



SEXUAL SCRIPTS AND AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN: EMPIRICAL  
VALIDATION OF STEPHENS AND PHILLIPS' (2003) HIP-HOP SEXUAL  
SCRIPTING MODEL WITH AFRICAN AMERICAN COLLEGE WOMEN

A Dissertation Presented to the  
Faculty of the College of Education  
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Jasmine N. Ross

May, 2012

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DEDICATION...This dissertation is dedicated to Hip-Hop, Tha Bronx (Hip-Hop's and my own birthplace), and the Black women who love them!

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### **Abstract**

Sexuality reflects not only biological processes but also the social, cultural, and political ideals of the context in which it develops. It is well recognized that African American women’s sexuality has been impacted by slavery. The legacy of slavery is manifested in the lives of African American women in the intersections of racism, sexism, and classism. Given that African American women make up the greatest proportion of new STD cases and new HIV cases in the US (Centers for Disease Control, 2009), it is important to consider the unique socio-historical context in which African American women’s sexuality has developed and how this context may contribute to their unique sexual health risks (El-Bassel, Caldeira, Ruglass & Gilbert, 2009; Levitan, 2008; Robinson, Scheltema & Cherry, 2005; Rouse-Arnett & Dilworth, 2006; Wyatt & Lyons-Rowe, 1990).

One way that the sociocultural context influences sexuality is in the development of sexual scripts. Based on the work of Simon and Gagnon (1973), Sexual Scripting Theory (SST) posits that sexuality is learned from sexual scripts that dictate what sex is, who appropriate partners are, and what to do in relational and sexual encounters. SST appears to be a potentially informative theoretical framework in advancing our understanding of African American women’s sexuality.

Extrapolating from Simon and Gagnon's original work, Stephens and Phillips (2003) developed a Hip-Hop sexual scripting model for young African American women. Hip-Hop is an urban-based culture of creativity that expresses the concerns, beliefs, and worldviews of urban youth. One of the major influences that Hip-Hop has had on the lives of young African American women is on their understanding of desirable sexual roles and behaviors. Stephens and Phillips (2003) provide an analysis of how remnants of controlling images, which originated during slavery, have become keystones of understanding African American women's sexuality from various lenses and are reflected in contemporary sexual scripts that emerge from Hip-Hop culture (Stephens & Phillips, 2003). Specifically, Stephens and Phillips (2003) focus on how the multiple dimensions of race, gender, and social class influence the development of sexual scripts for African American women.

The purpose of this study was to increase our understanding of the unique socio-cultural factors that influence young African American women's sexuality. This was achieved through an exploration of Stephens and Phillips' (2003) Hip-Hop sexual scripting model. This exploration of young African American women's sexual scripts is important because it can provide empirical evidence of the relevance of Hip-Hop as a distinct cultural factor in shaping this cohort's sexuality. Specifically, it may further our understanding of the messages promoted in mainstream Hip-Hop culture that influence African American women's sexual behaviors.

To gain this understanding, Q methodology was used to empirically test Stephens and Phillips' (2003) Hip-Hop sexual scripting model for young African American women with a college sample. Q methodology is a qualitative method of assessing participant

viewpoints that uses a quantitative method of analysis. Participants in the study completed nine q-sorts and demographic and qualitative questionnaires. Descriptive analysis was conducted on the data obtained from the study questionnaires and demographic data. Each resulting q-sort was analyzed using factor analysis.

The study yielded useful findings regarding the validity of Stephens and Phillips (2003) sexual scripts among a college sample of African American women. In addition, it seemed that there was shared meaning among groups of participants regarding the important features of each script. Participants were 40 African American college students from a Southwestern University. Using Q methodology, distinctive factors were identified, indicating divergent understandings of each script. Each factor was shown to be a multifaceted construct, which does not correspond to any other factors. It is suggested that the results have significant implications for theory and practice. In addition, this study demonstrates the capacity of Q methodology to identify commonalities among study participants.

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## **CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION**

With African American women comprising the greatest proportion of new STD cases and new HIV cases in the US (CDC, 2009), investigations of the socio-cultural factors that influence their sexual health have increased significantly (El-Bassel, Caldeira, Ruglass & Gilbert, 2009; Levitan, 2008; Robinson, Scheltema & Cherry, 2005; Rouse-Arnett, Dilworth & Stephens, 2006; Wyatt & Lyons-Rowe, 1990). Studies by Robinson, et al., (2005) and Timmons and Sowell (1999) placed particular emphasis on individual factors (e.g. history of substance use, condom usage, number of sexual partners) that predict negative sexual health outcomes. Although these studies provided important information concerning factors such as condom assertiveness, intravenous drug use, and multiple sexual partnerships, they ignored the socio-cultural factors that affect African American women's susceptibility and vulnerability to negative sexual health outcomes.

It is well recognized that the cultural history of African American women's sexuality has been impacted by slavery. For example, stereotypes and myths about African American women's sexuality were developed in order to justify their sexual abuse and objectification (Hill Collins, 1990; Roberts, 1997). These myths and stereotypes have been largely accepted and integrated into popular culture (Hill Collins, 1990; Roberts, 1997). As a result of this history, it is important to consider the unique socio-historical context in which African American women's sexuality has developed, and understand how it may contribute to their unique sexual health risks.

The legacy of slavery is also manifested in the lives of African American women at the intersections of racism, sexism, and classism (Hill Collins, 1990). These

intersections affect African American women's lives and contribute to the development and expression of their sexuality and their susceptibility to negative sexual outcomes. It is therefore critical that investigations into African American women's sexuality include an exploration of the wider socio-cultural factors that shape sexual behaviors, in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of African American women's sexuality.

Sexual scripting theory (SST) provides a useful framework in which to explore the influences of socio-cultural factors on African American women's sexuality. This theoretical perspective broadens the realm of sexuality to include both its social dimensions and the relational contexts from which it emerges. Based on the work of Simon and Gagnon (1973, 1984, 2003), SST posits that sexuality is learned from sexual scripts that dictate what sex is, how to recognize sexual situations, appropriate partners, and what to do in relational and sexual encounters (Simon & Gagnon, 1973). According to SST, sexual acts are learned interactions that follow predictable scripts that are culturally and socially constructed ways of interpreting and responding to sexual stimuli. Sexual scripts function as behavioral schemas used to organize ideas about appropriate sexual attitudes, behaviors, and experiences (Simon & Gagnon, 1973).

For young African American women, Hip-Hop culture is a major socio-cultural force that is growing in impact. Hip-Hop is an urban-based culture of creativity that expresses the concerns, beliefs, and worldviews of modern American youth. Largely rooted in the African oral tradition, Hip-Hop arose as a creative art form in the Bronx in the 1970s and has grown to be an international force (Dyson, 2004a, 2004b; Pough, 2004; Rose, 2008). Hip-Hop's growing popularity and influence can be evidenced by the fact

that CD sales in this genre amounted to nearly \$1.7 billion in 2002; and that rap, a musical style which comes out of the Hip-Hop culture, captured 13% of all music sales in the United States in 2005 (Rose, 2008; Sharpley-Whiting, 2007).

For individuals coming of age in the era of Hip-Hop, not only does it provide a platform for them to articulate the details of their life experience, but it also serves as a way to gain understanding of the world around them. One of the major influences that Hip-Hop has had on the lives of young Americans is on their understanding of desirable sexual roles and behaviors. It is theorized that for young African American women, Hip-Hop culture is the dominant medium for the transmission of sexual scripts (Stephens & Few, 2007a, 2007b; Stephens & Phillips, 2003; Stokes, 2007; Ward, 2004; Wingood et al., 2003). According to Stephens and Phillips (2003), the available sexual scripts in Hip-Hop are potentially harmful because many of them perpetuate negative stereotypes about African American women's sexuality by fashioning them after pre-existing stereotypes, such as the Mammy and the Jezebel (Hill Collins, 1990; Stephens & Phillips, 2003).

While SST appears to be a potentially informative theoretical framework for advancing understanding of African American women's sexuality, there is limited empirical research on the unique sexual scripting processes of African American women. Such research is imperative, considering the disproportionate vulnerability of this population to negative sexual health outcomes, such as HIV/AIDS, STIs and STDs, and unwanted pregnancies (El-Bassel et al, 2009). Ideally, the research might provide some insight into whether or not Hip-Hop culture plays a role in the sexual scripting process of African American women.

## **Purpose of the Study**

The goal of the current study was to increase understanding of the unique socio-cultural factors that influence young African American women's sexuality. This was achieved through an exploration of Stephens and Phillips' (2003) Hip-Hop sexual scripting model. This exploration of young African American women's sexual scripts is important because it can provide empirical evidence of the relevance of Hip-Hop as a distinct cultural factor in shaping the development of sexuality in this cohort. Specifically, it may further understanding of the messages inherent in mainstream Hip-Hop culture that influence African American women's sexual behaviors. To facilitate this objective, Q methodology was used to test Stephens and Phillips' (2003) Hip-Hop sexual scripting model with a college sample of young African American women. It was hypothesized that Stephens and Phillips' (2003) sexual scripts would be found to be distinct from one another and accurate representations of sexual scripts that are available to this cohort.

## **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

The research questions were as follows:

1. Are participants able to identify characteristic features of each script?
2. Are the sexual scripts, as described by Stephens and Phillips (2003), consistently identified across participants?

Addressing these questions was helpful in validating the accuracy of the sexual scripts for African American women as defined by Stephens and Phillips (2003). The results of this

study also elucidated the influence of preexisting sexual stereotypes that are revived and sustained in Hip-Hop sexual scripts.

## **CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE**

This study aimed to explore Stephens and Phillips' (2003) Hip-Hop sexual scripting model for African American women with a college sample. By drawing upon current research examining African American women's sexuality, the sexual scripting process, and Hip-Hop culture, this overview provides a literature foundation for the current study. The first section provides an overview of the historical landscape in which sexual scripts for African American women have developed. This is followed by an introduction to Stephens and Phillips (2003) sexual scripting model and its links to Hip-Hop culture.

### **Socio-historical Influences on African American Women's Sexuality**

Sexuality is shaped by the socio-cultural context in which it is formed. From appropriate partners to attitudes and behaviors, sexuality comes to reflect not only a biological process but also the social, cultural, and political ideals of the context in which it develops. For African American women, many negative influences have shaped contemporary ideas about their sexuality. From a US perspective, African American women's sexual culture has been largely shaped by slavery and continues to be impacted by its remnants (Roberts, 1997). The essence of African American women's experiences in the era of the slavery was as sexual commodities that helped to sustain slavery; thus providing economic, social, and political incentives to control their sexuality and reproduction. The lives of female slaves, as sources of labor, reproduction, and sexual gratification were typified by control, domination and degradation, which served the economic interests of their owners (Hill Collins, 1990; Wyatt, 2008). This oppression



was allowable through their reduction to sexual objects, “to be raped, bred, or abused” (Roberts, 1997, p. 23).

The sexual images of African American women’s sexuality that sprang from this period reflected the economic needs, political climate, and social conditions of the time. The dehumanizing sexual acts that African American women experienced were justified as appropriate and excusable based upon their ‘overly sexual nature’ (Hill Collins, 1990; Roberts, 1997). This justification has served as the basis for the resulting negative sexual stereotypes about African American women’s sexuality. Racist and sexist stereotypes have appeared to both explain “normal and natural” truths about African American women’s sexuality (Wyatt, 2008, p. 54) and inform sexual behaviors. Many of these stereotypes have had an enduring impact on the images, depictions, and ideas about African American women’s sexuality in contemporary culture (Boylorn, 2008, Hill Collins, 1990). These representations can have a potentially controlling effect on African American women’s self-perception of their sexuality, as well as on others’ perceptions of them. The controlling images and depictions of African American women’s sexuality reflect the intersecting oppressions of race, class, gender, and oppression (Hill Collins, 1990). Therefore, when considering the sexual scripting process and sexual scripts that are available for young African American women in contemporary society, it is necessary to consider the cultural context in which they were formed.

**Controlling foundational images.** As the original conditions of slavery— which lead to the enslavement and subjugation of African American women—disappeared, the negative stereotypes about their sexuality remained and have been reconstituted in the

form of controlling images (Hill Collins, 1990). These controlling images can have a potentially insidious impact on African American women's lives and inaccurately shape perceptions about them. These controlling images were "designed to make racism, sexism, poverty, and other forms of social injustice appear to be natural, normal, and inevitable parts of everyday life" (Hill Collins, 1990, p. 69). Controlling Images transmit derogatory messages that define what it means to be an African American woman and serve to provide justification for their ongoing intersecting oppressions.

The era of slavery fostered many controlling images of African American women. Of them, five core images have served as the foundation for framing African American women's sexuality in the eyes of the dominant culture, the African American community, and African American women themselves. The five foundational images are the Mammy, the Jezebel, the Welfare Mother, the Matriarch, and the Sapphire (Hill Collins, 1990). Each of these is briefly discussed.

The Mammy was portrayed as the "faithful, obedient domestic servant" that puts the needs of the White family before her own (Hill Collins, 1990). The purpose of the Mammy image was to define the role of black women in the economy and provide a model for Black female behavior, black motherhood, and sexuality. Created to justify female slaves' exploitation as domestic servants, the Mammy has come to represent the epitome of the well-behaved Black woman (Brown Givens & Monahan, 2005; Hill Collins, 1990). In her love and commitment to her white family—which outweighed her love and commitment to her own family—her loyalty reinforced the institution of slavery. The Mammy was desexualized, and often portrayed as a large, unattractive,

maternal figure that posed no threat to the White matriarch and was not a target of the sexual exploitation of her slave master (Hill Collins, 1990; Wyatt, 2008).

A stark contrast to the Mammy was the Jezebel. The Jezebel was a young, erotic, promiscuous and sexually insatiable figure that had “light skin, long hair, and a shapely body” (Stephens & Phillips, 2003, p. 8). It was her mission to please her master, and in doing so, she would achieve her own sexual satisfaction. The name Jezebel, which has biblical roots, carries with it the connotation of a wicked woman and has come, in modern day culture, to represent a woman who is sexually deviant and immoral. This image signified promiscuity and lewdness, and “relegated Black women to the category of sexually aggressive”, thus justifying their sexual abuse and exploitation by slave masters (Hill Collins, 1990, p. 81). The insatiable sexual desires of the Jezebel, which have also been attributed as a generalizable trait to all African American women, have also been used to control African American women’s reproductive rights (Hill Collins, 1990; Roberts, 1997).

The next two closely related controlling images were of the Matriarch and the Welfare Mother. The Matriarch and the Welfare Mother were made infamous in the Moynihan report of the 1960s (Hill Collins, 1990; Stephens & Phillips, 2003). The Matriarch figure represented an emasculating and controlling African American woman who did not need a man beyond the use of procreation. The Matriarch was seen to greatly contribute to the failure of the African American family because she displaced the African American man by filling his role (Hill Collins 1990; Stephens & Phillips, 2003). The matriarch also failed her children “in her inability to model appropriate gender

behavior” (Hill Collins, 1990, p. 76) by exhibiting behaviors that were aggressive, unfeminine, and too strong.

The Welfare Mother, also referred to as the Welfare Queen, was seen as an economic, political, and social drain on society. This controlling image was developed to describe poor, working class African American women that utilized social service support (Hill Collins, 1990; Roberts, 1997). The image of the Welfare Mother developed as increased access to state services and social welfare benefits were available to all women. The Welfare Mother was depicted as refusing to work and wishing to “breed” children uncontrollably while the government supported them. The Welfare Mother was often blamed for producing poverty. This woman was said to contribute nothing to society or her family but was rather a problem or a burden. This woman had been targeted more recently by such reproductive restrictions as government enforced Norplant injections, as a way of curbing the dangers of her unregulated reproduction (Roberts, 1997).

The Sapphire, was not explored by Stephens and Phillips (2003), but will be explored because of its significance to the development of the contemporary scripts. The Sapphire represented a loud, boisterous, headstrong, and opinionated African American woman that was known most for challenging and belittling the power, position, and presence of African American men (Boylorn, 2008). The Sapphire image emerged from the “Amos and Andy” television show in the form of the character Sapphire Stevens. The character, which has been recreated and refashioned over the years, portrayed the dominance of African American women, which needed to be controlled by African

American men (Hudson, 1998). In the spirit of the Matriarch, the Sapphire was seen as powerful, and at times masculine, because demeaned man and only needed men for sex (when she desired it). However, The Sapphire differed from the Mammy as she lacked maternal essence and the Jezebel because she appeared to be unattractive and asexual (Hudson, 1998).

These controlling foundational images provide a framework for understanding how the socio-historical context has contributed to the development of sexuality for African American women. Based upon this framework, the sexuality of African American women can be thought of as existing on a spectrum that consists of positive to negative features. The negative end of the spectrum is characterized by those stereotyped sexual figures that are perceived as threatening, and thus being absent of sexuality. The positive end of the spectrum is characterized by sexuality that is excessive. Sexually neutral figures on this spectrum are seen as neither a source of threat or desire. As an example, on this continuum, the Jezebel image would fall on the positive end of this spectrum, the Matriarch would exist on the negative end of the spectrum and the Mammy, whose sexuality poses no threat, would be viewed as neutral. This continuum is important because it demonstrates external expectations of how African American women's sexuality can be expressed. Another key feature of the figures that exist on the continuum is that they are resistant to change; these images persist despite differing contextual demands or interpersonal interactions.

In addition, the insidiousness of these controlling images lies in the psychological, cultural, and political impact of their internalization. The internalization of these

controlling images can have a significant psychological impact on African American women's self-esteem, self-concept, and interpersonal relationships, as they accept negative cultural representations of Black womanhood (Hill Collins, 1990; Wyatt, 2008). This psychological impact can also negatively influence interpersonal interactions and sexual behaviors. On the cultural and political level, individual internalization of the controlling images can contribute to the maintenance of unequal power relations and oppression (Wyatt, 2008).

The interplay of race, gender, class, sexuality and oppression has fueled the development and perpetuation of these foundational images. Hill Collins (1990) argues that African American women's worldviews have been shaped in the context of their oppression. These cultural forces are reflected in the sexual scripts that are available to African American women; and these sexual scripts have been shaped to fill the needs and want of dominating/subjugating others. Therefore, the sexual scripts available to this population have grown in reaction to the roles and expectations assigned to this group by the larger society. The resulting scripts all reflect the social, political, and economic value American society places on African American women. The stereotypical images that are played out in sexual scripts are of Black women as "immoral, careless, domineering, and devious" (Roberts, 1997, p. 10) beings or as women who are willing to negate or minimize their sexuality for the benefit of others. The next section will focus specifically on the nature of sexual scripts and Hip-Hop sexual scripts.

## **Sexual Scripts**

Sexual scripts are learned ways of responding and feeling in sexual contexts. The concept of sexual scripts addresses sexuality as developing not only from biological processes, but as also developing within a social and historical context (Simon & Gagnon, 1973). SST (Simon & Gagnon, 1973) was developed as a framework to explain the influence of culture on the development and expression of sexuality. One of the basic premises of SST is that sexual scripts direct sexual life by dictating the ways an individual should interpret and respond to sexual stimuli. Therefore, sexual scripts are responsible for determining a person's choices of sexual actions and the qualitative experience related to those acts.

Sexual scripts have been referred to as “a metaphor for conceptualizing the production of behavior within social life” (Simon & Gagnon, 1984, p. 53). Human beings draw guidance, understanding, definition, and meaning from the world around them. Therefore, Simon and Gagnon (1973) contend that sexual scripts provide such meaning and guidance for sexual behaviors. Sexual scripts, performing as sexual codes of conduct provide, “cognitive models that people use to guide and evaluate social and sexual interactions” (Rose & Frieze, 1993, p. 499). These cognitive models impose culturally defined ideas about appropriate ways of behaving, perceiving others, and thinking about sex and sexuality. These “...social rules for sexual conduct are learned and deeply engrained” (Turchik, Probst, Irvin, Chau, & Gidycz, 2009, p.361). For sexual behavior to occur, a reenactment of sexual scripts must take place on three distinct

levels: cultural scenarios, intrapsychic, and interpersonal levels (Simon & Gagnon, 1973, 1984).

Cultural scenarios are the broadest level of scripting, in which historical and cultural values are instilled in the individual by specifying “appropriate sexual goals, objects, and relationships” (Irving, 2003, pg. 489). Intrapsychic aspects of sexual scripts reflect the internal sexual world or the sexual desires, goals, and fantasies of the individual. Interestingly, although intrapsychic scripts originate internally, they are influenced by the culture. Lastly, interpersonal aspects of a sexual script govern the ways in which an individual interacts with others in any given sexual context. On the interpersonal level, the individual plays out their personal interpretation of the cultural norms and internal desires for others within a sexual context. For example, a cultural norm might suggest that it is appropriate for an individual to have an initial sexual encounter during their teen years (Cultural). This might be in conflict with the value that the individual places on abstaining from sex until married (Intrapsychic). The individual might reconcile the cultural expectation and personal value by agreeing to only engage in intercourse with an individual that they are deeply in love with and plan to marry in the future (Interpersonal). In this case, an expressed cultural norm is reconciled with a personal value and expressed through an interpersonal behavior.

While it may be true that there are clear links between the influences of culture on the development of sexual scripts, this link has not been fully explored for African American women. Many of the sexual scripts available for young African American women have been shaped in a context that is racist and sexist. Therefore, sexual scripts



have come to represent an intersection of how gender and racial stereotypes shape perceptions of African American women's sexuality (Hill Collins, 1990; Stephens & Phillips, 2003, 2005; Wyatt, 2008). These understandings continue to shape ideas about African American women's sexuality in the current culture. Sexual scripting theory provides a foundational understanding that can be applied to young African American women as well as serve as a framework for understanding how sexual scripts are shaped by culture and how they influence sexual expression and interaction.

**African American women's sexual scripting model.** Extrapolating from Simon and Gagnon's original work, Stephens and Phillips (2003) developed a sexual scripting model for young African American women. Stephens and Phillips argued that sexual scripts that are prevalent in contemporary Hip-Hop culture are rooted in historical generalized stereotypes about African American womanhood and sexuality (Stephens & Phillips, 2003, 2005). According to Stephens and Phillips (2003), the controlling images articulated by Hill Collins (1990) serve as the foundation for framing African American women's sexuality in the eyes of the dominant culture, the African American community, and African American women themselves. Stephens and Phillips (2003) were interested in how the racialized and sexualized socio-historical context contributed to the development of sexual scripts that are unique to young African American women. The authors provide an analysis of how remnants of foundational images, which became keystones of understanding African American women's sexuality from various lenses, are reflected in contemporary sexual scripts that emerge from Hip-Hop culture (Stephens & Phillips, 2003, 2005). Specifically, Stephens and Phillips (2003) focus on how the

multiple dimensions of race, gender, and social class influence the development of sexual scripts for African American women, which result in the perpetuation of racist and sexist ideas about the group.

Stephens and Phillips (2003) incorporate aspects of Black feminist thought (Hill Collins, 1990) into their articulation of sexual scripts for young African American women growing up in the era of Hip-Hop. Consistent with SST, they maintain that sexuality is responsive to socio-historical influences (cultural), contextual demands (interpersonal), and individual needs (intrapsychic). The authors add that because the lives of African American women are influenced by historical racism, discrimination, and prejudice; the sexual scripts available to this population have the tendency to limit the development of healthy sexuality by restricting sexual scripts to those that reflect negative racial stereotypes. According to Simon and Gagnon, sexual scripts are “essentially a metaphor for conceptualizing the production of behavior within social life” (1984, p. 98). Therefore, African American women’s sexual scripts can generate behaviors that serve as self-fulfilling prophecies in support of the script itself. This can at times promote dysfunctional consistency and make it difficult for the individual to act in ways that are inconsistent with a particular script.

From a cultural perspective, Stephens and Phillips (2003) argue that Hip-Hop acts as a significant cultural medium for promoting the contemporary expression of racist and sexist images of sexuality available to young African American women. The next section discusses Hip-Hop as a cultural force and its relationship to African American women’s sexuality.

## **Hip-Hop**

Hip-Hop is an urban-based culture of creativity that expresses the concerns, beliefs, and worldviews of modern American youth. “Hip-Hop is a socially constructed system in which cultural narratives of masculinity and femininity are constantly (re)produced, resisted, and/or internalized” (Stephens & Few, 2005). Hip-Hop began in the South Bronx, New York, during the 1970s when the United States (US) was experiencing a postindustrial decline. It arose as a way for inner-city youth to have fun, communicate their experiences, and criticize the social inequality and poverty they were experiencing. Rooted in the African oral tradition of storytelling, Hip-Hop uses music to reflect personal and collective pleasures and pains (Rose, 2008). As Hip-Hop spread and became more popular, it was transformed from being an aspect of a small subculture identified with young, city-dwelling African Americans, to a subculture in its own right that has been absorbed into mainstream US and international cultures.

Hip-Hop culture is said to encompass such components as music, dance, visual art, fashion, and slang. Rap—known initially as a musical art form—and Hip-Hop are not mutually exclusive. “Hip-Hop is the culture. Rap is the music” (Pough, 2004, p.3). While rap is elemental to Hip-Hop, there is more to Hip-Hop than just rap music. Rap has been defined as a form of music that comes from the bigger culture of Hip-Hop. Hip-Hop is a youth movement and “...cultural phenomenon that encompasses a variety of musical genres” (Pough, 2004, p.5)

Today, Hip-Hop is a medium that influences the lives of young people around the world. For individuals coming of age in the current era of Hip-Hop, not only is it a

platform for them to articulate details of their life experiences but also as way to gain understanding about the world around them. A key feature of this culture is that it lacks cross-generational involvement (Dyson, 2004a, 2004b). Because Hip-Hop is a youth generated and consumed culture that reflects the experience of a specific age group, it tends to lack cross-generational appeal. This disconnection is important to consider when examining the influence of messages that influence sexual scripts. Therefore, although the sexual norms and scripts that come out of this culture are founded on scripts that have been relevant to African American women across a spectrum of ages, contemporary scripts are unique to the current youth population.

Although in the genesis of its visibility Hip-Hop reflected a vast range of core images, attitudes, and icons, Hip-Hop's increased commercialism and commoditization has contributed to a narrowing of the range of images to reflecting racism and sexism (Rose, 2008). As Hip-Hop's commercial appeal expanded during the 1980s, so did the variety in the styles of rap (i.e. Party, political, afro-centric, avant-garde) (Rose, 2008, p. 2). However, styles that were driven and promoted by corporate culture later began to dominate Hip-Hop. Gangster rap was one such form. Dyson (2004a, 2004b) argues that Gangster rappers, much like their predecessors in Hip-Hop, saw the culture as a "critical and conscientious forum for visiting social criticism upon various forms of social injustice, especially racial and class oppression...these young savants portrayed a chilling vision of life that placed them beyond the parameters of traditional African American cultural resources of support: religious faith, communal strength, and familial roots" (p.

143). However, as the genre became more mainstream, it eventually “glamorized violence, criminality, sexual deviance, and misogyny” (Rose, 2008, p. 3).

**Hip-Hop and sexual scripts.** Among its influences on the lives of young Americans, Hip-Hop has had an impact on the understanding of desirable sexual roles and behaviors. Depictions of African American young women in Hip-Hop culture provide meanings that direct interpersonal activity and intrapsychic processes in sexual contexts (Stephens & Phillips, 2003). These depictions are potentially harmful because many of them perpetuate negative stereotypes about African American women’s sexuality by fashioning them after limited, pre-existing images. These depictions lead to the development of contemporary scripts that reinforce stereotypical beliefs about young African American women and shape the ways that young African American women view themselves. Such scripts have the potential to influence how the individual thinks about herself, how she relates to others and in turn, how others think and relate to her.

**Hip-Hop and young African American women’s sexual scripts.** In the context of SST, Hip-Hop has the power to influence the development of young African American women’s sexuality on three distinct levels: cultural, intrapsychic, and interpersonal. Hip-Hop affects African American women’s sexuality by providing instructional guides, “displayed by members of the culture who have already adopted the scripts as well as through mass media depictions,” that direct the way that the individual perceives themselves and situations (Wiederman, 2005, p. 496). Depictions in Hip-Hop provide guidelines for individual sexual behavior and self-concept development as well as a gauge by which young African American women can determine the extent that they

measure up to these expectations. Young African American women are particularly likely to adhere to sexual scripts that are depicted in Hip-Hop because they represent figures to which they assume similarity. Stephens and Phillips (2003) argued that the messages about, and depictions of, young African American women that stem from Hip-Hop culture contribute to the development of sexual scripts that have a profound impact on the development of healthy sexuality for this group. In this way, sexual scripts are both social agents that define “normal” behavior within a culture and maps that provide directions on how to behave, think, and feel in a sexual situation.

***Cultural level.*** As stated previously, on the cultural level of the sexual scripting process the individual receives “...general outlines [regarding] appropriate objects of desire, appropriate relationships between actors, appropriate places, times for sexual activity...” and of appropriate feelings regarding sexual activity (Stephens & Phillips, 2005, p. 41). The cultural level of scripting does not directly determine behavior but it does set the tempo for what is appropriate and expected (Stephens & Phillips, 2005). Mass media provides one of the major avenues for disseminating and instilling cultural sexual scenarios. Media influences include music lyrics, music television (e.g., music videos, countdown shows, etc.), sitcoms, reality television shows (e.g., *Flavor of Love*, *I Love New York*, *Charm School*, *Real Chance of Love*, *For the Love of Ray J*.) and commercial radio. Within these contexts, the representations of African American women are of fixed, one-dimensional figures that are often highly sexual and often degraded for the pleasure of men. Continuous consumption of these depictions can affect the ways in which young African American women view themselves as sexual beings and

subsequently, dictate their sexual behaviors. The tendency to attend to figures that they view as being similar to themselves, for instance the same race and gender, make young African American women more susceptible to internalizing messages, in Hip-Hop culture, about African American women's sexuality (Schooler, Ward, Merriwether & Caruthers, 2004).

The assumption is that since there are many images of African American women available in Hip-Hop culture, young African American women will be likely to attend to these images. In turn, the prevalent media images may begin to shape young African American women's ideas about their appearance, attitudes, and behaviors. It seems a reasonable concern that self-identification with such limited, sexually explicit depictions of young African American womanhood will contribute to adherence to the corresponding sexual behaviors. For young African American women, the connections that are made between sexual scripts and behaviors are influenced by the extent to which they identify and internalize with the scripts they consume (Stephens & Phillips, 2005). Therefore, adherence to a particular script is as much a result of the demands of the cultural context as it is a result of intrapsychic demands.

***Intrapsychic level.*** On the intrapsychic level of the sexual scripting process, individuals revise, reform, interpret, sculpt, accept, or reject the cultural scripts within his/her internal world in a manner that is in line with her/his wants and needs and the demands of the cultural context (Simon & Gagnon, 1973). The extent to which young African American women's adherence to sexual scripts is moderated by the extent to which they internalize the messages that undergirds them. For young African American

women, an intersection of factors such as social class, religious affiliation, self-esteem, racial identity formation, and level of identification to the culture, moderate the extent to which an individual accepts or rejects sexual scripts.

The more an individual sees similarities between the details of the script and their own ideals, goals, and values the more likely they will be to assimilate those details into their own perceptions of their sexual selves and sexual behaviors. What results is a hybrid of what the culture constitutes as appropriate and what the individual deems necessary. What is reflected in everyday life is the individual's take on culturally influenced sexual scripts.

***Interpersonal level.*** Interpersonal scripts govern the ways in which an individual interacts with others in a given sexual context. Young African American women's sexual scripts and behaviors are influenced by the messages about their sexuality with those with whom they directly interact. Hip-Hop can play a major role in young African American women's interpersonal interactions through its influence on the socialization process, which shapes their understanding of their sexual selves and the norms around appropriate interpersonal interaction. Stephens and Phillips (2003) argue that for young African American women, sexual scripts are maintained and expressed most openly through their peer culture. Most young African Americans derive much of their understanding about themselves and others from Hip-Hop culture. This understanding is played out in their interactions with their peer group, which reinforces adherence with cultural norms as a means of maintaining inclusion in the group (Stephens & Phillips, 2005). This desire to belong can contribute to behavior that is consistent with cultural norms that may not



coincide with their own beliefs or be in their best interest. Peer engagement creates a space where script behaviors can be fulfilled; this can be potentially harmful in two ways. The first is that there is social pressure to comply with sexual scripts. This can make it difficult for youths to explore behaviors outside of, or inconsistent with, a given script (Jones & Hostler, 2001). The second is that failure to comply with a given script can lead to discrepancies between the ideals embedded in the scripts and one's sexual self-concept (Holmes, 2002; Katz & Farrow, 2000). This may cause some youth to become distressed by the differences between who they are, and who, according to sexual scripts, they think they should be. Thus, peer influences are of central importance in the development of sexuality in young African American women.

### **Stephens and Phillips' (2003) Hip-Hop Sexual Scripts**

As previously stated, the focus of the current study is on Stephens and Phillips' (2003) Hip-Hop sexual scripting model. To that end, a brief discussion of each of the Hip-Hop sexual scripts is provided here. The nine contemporary scripts that will be explored in the current study are Diva, Gold Digger, Freak, Dyke, Gangster Bitch, Sister Savior, Earth Mother, Baby Mama and Video Girl.

***The Diva.*** The Diva represents a woman who views herself as someone to be “worshipped and adored” (Stephens & Phillips, 2003, p.15); she is often perceived as having an attitude. To this end, she is willing to pour money into herself in order to get such attention from others; her ability to do this reflects her middle class status. Divas are often considered to be “toned-down” versions of the Jezebel since she is often a “light-skinned women with long hair” (Stephens & Phillips, 2003, p.15). However, the Diva is

clearly a departure from the Jezebel, because her sexuality is often described as “sultry or tempting, but never explicit” (Stephens & Phillips, 2003, pp. 15–16).

***The Gold Digger.*** The Gold Digger is a woman who trades sex for material and economic rewards. The Gold Digger explicitly seeks material and financial rewards. Moreover, unlike the Diva, who uses her looks as her commodity to gain what she wants (i.e., attention, adoration); the Gold Digger uses her body and sex as currency. The Gold Digger is not traditionally viewed as having attained any level of educational or financial success; therefore, in Hip-Hop culture, the Gold Digger script reflects a woman who is of poor or working class status. The Gold Digger’s financial dependence and hypersexuality are reminiscent of the controlling images of the Welfare Mother and the Jezebel (Stephens & Phillips, 2003).

***The Freak.*** The Freak has come to reflect a sexually aggressive, loose, and wild woman that is capable of having sex without emotional attachment. Similar to the Jezebel, the Freak is has no sexual hang-ups or inhibitions; she is willing to have sex with anyone, anywhere, at anytime (Stephens & Phillips, 2003). According to the authors, the Freak enjoys and welcomes morally unacceptable sexual practices and finds control and liberation beyond the boundaries of “conventional sex” (Stephens & Phillips, 2003). The Freak is said to be a hybrid of the Jezebel and the Welfare Mother.

***The Dyke.*** The Dyke represents a woman who exercises her power over men by disallowing them from having any role in her sexual interactions. The Dyke also exercises her power by rejecting typical scripts of female sexuality. Acting from a place of “abnormality,” the Dyke is believed to be acting out of bitterness and anger in denying

men sex (Stephens and Phillips, 2003). The Dyke is said to derive power and sexual control from emulating men and rejecting their dominance, however, she is seen as becoming a “defective man” (Stephens & Phillips, 2003). The Dyke appears to reflect the emasculating nature of the Matriarch and the Sapphire (Hill Collins, 1990; Stephens & Phillips, 2003).

***The Gangster Bitch.*** The Gangster Bitch (also referred to as a “Ride or die Bitch”), frequently uses physical aggression to demonstrate her emotional strength. Her sexuality may be used to prove her loyalty to her man or his friends. However, her commitment to the male figures in her life is a more prominent feature to The Gangster Bitch than her sexuality. Unlike the Dyke, the Gangster Bitch uses her strength and aggression to support men rather than reject them. The Gangster Bitch’s loyalty is reflective of the Mammy and her aggression is similar to the Matriarch.

***The Sister Savior.*** The Sister Savior and the Earth Mother are similar in that although their images can be found in Hip-Hop culture, their scripts represent women whose sexuality is shaped by forces external to Hip-Hop (Stephens & Phillips, 2003). The Sister Savior is a woman whose religious beliefs play a significant role in her understanding of her sexuality. Her sexuality is framed in the context of her religion, most often through the African American church. The Sister Savior script reflects traditional Christian values inherent in the African American church and decrees, “that sex is to be avoided because of moral issues it poses within a religious context” (Stephens & Phillips, 2003, p. 28). The Sister Savior, reflecting sexuality that is demure, understated, and chaste, is most similar to the Mammy.

***The Earth Mother.*** The Earth Mother is a woman who works to empower and strengthen her community through consciousness and enlightenment. The Earth Mother has a strong presence in Hip-Hop, which is largely related to her “Afrocentric political and spiritual consciousnesses” which is closely aligned to the traditional views of Hip-Hop culture (Stephens & Phillips, 2003, p. 31). While attractive and sexual, her level of consciousness elevates her to a level above sexual objectification and largely out of the sexual context of mainstream Hip-Hop. Nurturing and maternal to the culture and its members, the Earth Mother embodies features of the Mammy.

***The Baby Mama.*** The Baby Mama is a woman whose motherhood defines her sense of self-worth and sexual identity. Enacted after the child is born, the Baby Mama’s sexuality is shaped by her role as a mother as well as her connection with her child’s father. The Baby Mama encompasses the Mammy, Jezebel, Welfare Mother and Matriarch scripts (Stephens & Phillips, 2003).

### **Additional Hip-Hop Sexual Script**

***The Video Girl.*** The Video Girl script (Ross & Coleman, 2011) was proposed by the author as an extension of Stephens and Phillips’ (2003) Gold Digger script. The Video Girl is a woman who uses sexuality as a tool to help her gain access into the entertainment industry. To achieve her goals, she is willing to invest heavily into her appearance, use her sexuality as a weapon, and/or date men who can advance her career. The Video Girl as a script is growing in prominence within Hip-Hop culture. The behavior and attitudes reflected in the Video Girl script are closely related to the Gold Digger script in terms of her resourceful manipulation of her sexuality in the specific

pursuit of access into the Hip-Hop industry (Ross & Coleman, 2011). This script reflects features of the Jezebel, Welfare Mother and Matriarch scripts (Stephens & Phillips, 2003) controlling images.

### **Current Research on African American Women's Sexuality**

There is clearly a need to investigate the influence of Hip-Hop culture as a sociocultural factor that influences young African American women's sexuality given, (a) Hip-Hop's overall influence on the group, (b) the dominant messages about African American women's sexuality prevalent within the culture, and (c) unique vulnerability of this population to negative sexual outcomes. Since Hip-Hop emerged from the South Bronx in the 1970s, as a youth orientated art form for entertainment and platform for social unrest, it has become an international, multi-billion dollar phenomenon. It has grown to encompass more than just rap music—Hip-Hop, as a major media influence, has created a culture that incorporates ethnicity, art, politics, fashion, and technology. Hip-Hop simultaneously speaks to and shapes the realities of its listeners (Rose, 2008; Sharpley-Whiting, 2007).

An important way that Hip-Hop shapes the realities of African American women is by constructing and disseminating ideas about black womanhood, as well as legitimizing stereotypical ideologies about black female sexuality (Emerson, 2002, 2004). An important line of research is growing around the topic of Hip-Hop's influence on sexuality. This research focuses on the sexual meanings and sexual cultures of young people. Those conducting this research are seeking a fuller understanding of the diverse social contexts in which the sexual experience of young people is constituted and

constructed (Stephens & Few, 2007a, 2007b; Stokes, 2007; Ward, Hansbrough, & Walker, 2005). It is hoped that this research will offer insights that might help build a foundation for more effective sexual health promotion among consumers of Hip-Hop, and more specifically young African American women.

Previous research suggests that sexual portrayals in music and music videos reflect distorted and stereotypical images and affect sexual socialization, attitudes, and behavioral outcomes (Ward et al., 2005; Zhang, Miller, & Harrison, 2008). Similarly, sexually explicit content in Hip-Hop has been associated with sexually permissive attitudes (Zhang et al., 2008). It is hypothesized that this exposure is reenacted interpersonally in intimate and social settings. Munoz-Laboy, Weinstein, and Parker (2007) found that young people use social places such as dance clubs to reflect the messages and ideas about gender roles, sexual assertiveness, and sexual appeal derived from their exposure to Hip-Hop culture. In one study, female African American teens who consumed Hip-Hop videos with highly sexual content were twice as likely to have had multiple sexual partners, and 1.5 times more likely to have a sexually transmitted disease (Wingood et al. 2003).

The clear evidence of sexual content and images within Hip-Hop has contributed to the growing body of research on Hip-Hop sexual scripts. Research on Hip-Hop's influence on the sexual scripting process for early adolescents has suggested that this group does indeed accept and use the sexual scripts identified by Stephens and Phillips (2003). In a qualitative study of preadolescents, Stephens and Few (2007) found that the scripts were identifiable by the sample. In addition, participants endorsed consuming (i.e.,

listening to music, watching music videos) and using the script labels (i.e., Freak, Diva) regularly. This research also suggests that while Hip-Hop exposes young people to sexual content and ideas, in many cases they fail to derive an accurate understanding of the value and meaning of the sexual behaviors (Stephens & Few, 2007). Their consumption and use of the sexual script labels provided them with clear examples of sexual behavior reflected in the scripts. However, youth in the study did not possess an accurate understanding of the meaning or implications of these sexual behaviors (Stephens & Few, 2007).

In another study of early adolescents, both male and female, Stephens and Few (2007) found that the sexual scripts that come out of Hip-Hop culture inform beliefs about women's physical attractiveness and affect interpersonal decision making (Stephens & Few, 2007). These influences can have a longstanding impact on young women's identity, body image, and relationship choices; all of which affect sexual health and outcomes. While there is mounting evidence that suggests that Hip-Hop sexual scripts impact adolescents, there have been no studies investigating the impact of sexual scripts on young African American women (over the age of 18).

Drawing on the research reviewed here, this study was designed to explore Stephens and Phillips (2003) Hip-Hop sexual scripts and the extent that the scripts are recognizable to a college sample. In addition, the extent that the sexual scripts hold a collective meaning for the participants will be explored. Thus, findings from this study may provide support for the validity of Stephens and Phillips (2003) sexual scripts, suggesting their use in the development of behavioral interventions for African American

women.



### **CHAPTER III: METHODS**

Stephen and Phillips' (2003) Hip-Hop sexual scripting theory was explored, in order to investigate the meaning derived from messages about African American women's sexuality that are prevalent within Hip-Hop culture. Specifically, this study sought to explore the extent to which features Hip-Hop sexual scripts for young African American were recognizable by participants in the sample. This chapter provides an overview of the qualiquantitative method, Q methodology, which was utilized in this study. This chapter also describes the sample, procedures, and analysis used in the study.

#### **Q Methodology**

The growing body of research on the influence of Hip-Hop culture on young African American women has utilized qualitative approaches (Muñoz-Laboy, Weinstein & Parker, 2007; Stephens & Few, 2007a, 2007b). Few studies (Stokes, 2007) have utilized both quantitative and qualitative approaches in examining the role of Hip-Hop culture on young African American women's sexuality. A mixed methods approach can be helpful in answering questions that single approaches are unable to address. Q methodology is one such method that can provide a more comprehensive view of young African American women's sexuality.

Q methodology is a qualitative method of assessing participant viewpoints that uses a quantitative method of analysis. Taken from the theories and methods of William Stephenson (1953), Q methodology, has been referred to as a qualiquantological method that allows researchers to investigate participant perspectives on a given issue as well as examine differences and similarities in participants viewpoints. According to McKeown

and Thomas (1988), "Q methodology encompasses a distinctive set of psychometric and operational principles that, when conjoined with statistical applications of correlation and factor analysis, provides a systematic and rigorously quantitative means for examining human subjectivity" (p. 5). Q methodology uniquely identifies groups of individuals that share common perspectives within a broader domain of interest or experience (Brown, 1980).

Q methodology provides details into subjective viewpoints while simultaneously providing more global descriptions of cultural phenomena (Stenner et al., 2006). The method is often compared to its popular counterpart R methodology. R methodology is utilized in traditional factor analytical methods and is concerned with intercorrelations between variables. Factor analysis in Q methodology is concerned with intercorrelations between study participants. Although both methods employ factor analysis as the method of data analysis, the key difference between the two is in their unit of analysis. Stephenson (1935) made this distinction clear in his writings by stating that R methodology refers to "a selected population of  $n$  individuals each of whom has been measured in  $m$  tests." Q methodology refers to "a population of  $n$  different tests (or essays, pictures, traits or other measurable material), each of which is measured or scaled by  $m$  individuals" (Stephenson, 1953, p.334). Therefore, Q methodology participants, not the statements that they have the task of sorting, are thought of as the variables to be analyzed. Although Q methodology is interested in participants' subjective experience, consistency of participant responses with Stephens and Phillips (2003) sexual scripts,

within the current study, would suggest that the scripts are salient to the sample, justifying continued exploration into the influence of these scripts for this population.

**Q-sort.** In Q methodology, participants are asked to rank written statements according to established conditions or instructions (e.g., least important to most important characteristic). This forces participants to rank items according to their “psychological significance,” or in a manner that is meaningful and significant to them (Watts & Stenner, 2005). This methodology has been used with other research exploring sexual content with youth. For example, in their study, Stenner et al. (2006) used Q methodology to explore the views of adolescents from Cataluña, England and Slovakia regarding sexual behaviors and its implications on health. The researchers sought to investigate the subjective understanding of sexual relationships and sexual health among a sample of 188, 16-18 year-olds from multiple European countries. The accounts represented in the sorts emerged into three themes. The presence of these themes suggests the existence of a shared understanding within the population around sexual behavior and its associated health implications. The understanding that was derived from the participants’ subjective opinions allowed the researchers to glean understanding about the larger group’s understanding of sex, love and relationships.

### **Participants**

Forty African American undergraduate females from a large public university in the southwestern United States participated in the study. Participants ranged in age from 18–49 years of age; the mean age of the sample was 21.48 years ( $SD = 4.80$ ). Hip-Hop culture, as an evolving art form and culture has been in existence since the early 1970’s.

As such, this age group provided a sample of people who had the greatest likelihood of contact with Hip-Hop culture since they would have been exposed, directly and/or indirectly, to sexualized messages inherent in Hip-Hop culture during the formative years of adolescence and early adulthood. Participants were solicited from undergraduate classes in Human Development and Family Studies and African American Studies. The investigator made a brief presentation about the study to solicit volunteer participants in these classes to participate in a “90-minute q-sort activity and complete a 20-minute follow-up survey on Hip-Hop culture.” Participants were also recruited online via the SONA system, which makes available a list of current studies to undergraduate students enrolled in courses offered in the Educational Psychology and Psychology departments. Participation in the study was voluntary. All participants signed up, online via the SONA system, for one of several available small-group q-sort administration sessions at a reserved classroom on campus, during which time they completed informed consent materials and the research measures described below.

The sample was predominantly juniors (37.5%), living in suburban areas (62.5%), and mainly from the Southwestern region of the United States (85%). In terms of their overall media consumption, the majority of the participants in the sample reported watching between six to 10 hours of television per week (37.5%); no more than 20% of their television time was spent watching music videos. Interestingly, participants in the study reported that they most often watched music videos on Black Entertainment Television (BET) (55%). BET is United States based cable network that targets young African-American audiences. The network provides contemporary entertainment that comprises mainstream rap and R&B music videos and urban-oriented movies, news and

series. The amount of weekly music consumption ranged among participants with 20% reporting listening 0-5 hours, 17.5% listening 6-10 hours, 12.5% listening 11-15 hours, 17.5% listening 16-20 hours, and 32.5% listening more than 20 hours. In terms of their music preferences, most participants' preferred to listen to R&B (50%) and Hip-Hop (27.5%). Finally, 47.5% of the participants in the sample endorsed subscribing to *Essence* magazine. *Essence* magazine is a monthly magazine targeting African American women between the ages of 18 to 49. The magazine, which has been in existence since 1968, markets to upwardly mobile Black women who are career-minded, independent, and sophisticated (Woodard & Mastin, 2005).

## **Questionnaires**

**Demographic and qualitative questionnaire.** The four-question qualitative questionnaire contained prompts regarding the participants' opinions of the sorting activity, the clarity of the scripts that were presented, and their descriptions. Participants were also asked to describe any Hip-Hop sexual scripts that they were aware of that were not reflected in the study. Finally, participants completed a demographic questionnaire that assessed their gender, sexual orientation, and social class.

**Development of the item concourse and q-set.** A statement concourse is a collection of complete statements. A statement concourse for this study was developed, that consisted of complete statements describing significant characteristics of each script, from two sources. Statements reflecting the selected sexual scripts were collected through a process of extensive reference to Stephens and Phillips (2003) Hip-Hop sexual scripts (i.e., Diva, Gold Digger, Freak, Dyke, Sister Soldier, Sister Savior, and Baby Mama) and

a thorough review of popular media (e.g., music video, radio, magazines). A pilot study was then conducted with five women that reflected the relevant population with the purpose of determining the feasibility of the design and to provide preliminary evidence for the Video Girl script. Following the pilot study, the participants provided feedback on the sort activity and the scripts. Results from the pilot were used to streamline the procedures used in the current study and fine-tune the descriptors, and eliminate redundant descriptors contained in each script. The final set of statements that were used in the study is referred to as the q-set. A q-set is a collection of “heterogeneous items” which the participants rank order in a forced distribution (Watts & Stenner, 2005, pg. 74). Once q-sets are sorted by participants, they are then referred to as q-sorts.

Each script was represented by a 15-item q-set. The 15 items consisted of 12 descriptor items and three distractor items (see Appendix G). The descriptor items for each script were reduced into a more concise q-set, following the process of item screening and piloting, from a larger set of 25 items derived from Stephens and Phillips (2003). The distractor items were neutral items (e.g., “She likes the color red”) that were not taken from Stephens and Phillips (2003) scripts. These items were included in each deck to add heterogeneity to the items presented (Watts & Stenner, 2005). This “heterogeneity,” or varied range of possible items, provides for a large range of possible items for the participants to sort. Across the nine decks there was one common distractor item (“She has many friends”), the other distractors used were unique to each specific deck. The final q-set items were scrutinized to ensure comprehensive coverage of the features of each script and for balance of positive and negative statements (Watts &

Stenner, 2005). The statements cover such areas as attitudes (toward themselves and others), desires (both sexual and non-sexual), and self-image (thoughts and ideas regarding appearance).

## **Procedure**

Participants were recruited either through direct recruitment from undergraduate classes in Human Development and Family Studies or African American Studies classes or via the SONA online survey registration website that is available to students enrolled in Education or Psychology classes. All participants signed up for the study administration time via the SONA website. Participants were provided with information on the specific dates and location of the study. The group administrations were facilitated by an undergraduate research assistant. There were ten administrations in total; there were at least three participants present for each administration.

During the administration, participants were read the study instructions and told to follow written instructions describing each step of the procedure; any questions regarding the instructions, or the study materials were addressed by the research assistant facilitating the administration. Participants were provided with a packet that included a written informed consent form, a q-sort packet, and additional survey items. The q-sort packet contained written instructions, nine q-sort decks organized in individual envelopes, a ranking sheet for their responses (see Appendix D), and a pencil. Each participant sorted the nine q-sets, containing descriptive statements of Each q-sort envelope was labeled with a letter (i.e., A - I.) that was used to indentify each deck and corresponded with the grid on the ranking sheet that participants used to record their

rankings. Each card within the each deck was approximately 3.5 x 2 inches and labeled to reflect the corresponding script and q-sort item. For example, the Diva script was script A and the first item within that q-sort was labeled as card A1. This alphanumeric labeling allowed the participants to systematically record their rankings on the sheet without revealing the descriptive title associated with each script. Participants were instructed to complete the sorts in alphabetical order. Each q-s was relabeled (i.e., Diva → A), to ensure that each participant sorted the q-set according to the subjective meaning they assigned to the items and not based upon any preconceived notions that they may have had based on the script title that corresponded with the q-set. The statements were randomly numbered and typed individually onto cards. Each set of 15 cards was placed in an envelope to be presented to participants during the administration.

Starting with the first sorting deck, envelope A, participants were asked, verbally and in written format, to read through and familiarize themselves with all of the descriptors within each deck. As they read the cards, they were asked to envision a woman that might be described by some or all of the features on the cards. Next, participants were asked to read the statements again and then begin their ranking process. Following the completion of the first sort, participants proceeded with the other sorts based on the alphabetical labeling of the envelopes (e.g., B, C, D, etc). Participant completed each sort independently. Participants were required to rank the descriptors on an 11-point Likert-like scale with +5 being “most descriptive” and -5 being “least descriptive” of the woman they envisioned. Participants were required to rank at least one descriptor on the -3 through +3 points and two descriptors on the -5, -4, +4 and +5 points.



Participants recorded their rankings for each script on the ranking sheet provided.

Participants were given two hours to complete the sorting task and corresponding survey.

After completing the sorting task, participants responded to items asking them to describe their experience with the sorting process as well as their level of agreement with the different scripts. The survey items included the qualitative post-sorting questions.

## **CHAPTER IV: RESULTS**

This chapter describes and summarizes the statistical analyses used to evaluate the research questions and hypotheses. The demographic data was analyzed using SPSS 18. The q-sort data was analyzed with PQMETHOD software (Schmolk, 2007). The data derived from the q-sort activity was used the overview of the two broad hypotheses and questions that guided this study. The qualitative data obtained were used in the labeling of factors obtained from the analysis of the q-sort data. The first hypothesis was that participants would be able to distinguish between characteristic features of each script. The second hypothesis was that the scripts, as described by Stephens and Phillips (2003) would be consistently identified across participants.

Before proceeding with the data analysis, using SPSS, all variables were screened for possible coding and statistical assumption violations, as well as for missing values and outliers. The quantitative data were screened for missing values and possible outliers. No missing values were detected for any of the variables. One univariate outlier for the age variable was detected and screened by computing Mahalanobis distance. However, the value was not considered extreme and was not deleted from the sample ( $p > .001$ ). Means and standard deviations were also computed from the data obtained from the quantitative data generated on the survey questionnaire and demographic data.

### **Main Analysis**

Forty sorts were obtained for each of the nine sexual scripts within the study. Each of the sorts obtained for the nine scripts was entered into PQMethod freeware for Q analysis (Schmolk, 2007). Using the software, data were correlated and then principal component factor analysis was used with varimax rotation in order to identify

associations among the 40 different sorts created for each script. PCA yields factors that correspond to the underlying structure of the data. The criteria used to establish the interpretability of the factors were that each must have an eigenvalue larger than 1.0 and that each must have a minimum two q- sorts with significant loadings. Within each script, each factor reflects a grouping of items that participants consider to be of great psychological significance and important to their understanding of the scripts being sorted. Therefore, these groupings capture the viewpoint of the participant completing the sort, as it reflects their understanding of the items that were most descriptive (strongest positive statements) and least descriptive (strongest negative statements) of each script (Shemmings, 2006). The results of the q-sort analysis also provide important information regarding the participants that sorted in a similar manner. Therefore, participants that load together on a particular factor share agreement on what were the most and least descriptive statements, and those participants that load on other factors express a different understanding of the items that were most and least important to the particular script being sorted (Parker & Alford, 2010).

Factor interpretation was based upon the examination of the rankings assigned to each statement in the factor array, together with participants' comments from the post-sorting qualitative questionnaire (Shemmings, 2006). For each factor, the items with *z-scores* of  $\pm 1.0$  or more were reviewed to identify a representative theme among the items. Once the significant items within each factor were discerned, the factor was given a descriptive label that was intended to illuminate the viewpoints being expressed by the particular factor (Watts & Stenner, 2005). This was a deductive process that was based upon the descriptors included within the factor, consideration of Stephens and Phillips'

(2003) original model, and the participants' qualitative responses. The process of identifying, interpreting and labeling the factors was repeated for each q-sort. The results of the PCA, factor interpretation, factor array and factor labels for each q-sort are discussed in the following sections. The composite q-sorts (opinion profile) summarizing the average viewpoint of all the persons loading on any one factor appear in each script factor array (Gregg, Haddock, & Barrowclough, 2009; Shemmings, 2006). And the most significant items and factor labels appear in the corresponding tables.

**Diva q-sort.** The analysis of Q-sort 1 produced three factors that represented distinct viewpoints about the Diva script. The factors were renamed (a) Attitude based upon appearance (b) Attention and interests, and (c) Attractiveness. Together these three factors accounted for 53% of total variance. Factor 1 included two items and accounted for 28% of the total variance; six of 40 of the participants loaded on this factor. All but one of the loading participants were in their early twenties, 83% of these participants watch BET most frequently than other music channels and three of the six participants endorse primarily listening to Hip-Hop. The participants that loaded on this factor perceived the Diva as a woman who has an attitude that is influenced by her appearance, which is curvaceous, light skin, and long hair.

Factor 2 had eight significantly loading participants and it explains 15% of the study variance. Of these eight participants, 62.5% of them consume more than 20 hours of music videos per week and 25% of this group identifies Hip-Hop as their most preferred music genre. The *Attention and interest* factor reflected the viewpoint that the Diva script reflects a woman who desires the attention of others and who favors the color red.

Finally, Factor 3 accounted for 11% of the total variance and contained two items; seven participants loaded on this factor. Of these seven participants, five of them report watching BET more than other music channels and two of the seven prefer to listen to Hip-Hop; four of the seven favor R&B. The *Attractiveness* factor reflected the overall physical attractiveness of the Diva and effort that her exerts to cultivate an image of being unattainable.

**Table 1. List of Diva statements and factor array**

		Factor		
		1	2	3
1	She sees herself as some to be worshipped and adored.	-2	5	1
2	She has an attitude.	5	2	3
3	She surrounds herself with people who worship and adore her.	-4	-1	4
4	She constantly needs attention regardless of the reason.	4	4	-4
5	She competes with other women for attention.	1	-5	-5
6	She spends own money on self-maintenance.	-4	-4	0
7	She is physically attractive.	4	3	5
8	She is curvaceous, light skinned with long hair.	5	1	5
9	She is a tad immodest, but not skimpy in her clothing.	-5	-4	-2
10	She believes she is a well-behaved woman.	2	-5	-3
11	She works to cultivate an image of being attractive but unattainable.	3	-2	4
12	She is able to take care of herself financially, yet wants a man to give her more.	-5	4	2
13	She likes the color red.	0	5	-5
14	She has many friends.	-3	-3	-4
15	She is valued by her family.	-1	0	-1
Variance=12.80		St. Dev. =3.58		

**Table 2. Diva Factor Labels and Strongest Statements**

<b>Factor Label</b>	<b>Exemplar Items (Strongest Positive and Negative Statements)</b>	<b>Loadings</b>
<b>Factor 1- Attitude based upon appearance</b>		<b>11.23</b>
	She has an attitude	1.51
	She is curvaceous, light skinned with long hair.	1.47
	She is able to take care of herself financially, yet wants a man to give her more.	-1.51
	She is a tad immodest, but not skimpy in her clothing.	-1.20
<b>Factor 2- Attention and interests</b>		<b>5.80</b>
	She sees herself as some to be worshipped and adored.	1.42
	She competes with other women for attention.	-1.42
	She believes she is a well-behaved woman.	-1.41
<b>Factor 3- Attractiveness</b>		<b>4.32</b>
	She is physically attractive.	1.35
	She works to cultivate an image of being attractive but unattainable.	1.19
	She likes the color red	-1.46

*Note.* Factor loadings reflect eigenvalues and the statement loadings reflect *z-scores*.

**Gold Digger q-sort.** The analysis of q-sort 2 resulted in two opinion groupings that represented the important features of the Gold Digger script. Two factors were extracted from the second q-sort (varimax rotation, eigenvalue of 1.00 or over), accounting for 62% of the variance. The two factors were labeled (a) Use of sexuality and (b) Sexuality as an asset. Factor 1 included three items and accounted for 35% of the

variance; twenty participants loaded significantly on this factor. Of these twenty, 80% of them preferred to watch BET or MTV, two major sources of Hip-Hop music videos. Seven participants reported favoring Hip-Hop music; ten out of twenty favored R&B. Statements that were most characteristic of the viewpoint reflected in the *Use of sexuality* factor are that the Gold Digger is a woman that uses her sexuality to gain material goods and money. Her use of her sexuality seems to contribute to her having many friends; these friendships may or may not be sexual in nature.

The second factor included three items and accounted for 27% of the variance; fifteen participants loaded on this factor. Of these fifteen participants, roughly 73% of them prefer to watch BET and most of them favor R&B (60%) to Hip-Hop (13%). The *Sexuality as Asset* factor reflects the viewpoint that sex, which she trades for money, is the most valuable asset available to the Gold Digger to get what she wants.



**Table 3. List of Gold Digger statements and factor array**

		Factor	
		1	2
1	She trades sex for money.	-2	5
2	She uses her sexuality (i.e. Flirting, physical affection) to get material goods.	5	1
3	She believes sex is her most valuable asset.	1	4
4	She has a sense of humor.	-4	-5
5	She sees men as stepping-stones to provide for her short-term needs.	2	0
6	She will take all that she can from a man.	0	2
7	She falsely seduces a man under the true pretense of spending his money.	5	-3
8	She selects men that are able to provide for her financially	4	3
9	She looks for men to provide her with money for self-maintenance	-3	4
10	She does not expect to maintain financial stability through education or employment	-4	-5
11	She has many friends	4	-2
12	She sees her physical appearance is an important asset	-5	-4
13	She may be willing to do whatever it takes to get and keep a man that can provide for her	-5	-4
14	She enjoys attending religious services	-1	5
15	She enjoys reading	3	1
Variance=12.80		St. Dev. =3.58	

**Table 4. Gold Digger Factor Labels and Strongest Statements**

<b>Label</b>	<b>Exemplar Items (Strongest Positive and Negative Statements)</b>	<b>Loadings</b>
<b>Factor 1- Use of Sexuality</b>		<b>18.51</b>
	She uses her sexuality (i.e. Flirting, physical affection) to get material goods	1.51
	She falsely seduces a man under the true pretense of spending his money	1.41
	She sees her physical appearance is an important asset	-1.41
	She may be willing to do whatever it takes to get and keep a man that can provide for her	-1.39
<b>Factor 2- Sexuality as Sole Asset</b>		<b>6.13</b>
	She trades sex for money	1.34
	She enjoys attending religious services	1.20
	She has a sense of humor	-1.36
	She does not expect to maintain financial stability through education or employment	-1.35

*Note.* Factor loadings reflect eigenvalues and the statement loadings reflect *z-scores*.

**Freak q-sort.** The analysis of q-sort 3 produced three factors that represented distinct viewpoints about the Freak script. The factors were renamed (a) Reactions to desires, (b) Public perceptions and desires and (c) Actions and consequences. Together these three factors accounted for 59% of total variance. Factor 1 included two items and accounted for 39% of the variance; eleven participants significantly loaded on factor 1. Of these eleven participants, five of them most often watch music videos on the BET network. Six of the eleven prefer R&B to Hip-Hop (three participants). Characteristic

views contained in the *Reactions to desires* factor reflected the perception of the participants that while the Freak derives personal strength from her sexual openness others often negatively label her because of her sexual behaviors.

Factor 2 accounted for 10% of the total variance and contained two items; six participants loaded significantly this factor. Of these six participants, 67% of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Most of the participants watch these music videos on BET and 3 participants of this group identifies Hip-Hop as their most preferred music genre. The *Public Perceptions and opinions* reflects the opinion of participants that the Freak is viewed as having no sexual inhibitions and therefore labeled a slut or ho.

Finally, factor 3 contained two items and accounted for 9% of the total variance; five participants loaded exclusively on this factor. Of these five participants, four of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Most of them (four participants) consume videos aired on BET; only one participant in this group identified Hip-Hop as her most preferred music genre. The *Actions and consequences* factor echoes the viewpoint that the Freak engages in high risk sexual activities and is not pursued for long-term relationships because of her sexual behavior.

**Table 5. List of Freak statements and factor array**

		Factor		
		1	2	3
1	She is sexually aggressive and wild.	2	-4	3
2	She pursues sexual gratification	-1	-2	2
3	She can easily have sex without any emotional attachment.	3	3	4
4	She can get her own needs met without the help of others.	-5	-1	-5
5	She may be referred to as a slut or a hoe.	5	5	4
6	She appreciates art.	-4	-5	-1
7	She is viewed as having no sexual inhibitions or hang-ups	-4	4	-3
8	She participates in high-risk sexual activities.	1	0	5
9	She enjoys gaining sexual control over her partner(s).	-2	-3	0
10	She is often negatively labeled because of her sexual behavior.	5	5	-2
11	Men do not pursue long-term relationships with this type of woman.	4	4	5
12	She derives personal strength from her sexuality.	4	-4	-5
13	She is comfortable talking openly about her sexual practices.	0	1	-4
14	She moves around a lot.	-3	2	1
15	She has many friends.	-5	-5	-4
Variance=12.80		St. Dev. =3.58		

**Table 6. Freak- Factor Labels and Strongest Statements**

<b>Label</b>	<b>Exemplar Items (Strongest Positive and Negative Statements)</b>	<b>Loadings</b>
<b>Factor 1- Reactions to Desires</b>		<b>15.77</b>
	She is often negatively labeled because of their sexual behavior	1.36
	She derives a personal strength from her sexuality	1.02
	She is viewed as having no sexual inhibitions or hang-ups.	-1.27
<b>Factor 2- Public Perceptions and Opinions</b>		<b>4.14</b>
	She may be referred to as a Slut or a ho	1.30
	She is viewed as having no sexual inhibitions or hang-ups	1.05
	She has many friends	-1.38
<b>Factor 3- Actions and Consequences</b>		<b>2.91</b>
	Men do not pursue long-term relationships with this type of woman	1.64
	Participates in high-risk sexual activities	1.36
	She can get her own needs met without the help of others.	-1.64
	She derives personal strength from her sexuality	-1.54

*Note.* Factor loadings reflect eigenvalues and the statement loadings reflect *z-scores*

**Dyke q-sort.** The analysis of q-sort 4 resulted in three opinion groupings that represented the important features of the Dyke script, accounting for 56% of the variance. The three factors were labeled (a) Focus of attention (b) Relationships with men, and (c) Interest. Factor 1 included three items and accounted for 24% of the variance; six participants loaded significantly on this factor. Of these six participants, four of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week and 25% of this group identifies Hip-Hop as their most preferred music genre. Statements that were most characteristic of the viewpoint reflected in the *Focus of attention* viewpoint are that the Dyke is a woman whose focus is on demonstrating her control by rejecting men and on her friends.

Factor 2 accounted for 19% of the total variance and contained three items; seven participants loaded significantly on factor 2. Of these seven participants, six of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Most of them (four participants) consume videos aired on BET; three participants in this group identified Hip-Hop as her most preferred music genre. The *Relationship to Men* factor describes the view of participants that the Dyke acts out of bitterness toward, and rejection, of men. This stance may result from her experience of being victimized by men.

Factor 3 contained one item and accounted for 13% of the total variance among the sorts; six participants loaded significantly on this factor. Of these six participants, five of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Most of them (four participants) consume videos aired on BET; two participants preferred Hip-Hop and three preferred R&B. The *Interest* factor reflected the viewpoint of participants that the Dyke

enjoys drinking wine and not interested in sports.

**Table 7. List of Dyke statements and factor array**

		Factor		
		1	2	3
1	She does not let men have any role in her sexual interactions.	-4	4	3
2	She acts out bitterness toward men by not having sex with them.	4	5	-1
3	This type of woman may have been victimized by men.	3	-4	4
4	She enjoys drinking wine.	-5	-2	5
5	She appears mannish.	-3	2	4
6	She derives sexual pleasure from rejecting men.	0	4	2
7	She may not have experienced “good” sex with a man.	2	-5	1
8	She has many friends.	5	-1	4
9	She is happy with her appearance.	-4	-1	-4
10	She is not interested in the male penis.	5	0	-5
11	She is self-determined and in control.	4	-5	3
12	She enjoys shopping.	1	3	-2
13	Her strength is not drawn from her sexuality.	-5	-4	0
14	She likes sports.	-1	-3	-5
15	She can see the beauty in women.	-4	4	-3
Variance=12.80		St. Dev. =3.58		

**Table 8. Dyke- Factor Labels and Strongest Statements**

<b>Label</b>	<b>Exemplar Items (Strongest Positive and Negative Statements)</b>	<b>Loadings</b>
<b>Factor 1- Focus of Attention</b>		<b>9.52</b>
	She has many friends	1.49
	She is not interested in the male penis	1.17
	She likes drinking wine.	-1.65
	Her strength is not drawn from her sexuality.	-1.20
<b>Factor 2- Relationships with men</b>		<b>7.57</b>
	This type of woman maybe have been victimized by men	1.31
	She acts out bitterness toward men by not having sex with them	1.21
	She may not have experienced “good” sex with a man	-1.50
	She is self-determined and in control.	-1.35
<b>Factor 3-Appearance</b>		<b>5.19</b>
	She enjoys drinking wine	1.48
	She enjoys sports	-1.56
	She is not interested in the male penis	-1.47

*Note.* Factor loadings reflect eigenvalues and the statement loadings reflect *z-scores*



**Gangster Bitch Q-sort.** The analysis of q-sort 5 produced three factors that represented distinct viewpoints about the Gangster Bitch script. The factors were renamed (a) Benefit to men (b) Struggles and strength, and (c) Aggression and survival. Together these three factors accounted for 57% of total variance. Factor 1 included three items accounting for 27% of the total variance; six participant sorts loaded significantly on factor 1. Of these six participants, four of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Two of them consume videos aired on BET; three of the participants watched videos on MTV. Only one participant in this group identified Hip-Hop as her most preferred music genre. Characteristic views contained in the *Benefit to Men* factor described the viewpoint that the Gangster Bitch is devoted to and willing to make sacrifices for, the men in her life.

Factor 2 accounted for 17% of the total variance among the sorts; eight participants loaded significantly this factor. Of these eight participants, six of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Five of the participants consume videos aired on BET. Three of the participants in this group identified Hip-Hop and as her most preferred music genre; three participants preferred R&B. Characteristic views contained in the *Struggles and strength* factor reflects the opinion of participants that the Ganger Bitch exhibits strength that allows her to join with her man to overcome their daily struggles.

Factor 3 accounted for 13% of the total variance among the sorts; six sorts loaded significantly on this factor. Of these six participants, four of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Half of them (three participants) consume videos

aired on MTV; three participants in this group identified Hip-Hop as their most preferred music genre. Characteristic views contained in the *Aggression and survival* factor reflects the viewpoint that the Gangster Bitch embodies physical and emotional strength that is evidenced in her ability to survive and support her man.

**Table 9. List of Gangster Bitch statements and factor array**

		Factor		
		1	2	3
1	She embodies physical aggression and emotional strength.	3	3	1
2	She values males as partners in their struggle for daily survival.	-5	4	-1
3	She is a survivor who knows how to live.	-1	5	5
4	She will do whatever it takes to survive.	-2	0	4
5	She may have come from a broken home.	4	-2	-4
6	She does not feel pain.	-4	-4	0
7	She is willing to support her man under any conditions.	-3	-5	-5
8	She knows how to make her own clothing.	4	-2	-4
9	Men she her as the perfect friend.	0	1	2
10	Her ability to have sex is secondary to her survival.	-5	-4	-3
11	She enjoys traveling.	4	4	-4
12	She is willing to help her man become successful through illegal means.	5	-3	5
13	Her sexuality is a tool to please males.	5	-4	3
14	She does not expect long-term love.	-4	-5	0
15	She has many friends.	-4	2	4
Variance=12.80		St. Dev. =3.58		

**Table 10. Gangster Bitch- Factor Labels and Strongest Statements**

<b>Label</b>	<b>Exemplar Items(Strongest Positive and Negative Statements)</b>	<b>Loadings</b>
<b>Factor 1- Benefit to Men</b>		10.68
	Her sexuality is a tool to please males	1.47
	She is willing to help her man become successful through illegal means	1.39
	Her ability to have sex is secondary to her survival	-1.46
	She values males as partners in their struggle for daily survival	-1.22
<b>Factor 2- Struggles and Strength</b>		6.91
	She does not feel pain	1.37
	She values males as partners in their struggle for daily survival	1.09
	She does not expect long-term love	-1.08
<b>Factor 3- Aggression and Survival</b>		5.07
	She is a survivor who knows how to live	1.41
	She is willing to help her man become successful through illegal means	1.38
	She embodies physical aggression and emotional strength	1.11
	She is willing to support her man under any conditions	-1.55
<i>Note.</i> Factor loadings reflect eigenvalues and the statement loadings reflect <i>z-scores</i>		

**Sister Savior q-sort.** The analysis of q-sort 6 resulted in three opinion groupings that represented the important features of the Sister Savior script, accounting for 54% of the variance. The three factors were labeled (a) Spiritual guiding force, (b) Non-sexual interests, and (c) Understanding and expression of sexuality. Factor 1 included three items and accounted for 30% of the variance; six participants loaded significantly on this factor. Of these five participants, all of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week and consume videos aired on BET. Four of the participants in this group identified Hip-Hop as their most preferred music genre. Statements that were most characteristic of the *Spiritual guiding force* viewpoint are that the Sister Savior is a woman whose life, behavior and decisions are guide by her religious beliefs.

Factor 2 accounted for 14% of the total variance; thirteen participant sorts were contained in this factor. Of these thirteen participants, nine of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Most of them (eight participants) consume videos aired on BET. Four of the participants in this group prefer Hip-Hop; the other nine prefer R&B. The *Non-sexual interest* factor reflected participant viewpoints that that Sister Savior focuses on her non-sexual interests such as food, friends and children.

Factor 3, which included two items, accounted for 10% of the total variance and had six significantly loading participants. Of these six participants, five of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Most of them (four participants) consume videos aired on BET; three of the participants in this group identified Hip-Hop as their most preferred music genre. Opinions reflected in the *Understanding and*

*Expression of Sexuality* factor reveal that the participants believed that the Sister Savior gains understanding and guidelines for her sexuality, appearance, and interactions with men from the church.

**Table 11. List of Sister Savior statements and factor array**

		Factor		
		1	2	3
1	Her source of control is derived from her relationship with God.	5	-4	-3
2	The church plays a role in her understanding of her sexuality.	5	-5	5
3	She is saving herself for marriage.	-4	-5	4
4	She avoids eating fast food.	-5	5	2
5	She avoids highly sexual language, clothing and behaviors.	1	-2	4
6	Her life decisions are based on what she has learned in church.	4	-4	-1
7	She projects a demure, obedient attitude image toward men.	2	3	5
8	She does not know much about sex.	-5	0	-2
9	She has many friends.	-3	4	3
10	She avoids sex because of the moral issues it poses within a religious context.	-1	1	-4
11	She is grounded in the African American church.	4	-3	-5
12	She likes kids.	0	4	4
13	She prefers to listen to religious music.	-4	2	-5
14	Men see her as a challenge.	3	5	1
Variance=12.80		St. Dev. =3.58		

**Table 12. Sister Savior - Factor Labels and Strongest Statements**

<b>Label</b>	<b>Exemplar Items (Strongest Positive and Negative Statements)</b>	<b>Loadings</b>
<b>Factor 1- Spiritual Guiding Force</b>		11.81
	Her source of control is derived from her relationship with God	1.36
	She is grounded in the African American church	1.18
	She avoids fast food	-1.43
	She does not know much about sex	-1.38
<b>Factor 2- Non-sexual interests</b>		5.64
	Men see her as a challenge	1.52
	She avoids eating fast food	1.26
	She has many friends	1.20
	She is saving herself for marriage	-1.57
<b>Factor 3-Understanding and Expression of Sexuality</b>		3.83
	The church plays a role in her understanding of her sexuality	1.47
	She projects a demure and obedient image toward men	1.14
	She is grounded in the African American church	-1.59
	She prefers to listen to religious music	-1.39
<i>Note.</i> Factor loadings reflect eigenvalues and the statement loadings reflect <i>z-scores</i>		

**Earth Mother q-sort.** The analysis of q-sort 7 produced three factors that represented distinct viewpoints about the Earth Mother script. The factors were labeled (a) Sense of self and beauty (b) Interactions with others, and (c) Empowered stance. Together these three factors accounted for 53% of total variance. Factor 1 included two items and accounted for 24% of the total variance and nine of 40 of the participants loaded on this factor. Of these nine participants, six of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Three of them consume videos aired on BET; three of the participants prefer to watch videos on MTV. Three members of this group identified Hip-Hop as their most preferred music genre; three preferred R&B. The participants that loaded on this factor perceived the most important feature of the Earth Mother script to be her strong sense of self and appreciation of diversity of attractiveness.

Factor 2 included two items and accounted for 16% of the total variance; eight participants loaded exclusively on this factor. Of these eight participants, six of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Most of them (five participants) consume videos aired on BET. Three of the participants in this group identified Hip-Hop as their most preferred music genre; four preferred R&B. The *Interactions with others* factor reflected the viewpoint that the Earth Mother script reflects a woman that is intimidating and difficult to deal with.

Factor 3 accounted for 13% of the total variance among the sorts and had five significantly loading participants. Of these five participants, four of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Most of them (four participants) consume videos aired on BET; four of the participants in this group identified R&B as their most preferred music genre. The *Empowered Stance* factor reflects the opinion of participants

that the Earth Mother's source of control, which is derived from her connection to her community, helps her to reject exploitation and oppression.

**Table 13. List of Earth Mother statements and factor array**

		Factor		
		1	2	3
1	Her source of control is derived from her connection to her community.	-4	-3	5
2	Her sexuality is based in spiritual, communal framework.	-1	-5	0
3	She celebrates the diversity of body sizes, hair textures, and skin colors.	5	1	2
4	She enjoys exercise.	-2	2	-5
5	She has many friends.	1	-1	-5
6	She is able to understand the link between the spiritual, emotional, and physical worlds.	4	-4	3
7	She has a strong sense of self.	5	3	4
8	She is able to see through games, sexism, and potentially hurtful outcomes.	-5	4	4
9	She rejects exploitation based on sex and gender.	4	-2	5
10	She is willing to exchange sex for money.	-5	4	1
11	She respects elders in her community.	0	-4	-4
12	She does not worry about material goods.	-3	-5	-4
13	She dates men that share her same values.	3	0	-2
14	She may intimidate others, especially men.	2	5	-1
15	She is sometimes difficult to deal with.	-4	5	-3
Variance=12.80		St. Dev. =3.58		



**Table 14. Earth Mother- Factor Labels and Strongest Statements**

<b>Label</b>	<b>Exemplar Items (Strongest Positive and Negative Statements)</b>	<b>Loadings</b>
<b>Factor 1- Sense of self and beauty</b>		9.53
	She celebrates the diversity of body sizes, hair textures, and skin colors	1.63
	She has a strong sense of self	1.54
	She is willing to exchange sex for money	-1.81
	She is able to see through games, sexism, and potentially hurtful outcomes	-1.25
<b>Factor 2- Interactions with others</b>		6.59
	She may intimidate others, especially men	1.54
	She is sometimes difficult to deal with	1.49
	She does not worry about material goods	-1.55
	Her sexuality is based in spiritual, communal framework	-1.42
<b>Factor 3-Empowered Stance</b>		5.10
	She rejects exploitation based on sex and gender	1.49
	Her source of control is derived from her connection to her community	1.16
	She has many friends	-1.56
	She enjoys exercise	-1.44

*Note.* Factor loadings reflect eigenvalues and the statement loadings reflect *z-scores*

**Baby Mama q-sort.** The analysis of q-sort 8 resulted in three opinion groupings that represented the important features of the Baby Mama script, accounting for 60% of the variance. The three factors were labeled (1) Devotion to children's father, (2) Lack of control, and (3) Her role and love for her children. Factor 1 included three items and accounted for 28% of the variance; sixteen participants loaded significantly on this factor. Of these sixteen participants, twelve of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Most of them (10 participants) consume videos aired on BET. Two of the participants in this group identified Hip-Hop as their most preferred music genre; ten of the participants prefer R&B. Statements that were most characteristic of Devotion to children's father factor reflected the viewpoint that the Baby Mama is a woman whose actions and behaviors are motivated by her devotion and desire to be with the father of her child (ren).

Factor 2 accounted for 18% of the total variance; eleven participant sorts were contained in this factor. Of these eleven participants, nine of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Four participants consume videos aired on BET and four watch videos on MTV. Three of the participants in this group identified Hip-Hop as their most preferred music genre; four of the participants prefer R&B. *The Lack of control* factor describes the participants' opinion that the Baby Mama lacks control, which is evidenced by her inability to provide for herself or her children financially or to manage her reproduction responsively.

Factor 3 contained two items and accounted for 14% of the total variance; seven participants loaded on this factor. Of these seven participants, five of them consume no

more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Most of them (four participants) consume videos aired on BET; four of the participants in this group identified Hip-Hop as their most preferred music genre. The *Her role and love for her children* factor describes the opinion of participants that the Baby Mama is defined by her role as mother and her emotional connection to her children.

**Table 15. List of Baby Mama statements and factor array**

		Factor		
		1	2	3
1	Her life is filled with drama.	2	4	4
2	She is a mother.	-4	5	5
3	Her sexuality is dependent on how her child's father views the relationship.	3	-3	-2
4	She may have gotten pregnant to trap her man.	4	5	0
5	She has a good job .	-5	-5	-5
6	She is a teenager.	-1	-2	-1
7	She sees her child(ren) as a source of money .	4	1	2
8	She maintains a sexual relationship with her child(ren)'s father.	4	3	3
9	Her child(ren) are important to her.	-4	2	5
10	She is defined by motherhood.	-3	-4	0
11	Her child(ren)'s father(s) is/are more important to her than her child(ren).	5	-4	-3
12	She is on welfare.	1	4	-5
13	She needs to be on birth control .	0	5	-4
14	She has many friends.	-2	-1	-1
15	She has support from her family.	-5	-5	-4
Variance=12.80		St. Dev. =3.58		

**Table 16. Baby Mama- Factor Labels and Strongest Statements**

<b>Label</b>	<b>Exemplar Items (Strongest Positive and Negative Statements)</b>	<b>Loadings</b>
<b>Factor 1- Devotion to Children's father</b>		12.51
	She may have gotten pregnant to trap her man	1.36
	Her child(ren)'s father are more important to her than her child(ren)	1.32
	She maintains a sexual relationship with her child(ren)'s father	1.12
<b>Factor 2- Lack of control, support and resources</b>		7.38
	She needs to be on birth control	1.37
	Her life is filled with drama	1.16
	She has a good job	-1.70
	She has support from her family	-1.55
<b>Factor 3- Her role and love for her children</b>		4.11
	She is a mother	1.69
	Her child(ren) are important to her	1.44
	She is on welfare	-1.69

*Note.* Factor loadings reflect eigenvalues and the statement loadings reflect *z-scores*

**Video Girl q-sort.** The analysis of q-sort 9 produced three factors that represented distinct viewpoints about the Video Girl script. The factors were labeled (a) Drive to succeed, (b) Ambitiousness, and (c) Socializing and garnering the attention of

others. Together these three factors accounted for 53% of total variance. Factor 1 included two items and accounted for 29% of the total variance and sixteen of 40 of the participants loaded on this factor. Of these sixteen participants, 11 of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Most of them (seven participants) consume videos aired on BET. Five of the participants in this group identified Hip-Hop as their most preferred music genre; seven preferred R&B. The participants that loaded on the Drive to succeed factor perceived the most important feature of the Video Girl script to be her desire to be successful, and advance her career, in the music industry.

Factor 2 included two items and accounted for 15% of the total variance; eight participants loaded exclusively on this factor. Of these eight participants, seven of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. Most of them (five participants) consume videos aired on BET; three of the participants in this group identified Hip-Hop as their most preferred music genre. The *Ambitiousness* factor reflected the viewpoint of participants that the Video Girl is willing to do anything, including exploit her sexuality, to be successful in the music industry.

Finally, factor 3 included two items and accounted for the remaining 9% of the variance: three participants loaded on this factor. Of these three participants, two of them consume no more than 20 hours of music videos per week. None of them expressed preference in listening to Hip-Hop music. The *Socializing and garnering the attention of others* factor reflected the participant viewpoint that the Video Girl enjoys socializing and garnering the attention of people who can help her career.

**Table 17. List of Video Girl statements and factor array**

		Factor		
		1	2	3
1	Aspires to make it in the music industry.	5	-5	1
2	She is talented.	-3	-4	0
3	She invests heavily into her appearance.	4	1	4
4	She dates men that can advance her career in the industry.	4	4	-5
5	She competes with other women.	-1	3	-1
6	Men in the industry seek to possess her because she complements their image.	1	2	5
7	She excelled in school.	-5	-5	-3
8	Her sexuality is a tool to help her gain access into the industry.	2	4	2
9	She enjoys going to parties.	-2	-2	5
10	Her image mirrors images projected by the industry.	3	-1	3
11	She is willing to do whatever it takes to get “put on” in the industry.	5	5	2
12	She desires to be seen by others.	0	5	4
13	She has many friends.	-4	-4	-4
14	She does not know how to cook.	-4	-3	-5
15	She is a mother.	-5	0	-4
Variance=12.80		St. Dev. =3.58		

**Table 18. Video Girl - Factor Labels and Strongest Statements**

<b>Label</b>	<b>Exemplar Items (Strongest Positive and Negative Statements)</b>	<b>Loadings</b>
<b>Factor 1- Drive to succeed supercedes interpersonal relationships</b>		14.27
	She aspires to make it in the music industry	1.49
	She has many friends	-1.17
	She is a mother	-1.34
<b>Factor 2- Ambitiousness</b>		4.81
	She is willing to do whatever it takes to get put on	1.45
	She excelled in school	-1.56
	She is talented	-1.45
<b>Factor 3- Socializing and garnering the attention of others</b>		3.53
	Men in the industry seek to possess her because she complements their image	1.53
	She enjoys going to parties	1.53
	She desires to be seen by others	1.36
	She does not know how to cook	-1.62

*Note.* Factor loadings reflect eigenvalues and the statement loadings reflect *z-scores*

## **CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION**

This chapter serves to discuss the findings of the current study. First, the findings of the main (q-sort) analysis will be discussed in the context of the extant literature. Next, theoretical and research implications for the study will be discussed. Finally, limitations of the study are reviewed and suggestions for future directions within psychological research will be made.

This study used Q methodology to explore the influence of Hip-Hop music/media on young African American women's sexual scripts with a college sample. The primary aims of this study were to determine whether the sexual scripts proposed by Stephens and Phillips' (2003) were distinct from one another and accurate representations of sexual scripts that are available to this cohort. Results of the Q methodology provided support for the first question and provided partial support for the second question. The first hypothesis stated that participants would be able to identify between the characteristic features of each script. This hypothesis was soundly supported by the results. Each of the nine scripts sorted yielded at least two distinct factors and a minimum of three participants that sorted the q-set in a similar manner. The resulting factors were similar to the defining characteristics of the scripts presented by Stephens and Phillips (2003). The results suggest that q-sorts reflected the participants' shared understanding of the scripts, while also providing a means of comparing the participants' understanding to Stephens and Phillips (2003) original description of the scripts. Overall, it was found that all of the participants were able to successfully complete the sorting activity. The completion of the activity resulted in sorts that reflected multidimensional concepts that were consistent with characteristic features of the scripts proposed by Stephens and Phillips' (2003).



The viewpoints revealed in this study reflect groups of participants' opinions regarding the important features of Stephens and Phillips' (2003) sexual scripts. Across the viewpoints generated for each script, there were not only distinctions, but also commonalities. Aside from the comparisons between the viewpoints contained within the scripts, each of the perspectives resonated with the important features emphasized by Stephens and Phillips (2003).

Although the viewpoints derived from the Diva sort were distinct in many ways, they also shared similarities. Each viewpoint expressed by the groups of participants emphasized the Diva as having an attitude, being focused on her appearance, and wanting others worship her. These interests, as identified by the participants, represented the defining features of the Diva script. The importance placed on these features of the Diva script is similar to the important features that Stephens and Phillips' (2003) identified in the description of the script.

The most descriptive items for the Gold Digger script point directly to her use of her sexuality as her most valuable asset in gaining material goods. The clear consensus among the participants on this important feature of this script is not surprising given the commonality of the Gold Digger script, in not only Hip-Hop culture, but in popular American culture as well. Interestingly, the inclusion of the viewpoint that the Gold Digger is a woman that enjoys attending religious services is an unexpected viewpoint. The inclusion of this viewpoint may reflect a limitation of the Q methodology.

The collective meaning reflected in the results of the Freak sort, suggest that the most significant features are those that reflect a woman whose sexuality is on the fringe of what is considered acceptable and is therefore judged negatively by others. This

viewpoint placed great value on the Freak's sexuality and the rejection of others around her because of it. This overwhelming emphasis is similar to Stephens and Phillips' (2003) description of the Freak script.

When considering the Dyke script, the participants seemed to indicate that key features of the script were those that reflected the development of her sexuality as a form of rejection of men. The viewpoints organized around this script reflect the underlying idea that the Dyke is viewed as deviant because of her rejection of men. The participant viewpoints focused on the Dyke's rejection of men and her mirroring of the male appearance. Conversely, Stephens and Phillips emphasized the Dyke's implied sexual interest in women in addition to her desire to reject male sexuality.

The significant viewpoints of the Gangster Bitch script seem to reflect the significant meaning placed upon the characteristics of strength, aggression and commitment to the needs of men. Similar to Stephens and Phillips' (2003) description of the Gangster Bitch script, the features of the script reflect the Gangster culture in which she is embedded and the attitude that she has developed because of the culture that she is immersed in.

The viewpoints derived from the sorting of the Sister Savior q-set, suggest that the participants' understanding of the importance of spirituality in shaping the expression and understanding of her sexuality. The consensus across groups of participants on the Sister Savior's grounding in the church is consistent with Stephens and Phillips description (2003). As described by Stephens and Phillips (2003) "the definitive point for the Sister Savior is the role that the church as institution plays in understanding sexuality" (p.28).

The data obtained on the Earth Mother script, suggested that participants thought

that the most important items were those that reflected the Earth Mother's empowerment and strength derived from her sense of self, beauty and authentic interactions with others. Additionally the participants expressed agreement in the importance of the Earth Mother having a well-developed sense of self and sexual identity that is not defined by male involvement (Stephens & Phillips, 2003). These viewpoints overlap with the original presentation of the script.

Important items derived from the Baby Mama q-sort were those that reflected her devotion to the father of her child(ren) and her lack of control and agency. Central to the understanding expressed by the participants of the Baby Mama script is that of a woman who may have had children with a man to keep in him in her life and who desperately desires to maintain his affections. In doing so, despite her love for her children, her absorption with her child's father may cause her to neglect them. Stephens and Phillips (2003) view the Baby Mama script as a potential outcome of the preceding scripts; it is possible that the participants felt similarly. Themes inherent in other scripts, such as the Gold Digger's use of sex for gain, and the Video Girl's use of her sexuality to achieve a goal, seem to be indirectly related to important features identified in the Baby Mama script. The participants seemed to agree that the Baby Mama uses her sexuality to maintain the affections of her child's father, in this way, her use of her sexuality for gain, is, as Stephens and Phillips (2003) suggested, similar to preceding scripts.

The Video Girl script, proposed by the investigator, is an extension of the Gold Digger script (Ross & Coleman, 2011). The findings of the Video Girl script, focused on items that highlight her ambitiousness and drive for success within the music industry. This viewpoint is highly similar to the original depiction of the script, which described a

woman who uses sexuality as a tool to help her gain access into the entertainment industry. To attain her goals she is willing to invest heavily into her appearance, use her sexuality as a weapon, and/or date men who can advance her career (Ross & Coleman, in press).

The second hypothesis stated that the scripts, as described by Stephens and Phillips (2003), would be consistently identified across participants. This hypothesis was partially supported by the results of this study. While the results demonstrate that the participants were able to sort the q-sets in a manner that reflected the subjective meaning assigned to the descriptors, this was not done consistently across all of the participants. This outcome reflects the characteristic nature of Q methodology to highlight the views of two or more participants on a given subject (Janson, 2009). While the results did not indicate that the participants sorted the scripts uniformly, the findings did suggest that aspects of each script were salient to groups of participants who indicated equal agreement on the characteristic features of the scripts. This finding also suggests that Stephens and Phillips' (2003) sexual scripts accurately reflect sexualized messages regarding African American women that are recognizable to the cohort being studied.

### **The Relationship Between the Controlling Foundational Images and Contemporary Sexual Scripts**

There were also similarities between the participants' viewpoints of the scripts and the foundational images from which the scripts were derived. A review of the viewpoints provided by the participants revealed messages inherent in the contemporary scripts that reflect features of the controlling foundational images from which they were influenced. For instance, the important features of the Gold Digger, Freak, and Video Girl scripts as

understood by the study participants reflected important features of the Jezebel foundational script (Hill Collins, 1990; Stephens & Phillips, 2003). The Jezebel is described as an who is light skinned, attractive, sexually insatiable, and oversexed. The Diva, Gold Digger, Freak, and Video Girl, like their oversexualized predecessor, used their attractiveness and sexuality as a tool in getting what they want.

Remnants of the Welfare Mother were inherent in the participants rankings of the Baby Mama script. Depictions of the Welfare mother are of a woman who is poor, working class and dependent upon social services (Stephens & Phillips, 2003). Participants seemed to agree that the Baby Mama is unable to provide for herself and her children, which is evidenced by her need to be on welfare and her need to be on birth control.

Important features identified in the Dyke script seem to be in line with characteristics of the Matriarch and Sapphire foundational images. The Matriarch figure represented a emasculating and controlling woman that did not need a man. The Sapphire represented a loud, boisterous, unattractive woman that took pride in degrading men (Hill Collins, 1991). Based upon the participant viewpoints, there are close similarities between these foundational images and the Dyke scripts as she was viewed as wanting to be in control and rejecting men. Similarities between the Matriarch and Sapphire foundational images can also be drawn between the Sister Savior and Earth Mother scripts. While not described as controlling or rejecting of men, similarities can be drawn between the participants viewpoints of the Sister Savior and Earth Mother and the Matriarch and Sapphire because they “do not provide space for male defined involvement” of their sexuality (Stephens & Phillips, 2003, p. 28)

Finally, the Gangster Bitch script can be related to the Mammy script in terms of her putting the needs of her man over her own. The characteristic feature of the Mammy image are of her role as the obedient servant that placed the needs of her White family over her own (Hill Collins, 1990; Stephens & Phillips, 2003). While not focused on the needs of her White family, the Gangster Bitch was viewed by the participants as willing to forgo her own needs for the men in her life.

The ability of the participants to find consensus on items that are reminiscent of foundational scripts provides further support for Stephens and Phillips (2003) theory. Stephens and Phillips (2003) argue that the contemporary scripts are rooted in racialized and sexualized stereotypes that are inherent in the foundational images. These images have served as the foundation of contemporary understanding of African American women's sexuality. It is apparent, based upon participants' sorting of the data, that the stereotypical messages and ideas about African American women's sexuality that were present in the foundational images have persisted and are apparent in contemporary sexual scripts.

### **Influence of Hip-Hop culture Study Findings**

In the study, Hip-Hop culture appeared to play a key role in absorbing and reflecting ideas about young African American women that are rooted in the mainstream sociopolitical culture. Key messages embedded in Hip-Hop culture is that African American women's sexuality can be exploited for the sole purpose of external gain, there is dominant male influence on the expression of African American women's sexuality and for many African American women their sexuality falls outside of the norm of what would be considered appropriate (Stephens & Phillips, 2003; 2005). This suggests that African American women's sexuality can be an asset that is detached from the individual

and used as a tool to be bartered for economic, material or professional gain (Pough, 2004 ; Rose, 2008). In this way, African American women's sexuality is objectified as a resource as opposed to a distinct aspect of their identity (Roberts, 1997). It can also be assumed that messages within Hip-Hop culture suggests that African American women's sexuality develops to meet the need, centers upon, and is controlled by males and male dominated systems and institutions (Rose, 2008). Moreover, women whose sexuality does not fit the needs and expectations of males are subjugated and labeled negatively because of their undesirable sexual expression.

The analysis of the Q-sort data provided interesting findings. First, the perception that among African American women there is a sentiment that sexuality can be used as a tool in bartering for goods or used as a means to an end. This assertion seemed to hold across many of the scripts covered (i.e., Diva, Gold Digger, and Video Girl). Second, using one's sexuality in order to achieve a desire may be viewed as a source of power or an assertion of control. This hints at the possible influence of the legacy in which African American women's sexuality was manipulated, exploited, and controlled by others (Hill Collins, 1990; Roberts, 1997).

Two other important ideas that arose from the findings. One theme suggested the significance of the influence of males and male dominated institutions (i.e. Churches, media outlets) in the development and expression of African American women's sexuality. It appeared that whether it is for the benefit of or in rejection to, African American women's sexuality centered upon males in some way (i.e. Diva, Gold Digger, Gangster Bitch, Sister Savior, Baby Mama, and Video Girl). Another important idea that

emerged was of the negative reactions to and perceptions of African American women that express sexuality that fall outside of the realm of what is considered appropriate.

### **Limitations**

There were some limitations to the present study. Generalizations of the results of this study should be done with caution because all of the ideas imbedded in the scripts and the sociocultural context in which they were developed was unique to the experiences of African American women currently enrolled in college. Issues of age, socioeconomic status, geographic norms and culture should be seriously considered in the application of these results to young African American women in other contexts. Additionally, assumptions about how young African American women's sexuality is perceived by African American males should not be made because no African American males were included in this sample. Despite these limitations, the findings in this study are important in their contribution to the literature on the influence of Hip-Hop culture on African American women's sexuality.

Other limitations of this study emerged during the analysis of the data that might have impacted the results of the study. Each of the q-sets in the study contained 15 items. The 15 items consisted of 12 descriptor items and three distractor items (see Appendix G). The distractor items were neutral items (e.g., "She likes the color red") that were not taken from Stephens and Phillips (2003) scripts. These items were included in each deck to add heterogeneity to the items presented (Watts & Stenner, 2005). This "heterogeneity," or varied range of possible items, was intended to provide for a large range of possible items for the participants to sort. Across the nine decks there was one



common distractor item (“She has many friends”), the other distractors used were unique to each specific deck. It was expected that the neutral distractor items, which were not related to the script, would elucidate the items obtained from Stephens and Phillips’ (2003) description of the scripts and therefore not load significantly on any of the factors. Many of these items were not weighted highly as descriptive of the scripts presented. However, it was found that some of the participants agreed that the distractor items were important features of the scripts that were presented. For example, “She enjoys drinking wine” loaded significantly on the Dyke.. This suggests that the participants projected the viewpoints that were formed about the descriptor items onto the neutral distractor items and integrated this meaning into their overall understanding of the scripts that they were presented. While this phenomena demonstrates the flexibility of Q methodology to capture participant viewpoints, it can be disruptive in the interpretation process. Therefore, it is recommended that distractor not be utilized in the same manner in a q-sort study.

The results and implications of the study should be considered with the following limitations, related to the use of Q methodology, in mind. First, Q methodology is not intended for use in generalizing or replicating findings. Rather, q-method is used to capture a snapshot of participants’ opinions on a given subject in a discrete moment in time. Therefore if re-administered with a different sample, the results may identify different viewpoints on the sexual scripts. In addition, the q-sets utilized in this study contained 15 items. The inclusion of more items could have allowed for more heterogeneity among the items and might have eliminated the need for the distractor items.

## **Implications**

The results of the study have theoretical implications for the use of Stephens and Phillips' (2003) Hip-Hip sexual scripting model. One of the theoretical aims of this study was to provide empirical support for the use of Stephens and Phillips (2003) sexual scripts in further research. The findings of this study provide empirical evidence of the salience of the scripts with a college sample and therefore suggest that further use of the scripts is warranted with other populations. This will require further exploration of the scripts that can potentially lead to the development quantitative measures or qualitative protocols that utilize the features of the scripts.

**Implications for research.** The results of this study provide helpful information that can influence practice in addressing not only perceptions of African American women's sexuality, but of the impact of the internalized messages about African American women's sexuality that are inherent in Hip-Hop. Continued research in this area should provide validation for Stephens and Phillips (2003) scripts with samples of African American females and males in academic and non-academic settings and of different age groups. Also qualitative studies might create deeper understandings of participants opinions on important features of Hip-Hop sexual scripts. Future research on this topic might elicit participant opinions on the important features of the presented scripts and rely less on forcing participants to select from predetermined descriptors.

Finally, data was obtained in the current study regarding participants Hip-Hop consumption that was not analyzed with the q-sort data. Given the exploratory nature of Q methodology it was not possible to quantitatively draw conclusions between the

influence of Hip-Hop consumption on participants' ability to complete the activity or on their viewpoints of the scripts. Additional research might focus on drawing direct links between Hip-Hop consumption on the viewpoints and understanding of the sexual scripts.

**Implications for Practice.** This study adds to the field of counseling psychology, the African American community's and Hip-Hop culture's understanding of the cultural and social mechanisms that influence African American women's sexuality. Continued research in this area can directly affect the African American community by providing useful insight about the influence of Hip-Hop on sexuality and perceptions for this group. Such insight would be helpful in the development of intervention programs and projects about African American women's sexuality and the influence of sexual scripts. One such intervention might be a workshop series where young African American women are encouraged to challenge restrictive messages in Hip-Hop that they have received about desirable ways of expressing their sexuality and empower them to define for themselves who they are as sexual beings and how that is expressed.

## **CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION**

The purpose of this study was to increase understanding of the unique socio-cultural factors that influence young African American women's sexuality. This area of research has historically been limited to the exploration of individual factors that shape the development of African American women's sexuality. Consequently, the findings from this study add information to the body of literature on African American women's sexuality by focusing on a socio-cultural factor, Hip-Hop, on African American women's sexuality. The findings from this study also further understanding of sexualized messages promoted in Hip-Hop that influence African American women's understanding of their sexuality. Finally, this study provides important support for the use of Q methodology in the exploration of African American women's sexuality.

Findings from this study add to existing body of literature on the influence of Hip-Hop culture on African American sexuality, while providing new insights into the sexual scripting process for African American women. Messages about African American women's sexuality that are inherent in Hip-Hop culture have a clear impact on the way the sexuality of this group is understood by members of their community. The present study explored one aspect of Stephens and Phillips' (2003) Hip-Hop sexual scripting model for African American women in a college sample. Although the insights derived in this study are limited to the subjective opinions of the sample of African American women the findings are important in stimulating further investigation in this area. The information derived from this exploration can play a key role in directing practice and future research concerning African American women's sexuality.



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**APPENDIX A**

**SEXUAL SCRIPTING PROJECT RECRUITMENT SCRIPT**

## **Sexual Scripting Project**

### **Recruitment Script**

Many of you may know that Hip Hop culture has been very influential in the lives of many young Americans. A major area of Hip-hop's influence is on sexual ideas. I am conducting a study that seeks to learn more about Hip-hop's influence on African American undergrads. The purpose of this study is to explore the influence of the depictions of young African American women in Hip-Hop culture on African American young adults. To meet this objective, participants will complete a q-sort and survey regarding this topic.

This project has been reviewed by the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects at the University of Houston.

If you choose to participate, you will complete a 90-minute q-sort activity and complete a 20-minute follow-up survey. As part of your participation in this project, you may be awarded extra credit in this course according to the policies established by your instructor.

If you have any questions or concerns about participation in this research, you may contact Jasmine N. Ross at [jnross@mail.uh.edu](mailto:jnross@mail.uh.edu) or (917) 202-5396.

I am going to pass around these slips of paper with possible dates, times and location to complete the study activity, if you would like to participate, please take one and contact the researcher and identify the time that you will be available to complete the study.

Thank you for your time and attention!

**APPENDIX B**

**UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON  
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH**



## **UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH**

### **PROJECT TITLE: African American Women's Sexual Scripts: The Exploration of Sexual Scripting Model for African-American College Women**

You are being invited to participate in a research project conducted by Jasmine N. Ross, MS from the department of Educational Psychology at the University of Houston. The Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects at the University of Houston has reviewed this project. This project is being conducted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Candidacy. To be eligible to participate, you must be 18 years old.

### **NON-PARTICIPATION STATEMENT**

Your participation is voluntary and you may refuse to participate or withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may also refuse to answer any question. If you are a student, a decision to participate or not or to withdraw your participation will have no effect on your standing.

### **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The purpose of this study is to explore the influence of the depictions of young African American women in Hip-Hop culture on African American young adults. To meet this objective, participants will complete a q-sort and survey regarding this topic.

### **PROCEDURES**

You will be one of approximately 40 students at the University of Houston who will participate in the project in a quiet, on-campus setting. This will take approximately 90-minutes for the q-sort and 20-minute follow-up survey. Students enrolled in various colleges within the university will be included.

### **ANONYMITY**

Your participation in this project is anonymous. Please do not write your name on any of the research materials to be returned to the principal investigator.

### **INCLUSION**

This study is open to UH undergraduate students that self-identify as African American and are over 18 years of age.

### **EXCLUSION**

This study is not open individuals who do not attend the University of Houston, are under 18 years of age, and/or do not self-identify as African American.

### **RISK/DISCOMFORTS**

Although unlikely, it is possible that participation in this study will create some discomfort for some participants. If you experience any discomfort after your participation, you may contact the University of Houston Counseling and Psychological Services at (713) 743-5454.

### **BENEFIT**

While you will not directly benefit from participation, your participation may help investigators better understand the influence of Hip-hop culture on African American college students.

### **EXTRA CREDIT**

The specific amount of extra credit that may be awarded by participants' instructor(s) will be consistent with the policies of the participants' instructor(s). Participants will receive a receipt of participation from the primary researcher.

### **ALTERNATIVES**

Participation in this project is voluntary and the only alternative to this project is non-participation. Additionally, your instructor may have alternative procedures available for you to obtain extra credit if you choose not to participate in this study.

### **PUBLICATION STATEMENT**

The results of this study may be published in professional and/or scientific journals. It may also be used for educational purposes or for professional presentations. However, no individual subject will be identified. If you have any questions, you may contact Jasmine N. Ross, MS at [jnross@mail.uh.edu](mailto:jnross@mail.uh.edu) or (917) 202-5396. You may also contact Dr. Nicole Coleman, faculty sponsor, at [mncoleman@mail.coe.uh.edu](mailto:mncoleman@mail.coe.uh.edu) or (713) 743-8392.

### **QUESTIONS**

ANY QUESTIONS REGARDING YOUR RIGHTS AS A RESEARCH SUBJECT MAY BE ADDRESSED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS (713-743-9204).

**TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS PROJECT, PLEASE CONTACT THE JASMINE N. ROSS, AT [JNROSS@MAIL.UH.EDU](mailto:JNROSS@MAIL.UH.EDU) BY THE DATE SPECIFIED BELOW:**

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Principal Investigator's Name: Jasmine N. Ross, MS

Signature of Principal Investigator: \_\_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX C**

### **SEXUAL SCRIPT Q-SORT INSTRUCTIONS**

### Sexual Script Q-Sort Instructions

1. Your Q-sort packet should include these instructions, plus:
  - a. **9** decks of **15** cards each
  - b. a scoring grid for each script
  - c. a pencil.
2. In the envelopes you will find statements that describe sexual scripts for African American women that come out of Hip-Hop culture. You will be asked to rank order these statements based on your perceptions of the sexual scripts being described. As you read through each deck, you should develop a visual representation of the woman being described.
3. First, read the deck of cards to familiarize yourself with the statements.
4. Second,
  - a. Select **two** statements that are the *most descriptive of the script* and place them before you to represent the “+5” category of the score sheet.
  - b. Next, select **two** statements that are the *least descriptive of the script* and place them before you to represent the “-5” category of the score sheet.
  - c. Repeat steps a and b, placing two statements on the “+4” and “-4” categories.
  - d. Finally, select **one** statement for each of the remaining categories making sure that you have at least one statement for each category.
  - e. Place those statements that are confusing or meaningless in the “0” category.
5. Fourth, using the number found at the bottom of each card, record your rankings on the score sheet attached.
6. When you have completed this process for the first script, move on to the next one and repeat steps 2 - 5 until you have completed all nine of the sorts.
7. After you have completed all of the sorts, please, return the score sheet and cards to the researcher.

Your completed score sheet should look like the sample below.



**APPENDIX D****SCRIPT RANKING SHEET**

### Sexual Script Q-Sort Scoring Sheet

#### Script A

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5

← Least Descriptive Most Descriptive→

#### Script B

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5

← Least Descriptive Most Descriptive→

#### Script C

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5

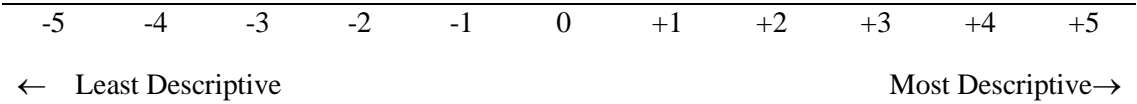
← Least Descriptive Most Descriptive→

#### Script D

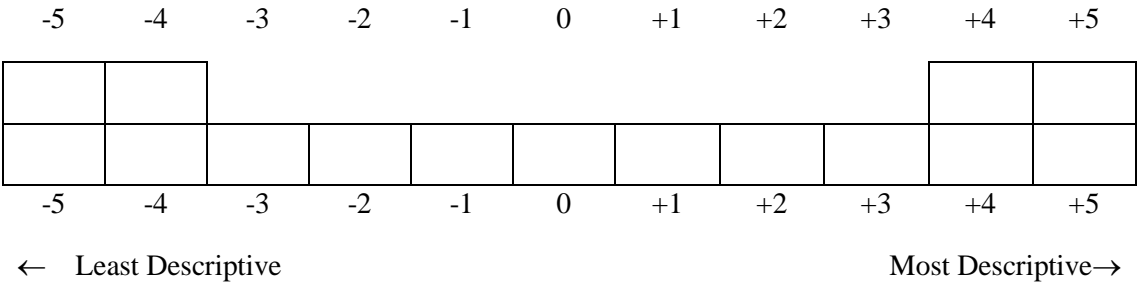
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5







**Script I**



## **APPENDIX E**

### **SEXUAL SCRIPT SURVEY**

### Sexual Script Survey

**Please, take a minute to reflect on your experience with the sorting you just completed. Please, respond to the following questions.**

1. Do you think that the descriptions you read completely described the popular depictions of African-American women in Hip-Hop? Please explain.

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2. Besides the ones included in this task, are there any depictions of African-American women in Hip-Hop that you would add? Please, list them in the space below and provide a reason why you think it should be added.

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3. Were there any scripts that were easier to identify than others? If there were none, please go to the next question. If so, which one/s?

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4. Were any of the sorts confusing? If there were none, please go to the next question. If so, which one/s?

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5. Current Academic Standing (Please circle one)

- a) Freshman
  - b) Sophomore
  - c) Junior
  - d) Senior
6. Sex  
Male \_\_\_\_\_  
Female \_\_\_\_\_
7. Age \_\_\_\_\_
8. What is your current major?  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. How would you describe the area in which you grew up? (Please circle one)
- a) Urban
  - b) Suburban
  - c) Rural
10. In what region of the country did you grow up? (Please circle one)
- a) Midwest (e.g., Michigan, Illinois, Nebraska)
  - b) Northeast (e.g., New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland)
  - c) West (e.g., California, Oregon, Washington)
  - d) Southeast (e.g., Florida, Louisiana, Alabama)
  - e) Southwest (e.g., Texas, Arizona, New Mexico)
11. How do you describe your Combined Annual Household income? (Please circle one)
- a) <\$20,000
  - b) \$20,500-\$35,000
  - c) \$35,500-\$50,000
  - d) \$50,500-\$75,000
  - e) \$75,500-\$100,000
  - f) >\$100,000
12. In an average week, how many hours of television do you watch? (Please circle one)

- a) 0-5
- b) 6-10
- c) 11-15
- d) 16-20
- e) >20

13. If you watch TV, what percentage of this time do you think is spent watching music videos? (Please circle one)

- a) 0-20%
- b) 21%-49%
- c) 50%-75%
- d) >75%

14. Of the following music channels, which do you, watch most often? (Please circle one)

- a) BET
- b) BET Jazz
- c) BET Soul
- d) MTV
- e) MTV2
- f) VH1
- g) VH1 Soul

15. In an average week, how many hours do you spend listening to music? (Please circle one)

- a) 0-5
- b) 6-10
- c) 11-15
- d) 16-20
- e) >20

16. Which type of music do you listen to most often (*at least* 30% of the time)? (Please circle one)

- a) Alternative
- b) Blues
- c) Country

- d) Reggae/Dancehall/Reggaeton
- e) Gospel
- f) Hip-Hop/Rap
- g) Jazz
- h) International/World Music
- i) Latin
- j) R&B
- k) Rock

17. Which of the following magazines do you read most often? (Please circle one)

- a) Black Man
- b) Ebony
- c) Essence
- d) Hype Hair
- e) Jet
- f) King
- g) Sister 2 Sister
- h) The Source
- i) Vibe
- j) Vibe Vixen
- k) XXL

18. If relevant, please describe your mother's occupation:

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19. If relevant, please describe your father's occupation:

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20. Are you currently employed? If so, please tell us your occupation?

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21. Considering your romantic preferences, how would you describe your sexual orientation? (Please circle one)

- a) Heterosexual

- b) Homosexual
- c) Bi-sexual

**Thank you!**

**APPENDIX F****CERTIFICATION OF RESEARCH PARTICIPATION**



**CERTIFICATE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPATION**

**PROJECT TITLE:** African American Women's Sexual Scripts: The Exploration of Sexual Scripting Model for African-American College Women

**NOTE:** Once completed by the researcher, this form is to be complete by the participant and returned to your instructor in order to receive extra credit for your participation. Your participant ID #, date of participation, participation hours and researcher name and signature have been completed for you.

Student's Name \_\_\_\_\_

Student HA ID # \_\_\_\_\_

Instructor's Name \_\_\_\_\_

Participant ID # \_\_\_\_\_

Participation Date(s) \_\_\_\_\_

Participation Hours \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher's Name Jasmine N. Ross, MS

Researcher's \_\_\_\_\_

Signature

## **APPENDIX G**

### **Q-SORT ITEMS USED IN STUDY**

## Q Sorts Items Used in the Present Study

### *The Descriptive Q Set Used in the Present Study to Describe Young African American Women's Sexual Scripts*

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#### **DIVA**

1. She sees herself as someone to be worshipped and adored
2. She has an attitude
3. She surrounds herself with people who worship and adore her
4. She constantly needs attention regardless of the reason for it
5. She competes with other women for attention
6. She spends her own money on self maintenance
7. She is physically attractive
8. She is curvaceous and light skinned with long hair
9. She is a tad immodest, but not skimpy in her clothing
10. She believes she is a well-behaved woman
11. She works to cultivate an image of being attractive but unattainable
12. She is able to take care of herself financially, yet wants a man to give her more
13. *She likes the color red*
14. *She has many friends*
15. *She is valued by her family*

#### **GOLD DIGGER**

1. She trades sex for money
2. She uses her sexuality (i.e. Flirting, physical affection) to get material goods
3. She believes sex is her most valuable asset
4. She has a sense of humor
5. She sees men as stepping stones to provide for her short-term needs
6. She will take all that she can from a man
7. She falsely seduces a man under the true pretense of spending his money
8. She selects men that are able to provide for her financially
9. She looks for men to provide her with money for self-maintenance
10. She does not expect to maintain financial stability through education or employment
11. *She has many friends*
12. She sees her physical appearance is an important\_asset

13. She may be willing to do whatever it takes to get and keep a man that can provide for her

14. *She enjoys attending religious services*

15. *She enjoys reading*

#### **FREAK**

1. She is sexually aggressive and wild
2. She pursues sexual gratification
3. Can easily have sex without any emotional attachment
4. She can get her own needs met without the help of others
5. She may be referred to as a Slut or a ho
6. *She appreciates art*
7. She is viewed as having no sexual inhibitions or hang-ups
8. She participates in high-risk sexual activities
9. She enjoys gaining sexual control of her partner(s)
10. She is often negatively labeled because of their sexual behavior
11. Men do not pursue long-term relationships with this type of woman
12. She derives personal strength from her sexuality
13. She is comfortable talking openly about her sexual practices
14. *She moves around a lot*
15. *She has many friends*

#### **DYKE**

1. She does not let men have any role in their sexual interactions
2. She acts out bitterness toward men by not having sex with them
3. This type of woman maybe have been victimized by men
4. *She enjoys drinking wine*
5. She appears mannish
6. She derives sexual pleasure from rejecting men
7. She may not have not experienced "good" sex with a man
8. *She has many friends*
9. She is happy with her appearance
10. She is not interested in the male penis
11. She is self-determined and in control
12. *She enjoys shopping*
13. Her strength is not drawn from her sexuality

14. She likes sports
15. She can see the beauty in women

#### **GANGSTER BITCH**

1. She embodies physical aggression and emotional strength
2. She values males as partners in their struggle for daily survival
3. She is a survivor who knows how to live
4. She will do whatever it takes to survive
5. She may have come from a broken home
6. She does not feel pain
7. She is willing to support her man under any conditions
8. *She knows how to make her own clothing*
9. Men see her as the perfect friend
10. Her ability to have sex is secondary to her survival
11. *She enjoys traveling*
12. She is willing to help her man become successful through illegal means
13. Her sexuality is a tool to please males
14. She does not expect long-term love
15. *She has many friends*

#### **SISTER SAVIOR**

1. Her source of control is derived from her relationship with God
2. The church plays a role in her understanding of her sexuality
3. She is saving herself for marriage
4. *She avoids eating fast food*
5. She avoids highly sexual language, clothing and behaviors
6. Her life decisions are based on what she has learned in church
7. She projects a demure, obedient attitude image toward men
8. She does not know much about sex
9. The church plays a role in her understanding of her sexuality
10. *She has many friends*
11. She avoids sex because of the moral issues it poses within a religious context
12. She is grounded in the African American church
13. *She likes kids*
14. She prefers to listen to religious music
15. Men see her as a challenge

#### **EARTH MOTHER**

1. Her source of control is derived from her connection to her community
2. Her sexuality is based in spiritual, communal framework
3. She celebrates the diversity of body sizes, hair textures, and skin colors

4. *She enjoys exercise*
5. *She has many friends*
6. She is able to understand the link between the spiritual, emotional, and physical worlds
7. She has a strong sense of self
8. She is able to see through games, sexism, and potentially hurtful outcomes
9. She rejects exploitation based on sex and gender
10. She is willing to exchange sex for money
11. She respects elders in her community
12. She does not worry about material goods
13. She dates men that share her same values
14. She may intimidate others, especially men
15. She is sometimes difficult to deal with

#### **BABY MAMA**

1. Her life is filled with drama
2. She is a mother
3. Her sexuality is dependent on how her child's father views the relationship
4. She may have gotten pregnant to trap her man
5. She has a good job
6. She is a teenager
7. She sees her child(ren) as a source of money
8. She maintains a sexual relationship with her child(ren)'s father
9. Her child(ren) are important to her
10. She is defined by motherhood
11. Her child(ren)'s father (s) is/are more important to her than her child(ren)
12. She is on welfare
13. She needs to be on birth control
14. She has many friends
15. She has support from her family

#### **VIDEO GIRL**

1. Aspires to make it in the music industry
2. She is talented
3. She invests heavily into her appearance
4. She dates men that can advance her career in the industry
5. She competes with other women
6. Men in the industry seek to possess her because she complements their image
7. She excelled in school
8. Her sexuality is a tool to help her gain access into the industry
9. She enjoys going to parties
10. Her image mirrors images projected by the industry
11. She is willing to do whatever it takes to get "put on" in the industry
12. She desires to be seen by others
13. *She has many friends*

14. *She does not know how to cook*

15. *She is a mother*

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*Note.* Items in this table are based on script descriptions provide by Stephens and Phillips (2003) with the exception of “Video Girl” which was added by the author. Distractor Items are italicized

