop. Black women have been subjected to gendered racism in which they experience negative sexual stereotypes that ambush both their gender and racial identities (Brown et al. 2013). The conduct experienced by black women during the slavery era has had a compelling influence on both their self-perceptions and societal views that continues even today (Collins 2000; Townsend et al. 2010). Black women have historically been portrayed by stereotypical images that portray them as promiscuous, loud, and angry (Brown et al. 2013). Such representations may impact their experiences, behavior, and self-identity (Stephens and Few 2007). Misogyny, especially for black women, is a deep-seated problem that has been embedded in society since slavery. Because sexism against black women took place in racially specific ways throughout the United States' history, one cannot give hip-hop full responsibility of a larger, systemic problem.

However, much of hip-hop does profit by specifically targeting black female bodies. In commercial hip-hop, black women are seen valuable only because they are sexually desirable and willing (Rose 2008: 150). The use of black women's bodies in hip-hop is a function "of how

people reflect, internalize, and resist the language and ideas of the intertwined strands of Western patriarchy and racism” (Rose 2008: 180). As time has progressed, black women have gained a significant presence in hip-hop. Despite the antifeminist images of black womanhood that are obvious in hip-hop, black women musicians “depict themselves as independent, strong, and self-reliant agents of their own desire, the masters of their own destiny” (Emerson 2002: 116). By doing this, black women’s performances in media produce counter-ideological assumptions of black womanhood. In order to promote these self-definitions of black womanhood, positive images in the media have allowed black women to choose their opposite male characters (equally attractive) and type of clothing (not too revealing, but still give a sense of being sexy), embrace larger female bodies and multiple facets of black womanhood, and work in collaboration with other black women.

Many black women rappers promote black feminism, and a discussion of how they do that can suggest directions for future research. Rappers, such as, Queen Latifah and M.C. Lyte, were a start at giving black women a voice in media. Through their lyrics and music videos, female rappers make explicit and obvious affirmations of female strength and autonomy. Queen Latifah’s feminism draws on the patterns of rap to “assert the importance of women promoting themselves and other women” (Roberts 1994: 246). In her video, “Ladies First,” Queen Latifah draws on African and African American traditions of music to resist racism and sexism in the music industry. She uses footage from South Africa; she wears military and regal dress to support the idea of royalty. In the video, she positions herself as a leader of female and male rappers. Her collaboration with a fellow, female rapper, Monie Love, makes a feminist statement of sisterhood. Sharing her power and screen time with other black women promotes Queen

Latifah as a representative of black womanhood and promotes the idea that black women should continue to change both oppressions, of being black and female, in a society run by masculinity.

On the Self-Objectification by Appearance Scale, Queen Latifah was grouped into two groups based on the factor analysis, the Spoken Word Women and Sultry Sisters. In both of these groups, the JSU sample scored higher than the UM sample based on average scores by campus. This suggests that although the JSU sample endorses sexual stereotypes compared to the UM sample, they are aware of black women such as Queen Latifah. Queen Latifah is a plus-size woman in the media industry, but has had success in film and music by promoting positive messages of different black women in society. In most of her hip-hop lyrics, Queen Latifah promotes positivity and thoughtful expression. In film, Queen Latifah has played a lesbian in the movie, *Set it Off*, and has played a physical therapist in the movie, *Just Wright*. In these cases, although very different characters, these characters are strong black women that deal with their issues at hand. The Queen Latifah's image is important because it showcases vulnerability, strength, and success regardless of sexuality and body size.

The problem is once the media industry starts marketing a celebrity in a certain way and with a certain sound, it is very hard to break out of that image. The goal of music should be to tell the truth because music could give people strength to confront daily lives and give people the empowerment to climb out of despair. Erykah Badu, a popular black musician, "a woman whose lyrics are not only empowering and intelligent, but also infectious" preserves the collective self-worth and confidence of black women (Hartman 2011: 240). She is a representation of entities that are prideful, spiritual, and empowering. Her notions of self-pride and loving herself and those around her promote black consciousness and black feminism. Her image of respect and

positivity remains constant within her image of dread locked hair, wearing gaudy jewelry, and wearing head wraps. In her songs and music videos, Badu highlights friendship, sisterhood, love, and unification. Her message for black women is that if we try to keep conforming to society's standards, it will "weigh us down, and hurt our backs, dragging all them bags like that" (Hartman 2011: 247). In some of her videos, Badu's body is hardly accentuated. She wears long sleeve shirts, ankle-length skirts, and work boots. Badu amazes her audience by her own brand of sensuality and sexuality. She declares her own seductive nature without falling into the typical stereotype of the black Jezebel, which many may argue impairs the idea of black womanhood.

According to this study's results, Erykah Badu is grouped with Queen Latifah in the group of Sultry Sisters based on the Self-Objectification by Appearance Scale. The UM sample scored higher for Erykah Badu compared to the JSU sample based on average scores by campus. This may be the case for the UM sample because Erykah Badu possesses sex appeal, black power revolutionary persona, and a sultry voice and beauty. This suggests that although black women can resist sexual stereotypes, they can also feel sexy and beautiful because it is on their terms and when they want to show it. Erykah Badu has reeled her fan base in with her voice and her head wraps and baggy outfits, showing her curvaceous body every now and then. Erykah Badu's image is important because she suggests that black women's bodies do not have to own, obsess, name or claim them. She suggests that it is okay to be a natural beauty while also changing the world with your words and mind; it is okay to be revolutionary.

In hip-hop, videos emphasize black women's bodies. Black women in media have to live up to the dominant notions of physical attractiveness and measure up to the rigid standards of beauty. However, performers, such as, Missy "Misdemeanor" Elliot and Jill Scott, resist these

images by being larger than ideal successful musicians. Black women are not represented in their full range of being. To get away from the sexually availability in music videos, pregnant women are shown in videos, such as, Erykah Badu. With songs, such as, dismissing a neglectful lover who prefers the company of his unemployed friends, black women “assert their own interests and express dissatisfaction with the unequal state of black women interpersonal relations” (Emerson 2002: 126). Collaborations between women artists are a constant theme throughout music videos and suggest a sense of community and collectivity. Being a bigger woman, Missy Elliot’s performances and success is the result of a process of negotiation in which objectification of the female body must be present in order for the performer to gain a level of autonomy and to gain exposure.

Beyonce has curvy hips and thighs, slim waist, and a big booty. She performs on stage and appears in videos sporting exotic retrogrades like traditional “Indian saris”, antique chokers, along with contemporary urban looks with fun belts, belly chains, and thigh-high boots (Lee 2010: 16). In her video for the song, “Crazy in Love,” with hip-hop legend, Jay-Z, she wears blue tight Daisy Duke shorts and shakes her rear-end. Her liberated image allows Beyonce to express herself as free, sensual, and alive. Like Janet Jackson, Beyonce presents sensuality as power. She smiles, poses her hand on hips, and gyrating all while knowing that she has captivated in is full control over the men who watch her.

Beyonce is a part of the “Don’t Push me because I’m Close to the Edge” group from the Self-Objectification by Personality Scale. The UM sample scored higher on this stereotype based on average scores by campus. Through Beyonce’s sex appeal and messages in her music and videos, she encourages black women to have the will to believe in themselves and keep hope

alive despite the weight of society on their shoulders when no one is willing to help with the loads of depression, heartbreak, and anger that come with it. She forces her audience to accept that everyone is flawed human beings. She suggests that women can be sour, sweet, and everything else in-between. She creates an environment to nourish and protect black women showing different experiences of black women: sexy, powerful, angry, hopeful, and forgiving. This is important because it suggests that the image of Beyonce allows black women to live their lives to the fullest without anyone else's permission.

Jill Scott is a plus, size neo-soul musician that flaunts her sexiness in her music, poetry, personas, and even with her body. In some songs she “admits that when her partner touches her, she loses control, and that he ignites and incites her” and in other songs, she has messages of self-reliance and encouragement raising the consciousness to inspire and enlighten her listeners (Lee 2010: 20). Jill provokes women to explore their sexual longings and desires without the shame and humiliation to coincide with the politics of respectability. Beyonce and Jill Scott construct female personas with a series of polarities: “lustful and contemplative, aggressive and passive, seductive and seduced, predator and victim, sexually satisfied and neglected, powerful and weak” (Lee 2010: 21). The sexual stereotypes in videos promoted by Beyonce and Jill Scott encourage women to function as active agents of their own love, to demand sexual pleasure, and to serve men notice that “poor, uninspired sexual performance are not acceptable” (Lee 2010: 22). Black female artists present black women as complex subjects. These artists inspire women to embrace enthusiastic roles for black female sexuality, illustrating that sexuality and power can go hand in hand.

Jill Scott was grouped into two groups based on the Self-Objectification by Appearance

Scale, Spoken Word Women and Sultry Sisters. JSU scored higher in both of these groups based on average scores by campus. Jill Scott's images suggest the challenge of when a black woman does not look like anybody on the magazine cover or videos. It may feel alienating, but Jill Scott emphasizes that every black woman has their own power by accepting one's self and that people are drawn to confidence. This is important because this suggests that black women should own, love, and project their own powerful feminine energy; not to seek validation in the opinion of others and society; remember their worth; and to glorify their big lips, hips, breasts, and whatever else society may make them feel insecure about before paying thousands of dollars to change what is the accepted image.

Most commercial hip-hop images and lyrics treat black women with disrespect and stigma, promoting more empowering, self-definitions by black feminists (Rose 2008: 119). The most apparent representations of black women in hip-hop emulate the attributes of mainstream masculinity: they frequently use women as décor that supports male egos and treat women's bodies as sexual objects. However, excessiveness of the discourse against sexism in hip-hop emerges being consistent with an "anti-sexual-expression agenda," one that affiliates any and all explicit sexuality with impurity and wrongdoing, and this situates black women's own sexual freedom and autonomy at stake (Rose 2008: 122). Not all black women's sexually explicit entities are "feminist, anti-patriarchal, or empowering," (Rose 2008: 123). Rappers such as Lil'Kim, Trina, and Foxy Brown say that they express women's sexual power, but they use sexually dominating personas almost identical to those exhibited by many male rappers (Rose 2008: 124). Less sexually self-exploitative female artists like Missy Elliot and Eve had to determine how to represent forms of femininity enabled by masculine ideals in order to define

their power. In the future, researchers should ask participants specifically what hip-hop artists they listen to and how it affects their life whether positive or negative.

In *The Souls of Black Folk*, W.E.B. Du Bois says that the Negro has a “sensation of double-consciousness, the sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity” (1903: 2). This suggests that black people have a feeling of double self in competing ideals and strivings by being a black person in the American world. This feeling is imposed upon black people, but also in resistance to the imposing due to black people living in a society that is oppressive and devalues them as equals, and at the same time, the African-American culture encourages equality and dignity. Du Bois believed this was damaging to how one's identity and self-esteem formed because of the negative perceptions and treatment of white people (1903: 6). The internalization of such anti-black sentiment from outside their subculture begins to shape their life experiences, due to stereotypes perpetuated by the mainstream culture.

According to Du Bois, these prejudices encourage doubt, being self-critical, and being inhibited. Taking the Du Bois’ double-consciousness framework, I suggest that there is triple-consciousness for black women. They are black, female, and American. The media promotes images of black women as angry, sexually promiscuous, and amoral. Representations of black women are mostly in hip-hop and they are degraded to just sexual bodies. Not only do other races and genders convey this perception, but young black women may believe this limited path is their only option for making a better life for themselves. With black feminism and empowerment, these women may aspire to be more than this profession. As long as these internalized and double (triple) standards exist, triple consciousness will continue to be a

concept.

By insisting on self-definition, black women “question not only what has been said about African American women, but the credibility and the intentions of those possessing the power to define” (Collins 2000: 148). Black women need to get away from the notion of being sexual beings and being inferior to superiority of masculinity when sexually expressing themselves. It is important that black women have self definitions of self-respect, self-valuation, self-reliance, independence, change, and personal empowerment to promote black consciousness and black womanhood.

Black women express their own agency and self-determination through direct action that emerges as the ability for black women to define their own identity and life outcomes. With this, this does allow social change. Black women look to each other for support, partnership, and sisterhood. The collective power of black women to help each other promotes black women to be self-sufficient and dependent on men. Women performers are provided with opportunity to have creative and artistic control and construct their own narrative of black womanhood that express their lived experiences. The combination of sexuality, assertiveness, and independence in videos and other media is used to reconstruct the black woman’s body in response to its sexual regulation and exploitation. Black women should declare the “pursuit of pleasure” without sacrificing their humanity (Emerson 2002: 130). Black women should be allowed to express their sexuality, their bodies, and their own lives at the same time because their bodies are representative of where racism, sexism, and classism coincide.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

Background Information

Please answer the following questions:

1. Age? _____

2. Zip code of where you are originally from? _____

3. Which of the following best describes you?

Gay, lesbian, or homosexual Heterosexual or straight Bisexual Don't know

4. What is your current gpa?

2.0-2.5 2.6-3.0 3.1-3.5 3.6-4.0

5. My skin color is:

Very dark brown Dark brown Medium brown Light brown Very light brown

6. Give an estimate of your height. _____

7. What is your body type?

Apple: broader shoulders and bust, and narrower hips.

Banana: waist measurement is less than 9 inches smaller than the hip or bust measurement.

Pear: hip measurements are greater than the bust measurements.

Hourglass: the hip and bust are almost of equal size, with a narrow waist.

8. My hair is:

Straight Wavy Curly Kinky/Coily

9. Are you a member of a sorority? _____ If so, which

one? _____

10. Do you have children? _____ If so, how many? _____

11. Which social class do you belong in?

Lower class Working class Middle class Upper middle class Upper class

I will ask you to measure your liking of hip-hop music. Please circle your response ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.”

“I listen mostly to hip-hop music”

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

“I can’t stand hip-hop music.”

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

“I rarely, if ever, listen to hip-hop.”

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

“Hip-hop is one of my top two types of music.”

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

“I am a fan of hip-hop music.”

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

“I love watching hip-hop videos.”

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Next, I will ask you how you feel about these phrases. Please circle your response ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.”

Black girls are loud and have an attitude.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Black girls always want to have sex.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Black girls have to be strong.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Black girls use sex to get what they want.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Boys can be controlled with sex.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Black girls disrespect Black boys.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I have to take care of my younger brothers and sisters.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I hate to make mistakes.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Black girls are always mad and ready to fight.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Sometimes I help people before I help myself.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

People do not pay attention to me.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I do not like to ask others for help.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I feel bad when I do not help others when they need it.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I get what I want when I am loud and angry.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Boys like me because of my body.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I never get my own way.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Black girls will steal your boyfriend.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I often have to put someone in their place or check them.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Black girls are gold-diggers.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Black girls always want their way.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Next, I will ask you when you feel most comfortable as a black woman. Please circle your response ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.”

I feel comfortable as a black woman in a class sitting around mostly black students.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I feel comfortable as a black woman in a class with white students and black students sitting together.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I feel comfortable as a black woman in a class with black students and white students sitting separately from each other.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

The friends that I hang out with the most are all black.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I have both black and white friends and we all hang out together.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I have both black and white friends, but I hang out with them separately.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I participate in groups that have only black members.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I participate in groups that have both black and white members.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

I participate in some groups with black members and some with white members, but I keep them separate.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

*Next, I will ask you which celebrity you think you resemble based on **appearance** and **personality**. Please circle your response ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.”*

My **appearance** resembles Beyoncé.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Beyoncé.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles Trina.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Trina.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles Lil’Kim.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Lil’Kim.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles Queen Latifah.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Queen Latifah.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles Mary J. Blige.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Mary J. Blige.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles LeToya Lockett.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles LeToya Lockett.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles Erykah Badu.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Erykah Badu.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles Blac Chyna.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Blac Chyna.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles Brandy.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Brandy.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles Eve.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Eve.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles Foxy Brown.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Foxy Brown.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles Azealia Banks.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Azealia Banks.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles MC Lyte.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles MC Lyte.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles Zendaya.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Zendaya.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles Jill Scott.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Jill Scott.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **appearance** resembles Ciara.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

My **personality** resembles Ciara.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

Next, I will ask you questions about how you feel about yourself. Please circle your response ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.”

On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree

At times, I think I am no good at all.

Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree

I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree

I am able to do things as well as most other people.

Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree

I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree

I certainly feel useless at times.

Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree

I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.

Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree

I wish I could have more respect for myself.

Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree

All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree

I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree

VITA

BrieAnn L. Avery

The University of Mississippi
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

EDUCATION

B.A. Psychology, University of Mississippi, 2015, (minor in English)

CONFERENCE PAPERS

- 2017 Avery, BrieAnn L. "Hip-hop and the Self-Perceptions of Black Women: How Places and Identity Strategies Matter." Alabama-Mississippi Sociological Association Annual Meeting. Jackson, MS.
- 2016 Avery, BrieAnn L. "Black Women in Media: Negotiating their Sexuality on their Terms." Alabama-Mississippi Sociological Association Annual Meeting. Jackson, MS.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

- Spring 2017 Graduate Research Assistant. Department of Sociology and Anthropology. University of Mississippi. Performed content analysis of primary data for "Mississippi Music Survey," PI: Dr. John Sonnett.
- Fall 2016 Graduate Research Assistant. Department of Sociology and Anthropology. University of Mississippi. Performed content analysis of primary data for the "Race Diary Project," PIs: Dr. Willa Johnson, Dr. Kirk Johnson, and Dr. James Thomas.

TEACHING ASSISTANT EXPERIENCE

- Fall 2016 Intro to Sociology (SOC 101)
- Spring 2016 Intro to Sociology (SOC 101)
Sociology of Religion (SOC 336)
Religion, Gender, and Sexuality (SOC 425)
Guest Lecture. "Hookup Culture," Intro to Sociology (SOC 101)
- Fall 2015 Intro to Sociology (SOC 101)

AWARDS AND HONORS

2017 Best Graduate Student Paper Award. Alabama Mississippi Sociological Association.

SERVICE AND PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

2017 Gamma Beta Phi Society

Fall 2016 McLean Institute Mentor for Boys and Girls Club of Northwest, MS

Fall 2013-Spring 2015 Secretary of Omega Phi Alpha Service Sorority

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Sociological Association

Alabama-Mississippi Sociological Association