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by

Ebony O. Butler

August 2012

# EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF SEXUAL STEREOTYPING IN BLACK 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

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## Acknowledgment

Many months have passed since I embarked on my journey to complete this dissertation project and graduate school. There were many days and nights where I did not know if I would be able to push through the many hurdles that came along with this very challenging task. However, there were several people cheering me on and holding me up during times when I was fatigued and wondered if there was a finish line. Therefore, I would like to reserve this space to thank all of those people who have been instrumental in helping me to complete this project and produce a manuscript that I am so proud of.

I want to first thank my husband, David, for his unyielding patience, love, support, and understanding throughout this project. He has been my rock and biggest cheerleader throughout my entire graduate career. With his kind and compassionate spirit, he encouraged and cheered me on to the finish line. His support and sacrifices for my goals have been selfless and to him I am forever grateful. I also want to thank my mother for her sweet and unconditional support. She made me believe that I could do anything and to her I am grateful for her support and allowing me to dream big.

This project is also possible because of the support and encouragement of many family members, in-laws, and friends. My family and friends cheered me on from coast to coast and always made sure to let me know how proud they are of me. Their kind words always seemed right on-time and helped to push me forward through difficult moments. I could not ask for a better support system.

I would like to thank my committee: Dr. M. Nicole Coleman, Dr. Consuelo Arbona, Dr. Catherine Horn, and Dr. Sheara Williams. Thank you for your patience and

flexibility with this project. Your expertise and belief in my project has been instrumental to its completion. I would also like to thank all of the faculty members and staff who made my matriculation through the program and completion of my dissertation possible. This project would not be complete without proper acknowledgment of my cohort members: Alicia Anderson-Jones, Josh Johnson, Tierra Ortiz-Rodriguez, Staci Passe, Margaret Schwartz-Moravec, Jana Tran, Bretton Talbot, and Natalie Winters. Your friendships are priceless and your support and dedication to all of our success are paramount. I couldn't have asked to enter the program with a better group of individuals. The bond that we share was unexpected, yet definitely appreciated. Thank you!

Lastly, but not least, I would like to specially thank Dr. Coleman and her research team. It is here that I received so much of my professional growth as a researcher and student. Thank you Dr. Coleman for your support and guidance and for allowing me to be autonomous when needed. Your confidence in me as a budding professional helped to build my confidence in my own skills and abilities. I appreciate the opportunity to work with you and look forward to our continued work. Thanks for the guidance and support to discover and be me!

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Butler, Ebony O., "Examining the Impact of Sexual Stereotyping in Black Women"  
Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of Houston, August,  
2012.

### Abstract

Among all women in the U.S., African American women are the most likely to experience denigration and sexualization (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1999) due to being devalued as human beings and sexually objectified. The U.S. is plagued with a history of oppression of Black women based on their race, gender, and class. These intersecting forms of oppression have resulted in the devaluation of Black women and the promotion of negative stereotypes regarding their sexuality.

The hip hop culture has been an outlet where the promotion of stereotypes of Black women has been normalized and accepted. Within this medium Black women are depicted as promiscuous, money-hungry, loud-mouthed, and manipulative individuals. Such widespread and culturally-accepted negative sexual stereotypes of Black women can have grave impacts on the way Black women view themselves and negotiate their sexual experiences. Black women with frequent exposure to the negative sexual stereotypes in the hip hop culture may internalize the negative images of themselves and develop cognitive sexual schemas based on those images. A large amount of hip hop videos depict women as having great sexual desire and as sexually uninhibited and these depictions serve as representations for how women should view themselves (Roberts 1996; Stephens and Few, 2007).

Because risky sexual behavior and STIs are disproportionately prevalent among Black women, the current study explored the relations between internalized sexual stereotypes, Black women's self-schemas and their self-reported risky sexual behavior.

The study addressed two important research questions by examining two predictor variables (internalization of hip hop scripts and sexual self-views) and one outcome variable (risky sexual behavior). The internalization of hip hop scripts was assessed using the Hip Hop Explicit Racial-Sexual Stereotypes Scale (HHERSSS; Coleman et al., unpublished) and sexual self-views was assessed using the Sexual Self Schema Scale (SSSS; Andersen & Cyranowski, 1994). The research questions were: (a) Is there a relationship between the internalization of hip hop sexual scripts and Black women's self-views?; and (b) Is there a relationship between the internalization of sexual scripts and self-reported engagement in risky sexual behavior? Based on theory and the existing literature, the following hypotheses were formed: (a) Higher scores on the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales of the HHERSSS will be related to more positive sexual self-schema scores; and (b) higher scores on the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales of the HHERSSS and higher sexual self-schema scores will be related to higher risky sexual behavior scores.

Results from 342 African American women who identified as consumers of the hip hop culture revealed a significant relationship between sexual scripting and sexual self-schema. However, results did not reveal significant relationships between higher hip hop sexual scripting scores and positive sexual self-schemas, as expected. Specifically, a significant relationship between women's endorsement of the Baby Mama script and conservative sexual self-views emerged. These findings are inconsistent with the hypothesis that higher scores on the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales are related to more positive sexual self-schema scores. With regard to women's sexual behavior, analyses yielded a significant relationship between both the internalization of

hip hop sexual scripts and sexual self-schemas and self-reported risky sexual behavior, which support the hypothesis that higher scores on the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales and higher sexual self-schema scores are related to higher risky sexual behavior scores. Furthermore, Freak subscale scores and positive sexual self-schemas were found to significantly predict the variance in self-reported risky sexual behavior.



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## Chapter I

### Introduction

African American women, among all women in the U.S., are the most likely to experience denigration and sexualization (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1999) due to being devalued as human beings and sexually objectified. *Sexual oppression* and *sexual stereotyping* of Black<sup>1</sup> women are commonly investigated constructs across feminist, sociological, and psychological literature; however, there is an absence of a clear, consistent, and formal definition of either construct. Therefore, for each construct several definitions frequently found in the literature have been synthesized to provide coherent understanding for the purpose of this study. Consequently, *sexual oppression* refers to the cruel exercise of power and exploitation by a dominant group of a marginalized group based on gender and/or sexuality for the dominant group's own benefit (Dermer, Smith, & Barto, 2010; hooks, 1981; Neville & Hamer, 2001). The media is one outlet where *sexual oppression* is evident. For example, Woodard and Mastin (2005) assert that by depicting Black women as promiscuous individuals who wear skin tight clothing, TV producers, writers, and the like are "exploiting the sexualized image of Black women for profit" (p. 273). In this example, TV producers, writers, and so forth are the dominant group who use their power and exploitation of Black women, the marginalized group, for financial gain for the dominant group. In the same manner, *sexual stereotyping* refers to commonly held, negative, and often, false beliefs and perceptions about a particular group based on gender and/or sexuality (Hill-Collins, 1986; hooks, 1981; West, 1995). For instance, a common sexual stereotype is that Black women are wild, promiscuous,

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<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this manuscript, African American and Black will be used interchangeably.

and loose (Hill-Collins, 1991; hooks, 1992). Stereotypes impact the way people process and interpret information about a particular group, as well as influence the behavior of the receiver and individual or group for whom the stereotype is aimed (West). Thus, it can be inferred that *sexual stereotyping* influences the way in which information about one's sexuality is processed and interpreted, while also influencing the sexual behavior of the categorized individual or group.

Sexual stereotypes and sexual oppression, in its myriad expressions, can have various impacts on one's functioning and view of themselves. For example, Ward and Friedman (2006) found that teens that were often exposed to TV that depicted women as sexual objects eventually adopted similar beliefs about their own sexuality. However, the relationship between sexual stereotypes and self-views have not been explicitly studied. Therefore, the current study examined the relationship between both sexual stereotyping and sexual oppression and Black women's self-views. The following sections will focus on the sexual stereotypes and oppressions that Black women commonly experience and the impact of those oppressions on her existence.

### **Intersecting Forms of Oppression**

The beginning of oppression for Black women lies within the organization of and inception of U.S. society. Since the beginning of its history, the U.S. has predominately operated from a male perspective; specifically, a White male perspective (Kaufman, 1999; Rowbotham, 1973) where power was delegated to Whites and Blacks were left to exist under their reign. All Blacks were minimized in this White male-dominated society, but Black women were further devalued and looked upon as lesser beings. Historically, practically every aspect of Black women's lives was dictated by others, usually White

men (hooks, 1981). However, the existence and experiences of Black women are much more complex than her relegated inferior status to the White race.

Hill-Collins (1990) posits that the first step in understanding Black women is to understand the intersecting oppressions that plague her existence. The intersectional oppression refers to recognizing that race, gender, and class (i.e., socio-economic) oppression is experienced simultaneously within an individual (West & Fenstermaker, 1996, as cited in Settles, 2006). The understanding and experience of one identity (e.g., gender) may be influenced by the experiences and understanding of another identity (e.g., race) (Settles, Pratt-Hyatt, & Buchanan, 2008).

hooks (1981), a well-known scholar in the field of feminism and female oppression states that, “No other group in America has so had their identity socialized out of existence as have Black women” (p. 7). Although women as a whole have experienced oppression throughout history, Black women have especially been the target of oppression with regards to her race, gender, and class (Hill-Collins, 1990). First, they are oppressed by the dominant culture because they are African American and the dominant view is that African Americans are lesser beings. Secondly, they are oppressed because of their gender and the view by the dominant male culture that they are of lesser ability and worth than he. Thirdly, Black women are oppressed because of their class. Many times because women in this group are often either unable to work or forced into the role of caretaker, she earns substantially less than Whites, and even Black males, thus being labeled and treated as an inferior being. As a result of this web of oppression, Black women are often viewed by dominant populations and cultures as inferior. Consequently, African American women are often met with injustice, exploitation, and multiple forms

of oppression (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; Hughes, 2002; Rowbotham, 1973), which has often resulted in the oppression of her sexuality.

**Sexual oppression and exploitation.** The oppression of Black women's sexuality most often takes the form of sexual exploitation and sexual stereotyping. White men, the dominant group in American society, are largely responsible for promoting stereotyping of Black women's sexuality. Because of their superiority and power, this group often victimizes inferior groups, especially Black women. The victimization towards Black women has often been in the form of sexual oppression, which serves to promote the sexual stereotyping of Black women. Specifically, Black women are depicted as highly sexual and welcoming of all sexual experiences (Hill-Collins, 1991). Black women are also devalued and their sexuality degraded, suppressed, and compromised. Furthermore, historically, Whites often depicted and stereotyped Black women as sexually immoral and unclean (hooks, 1981). Especially during the slavery era, this negative sexual stereotyping allowed Whites to promote the notion that it was impossible to sexually exploit African American women (Hill-Collins), which vindicated White men from the very sexual exploitation inflicted upon Black women. However, because she was devalued and her sexuality compromised, Black women were in fact sexually exploited. Negative sexual stereotyping of Black women has persisted in society beyond its slavery roots. As a result, stereotypical sexual images of this population have served to continuously sexualize and sexually exploit African American women (Jenkins, 2000). Because of the frequent experiences of sexual oppression and sexual stereotyping among this group, this study examined how internalized expressions of sexual stereotypes

impact Black women's self-views with regard to their psychological and sexual functioning.

### **Internalizing Sexual Stereotypes and Oppression**

As a result of long-standing sexual oppression and exploitation, the view that Black women are highly sexual and promiscuous has been widely circulated, accepted, and used to form general ideas about this population (Hill-Collins; hooks, 1992). Currently, the promotion of these negative sexualized views of African American women has been disseminated on a larger scale through such outlets as mass media. In media outlets such as television and music, the sexuality of Black women is stereotyped and depicted in a much more negative light than their White counterparts (Cole, 2007), which has the potential to negatively affect Black women's views, beliefs, and outward expressions of who she is as a sexual being.

For Black women, sexual stereotypes, especially those promoted in the media, aid in the negative developments of their self-image as a Black woman and as a sexual being. Because of the significant impact that this level of sexual stereotyping can have on African American women in general, several researchers have proposed theories for understanding how Black women's sexual identity is influenced by the negative and often sexualized images of Black women in the media. In particular, Stephens and Phillips's (2003) sexual scripting theory, based on Simon and Gagnon's (1987) sexual scripting theory, has received significant attention for its assumption that African American women frequently exposed to negative sexual images of Black women in Hip Hop may use the images to shape their own sexual scripts. However, the theory lacks an actual connection between the scripts and the individual. Specifically, the process by which



information such as sexual stereotypes is internalized to then form sexual scripts is not explicitly explained by the sexual scripting theory. Therefore, the sexual self-schema theory (Andersen & Cyranowski, 1994), which posits that women's sexual self-schemas are internalized past experiences that guide current and future judgments and behaviors, was employed in this study to address the gaps in Stephens and Phillips (2003) sexual scripting theory. For the purpose of this study, the sexual self-schema model helps to provide insight into how Black women internalize sexual stereotyping and sexual oppression and to form ideas and beliefs about their sexual selves.

### **Sexual Stereotyping and Media's Influence**

Media has a pervasive influence on the sexual experiences of women through messages conveyed in television, movies, magazines, and videos (Rouse-Arnett & Dilworth, 2006). Moreover, the media may often reinforce or amplify the negative, and often sexualized, stereotypes of Black women (Hill-Collins, 1993). For example, the hip hop culture has been an outlet in which the sexuality of African American women has been degraded, devalued, and compromised. A large amount of hip hop videos depict women as having great sexual power and sexual desire as shown by the women's clothing and visual images within the video and these depictions serve as representations for how women should view themselves (Roberts 1996; Stephens and Few, 2007). According to Andersen and Cyranowski (1994), women's view of their sexual selves derives from past experiences and manifests as either positive or negative sexual self-schemas, which then serve as "points of origin for making judgments, decisions, inferences, predictions, and behaviors about the current and future sexual self" (Andersen & Cyranowski, p. 1079). In theory, if Black women are frequently exposed to media that

depicts Black women as lesser beings, sexual objects, and lower class individuals, they may internalize these negative depictions and use them in the shaping of their sexual self-schemas which negatively influences how they negotiate, manage, and think about their sexuality.

However, there is a problem with Black women integrating messages within the hip hop culture into the development of their sexual self-schemas. The problem is that much of the discussion about Black women in hip hop is overwhelmingly aimed at the sexuality of Black women and is often negative and oppressive in nature. Specifically, the same negative sexual stereotypes about Black women that have been promoted and publicized by dominant groups are some of the same negative sexual stereotypes that are present in the hip hop culture. Therefore, when Black women look to the hip hop culture as a guide for developing their sexual self-schemas, they may be often met with forces that guide them to develop their schemas in a way that categorizes promiscuous and sexually uninhibited sexuality as normal.

If applying logic from the sexual self-schema theory, the labeling and stereotyping of Black women as promiscuous, gold diggers, freaks, etc. in hip hop has the potential to negatively impact various areas of the women's lives, including their sexual behavior, if they were to internalize such stereotypes. Ward and Wyatt (1994) assert that being exposed to these portrayals might influence the viewers' sexual attitudes and expectations. For instance, adolescent females who internalize televisions' depictions of women as nice may find it inappropriate to be assertive (Zellman & Goodchilds, 1983; Ward & Wyatt, 1994). In the same manner, the internalization of negative sexual stereotypes of Black women in hip hop as promiscuous may lead Black women to

internalize these negative stereotypes and negotiate their sexuality in a way that leads to risky sexual behavior. However, the relationship between media images, internalization of sexual stereotypes, and its relative impact on their attitudes and behavior has not yet been explored empirically. Using sexual self-schema theory, this study proposed that internalizations of negative stereotypes is related to one's views about themselves as sexual beings and predict risky sexual behavior.

### **Sexual Stereotyping and Risky Sexual Behavior**

The sexual oppression and negative sexual stereotyping of Black women are likely to influence their sexual experiences. Wyatt and Riederle (1994) note that women encounter messages in society about acceptable sexual beliefs and behaviors. Thus, the messages one receives from society about how they should behave and think about sexual experiences are influential in one's sexuality development and attitudes. For instance, the media may portray promiscuity and unprotected sex as acceptable among African American women, thus sending the message to other Black women that it is acceptable for them to engage in unprotected sexual experiences with several different people at any given time without any real consequences. As a result, these women are more likely to engage in behaviors that compromise their sexuality and sexual practices, thereby increasing the likelihood to engage in risky sexual behaviors (Wyatt & Riederle). Risky sexual behaviors are those behaviors that put the individual at risk for adverse consequences, including, but not limited to, pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections (STI).

The likelihood of engaging in risky sexual behaviors may be increased by negative self-views, or the internalization of negative sexual stereotypes promoted in

society. With regard to the sexual self-schema theory, Meston, Rellini, and Heiman (2006) assert that self-schemas help individuals filter the ways in which they perceive, organize, and understand information relevant to their sexual selves. More importantly, because sexual self-schemas largely influence one's sexuality development, they may be useful for understanding one's sexual attitudes and behaviors, including those that increase the likelihood of engaging in risky sexual behaviors. Internalizing negative stereotypes may impact one's judgment of sexual experiences in that negative self-views may increase the likelihood of engaging in risky sexual behavior. Individuals with a positive self-view of themselves as sexual beings are less likely to engage in risky sexual behaviors (Abraham & Sheeran, 1994). Along the same logic, it can be inferred that women who internalize negative stereotypes will, in turn, form negative sexual self-schemas which will influence their decision-making in a way that increases the likelihood of engaging in risky sexual behaviors. However, little to no research has examined this relationship.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Black women have so often been devalued due to intersecting forms of oppression which has often led to further oppression with respect to their sexuality. Furthermore, within the hip-hop culture, Black women are stereotyped and sexualized in a negative manner. The internalization of the negative sexual scripts promoted in the hip hop culture can negatively impact various areas of African American women's lives with regard to what they think and believe about themselves and their sexual experiences. However, there has been little to no empirical research that has examined the relationship between hip hop sexual scripting, women's self-views, and their sexual behaviors. As a means to

narrow this gap in the literature, the current study used Andersen and Cyranowski's (1994) model of sexual self-schema to explore Black women's internalization of negative sexual stereotypes in hip hop. Using the model, the current study also examined how these stereotypes manifest themselves in sexual scripts that then help Black women understand their sexuality and negotiate their sexual experiences and behaviors. This study proposed that internalizations of negative stereotypes are related to one's views about themselves as sexual beings and predict risky sexual behavior.

The following chapters provide an in-depth review of the extant literature related to hip-hop exposure, internalizing hip hop scripting, and risky sexual behavior. Next, proposed methods and data analyses are provided.

# SEXUAL STEREOTYPING

## Chapter II

### Literature Review

Because of their sexuality, Black women are one of the most devalued female groups in American society (hooks, 1981). In comparison to their White counterparts, Black women's existence has a history of being connected to her sexuality (Tolman, 1996), which is often portrayed in a negative manner. The anti-Black women stereotypes promoted during slavery have resulted in Black women's existence being plagued by sexual stereotypes and sexual oppression (hooks). Negative sexual stereotypes objectify, isolate, and degrade African American women in comparison to their White counterparts (Hill-Collins, 1990).

For the purpose of this study, sexual oppression is defined as gender and/or sexual exploitation by a dominant group of a marginalized group for the dominant group's own benefit (Dermer, Smith, & Barto, 2010; hooks; Neville & Hamer, 2001). In today's highly publicized society, the media has been an outlet where the sexual oppression of Black women has been overly evident and widely circulated. For example, TV shows, specifically reality shows, are sexually oppressing Black women all in the name of ratings in their portrayals of Black women as loud-mouthed, sexually uninhibited, and scantily-dressed. Likewise, sexual stereotyping is defined as common, negative, and often, false beliefs about a particular group based on gender and/or sexuality (Hill-Collins, 1986; Hill, 1990; hooks; West, 1995). For example, consumers of reality TV shows where Black women are portrayed in the manner that the previous example illustrates may come to believe that all Black women are loud-mouthed and sexually uninhibited, thus sexually stereotyping the entire population of Black women.

Stereotypes not only impact how people encode and interpret information about members of a marginalized group, but stereotypes also influence the behaviors, attitudes, and self-views of the stereotyped individual (West, 1995). For example, a Black woman who has frequently been exposed to the stereotype of Black women as hypersexual and sexually uninhibited might view herself in the same manner and begin to negotiate her sexual experiences based on the beliefs that she is supposed to behave in sexually uninhibited ways. However, this unique relationship between sexual stereotypes and self-views has not been explicitly studied. Therefore, the current study examined the influence that sexual stereotyping and sexual oppression to Black women's self-views.

### **Intersecting Forms of Oppression**

Since the beginning of American history, Black women have faced several systems of oppression. Because American's society has been dominated by the White culture, specifically, the White male, Blacks have often been the target of oppression and injustice. Although Blacks as a whole have experienced a great deal of oppression in American society, Black women have especially been devalued. Black women are a unique group in that they share in all aspects of oppression of the Black population (Lerner, 1973). In particular, Black women often face several forms of oppression at once. Because of this, Hill-Collins (1990) posits that the particular intersecting forms of race, gender, and class oppression make Black women's existence unique. Thus, understanding the intersecting oppression is central to understanding the African-American female experience.

**Sexual oppression and exploitation.** The sexual exploitation of Black women is embedded in America's history and has its roots in slavery. The sexual exploitation of

Black women by White men during this era served the greater goal of demoralizing and dehumanizing Black women (hooks, 1981). Black women were regarded as the originators of sexual sin and were thought to exemplify female evil and sexual lust, thus they were frequently referred to as Jezebel, or sexually uninhibited women (hooks). Additionally, female slaves were frequently forced to be naked in public, which served to constantly remind them that it was impossible for them to be sexually vulnerable (hooks, 1981). This public exhibition of Black women may have been central in objectifying them as animals and creating the notion that Black women's sexuality was similar to that of animals (Hill-Collins, 1990).

Over a hundred years after slavery has ended, the sexual exploitation of Black women has continued as it has been regulated by other oppressive practices (hooks; Lerner, 1973). Black women are still referred to as Jezebels because she is viewed as wild, promiscuous, and sexually immoral (Hill-Collins, 1990; Tolman, 1996). Additionally, both sexual oppression and sexual stereotyping of Black women continues to be largely promoted and accepted throughout society. Consequently, negative sexual stereotypes objectify African American women and isolate and degrade them in comparison to their White counterparts (Hill-Collins, 1991). Furthermore, negative sexual stereotyping allows Whites to promote the idea that it is impossible for Black women to be sexually vulnerable and sexually exploited because of their innate enjoyment of sex and welcoming of sexual advances (Carrway, 1991; Hill-Collins; Painter, 1992). The large scale promotion of negative sexual stereotypes of Black women was systematically put in place by White men and the continuous sexual oppression of



this group has served to victimize Black women and further promote the agenda of devaluing and dehumanizing this group as whole.

The promotion of stereotypical sexual images of Black women helps to sexualize and sexually exploit who they are as sexual beings (Jenkins, 2000). Because African American women are thought to be sexually uninhibited, they have been stigmatized as highly sexual and exploited as such (Hill-Collins, 1990) and this view has been widely disseminated, accepted, and used to form general ideas about this population (hooks, 1992). Particularly, this stereotype has been largely promoted in the media throughout music and television. For instance, some rap music videos belittle women's sexuality and promote negative depictions and treatment of women, particularly young African American women (Peterson et al., 2007). Within this specific type of media, African American women are portrayed as hypersexual, materialistic, and amoral (Peterson et al.). Moreover, because women are viewed as things to be looked at, their bodies are constantly on display to be judged (Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008). To illustrate the emphasis that is placed on degrading women within music, an analysis of 203 hip hop music videos on Black Entertainment Television (BET) revealed that 42% of the videos depicted fondling and 58% of the videos showed women dancing sexually (Ward, Hansbrough, & Walker, 2005). Hip hop is the genre of reference because it is the most popular genre among young Black adults (Stephens & Few, 2007) and the space where sexual scripts for African American women emerge and are maintained (Stephens & Phillips, 2003). These frequent displays of negative sexual images about women, especially Black women, in the very culture to which they are consumers, serve to keep them immobile and powerless and keep her sexuality exploited and compromised.

Because the constant experiences of sexual oppression and sexual stereotyping of this magnitude among Black women, the current study examined how internalized expressions of sexual stereotypes impact Black women's self-views with regard to their psychological and sexual functioning.

### **Internalizing Sexual Stereotypes and Oppression**

While there is no denying the history of White men sexually exploiting Black women, mass media, especially television, has been one way that the promotion of negative images of Black women has continued to sexually exploit this population and become impressed into everyone's minds (hooks, 1981). For example, there are many television shows where the predominant role of Black women is that of sex object and whore (hooks). For Black women, sexual oppression and stereotyping frequently promoted in the media influences how they see themselves with regards to their sexuality. Wyatt & Rierderle (1994) assert that sexual stereotypes will continue to have this effect if they are internalized, and then used to shape one's beliefs about their sexual selves.

When individuals internalize information and use that information to inform other areas of their lives such as their sexuality, they can be said to be operating from their sexual scripts. Sexual scripts are culturally shared norms that influence relationships and sexual behavior (Simon & Gagnon, 1984). In essence, sexual scripts are instrumental cognitive schema that helps individuals organize ideas of appropriate and normal sexual behaviors, beliefs, and experiences. For example, in a culture where sex before marriage is strictly prohibited, women in the culture may adopt the rule/norm and use the information to help them negotiate their sexual experiences. Women in this type of

situation are operating from sexual scripts within the culture, as well as personal, internalized sexual scripts.

Throughout history and American society, Black women have frequently been portrayed in some combination of three scripts: 1) a Mammy - someone who is highly maternal, family oriented, and self-sacrificing, 2) a Sapphire - someone who is threatening and argumentative, and 3) a Jezebel, as stated previously (Hill-Collins, 1990; West, 1995). However, it has been argued that these particular scripts are not representative of the younger adult African American female population and do not take into account their unique culture, which is often intertwined with the hip hop culture. According to Stephens and Phillips (2003; 2005), young people, including young African American women, are more exposed to and influenced by messages within the hip hop culture, compared to the African American culture as a whole. Therefore, Stephens and Phillips (2003) developed specific sexual scripts that they propose are representative of young African American women and their sexual experiences based on Smith and Gagnon's sexual scripting theory.

Stephens and Phillips (2003) propose that within the hip hop culture there are eight sexual images which have been found to be widely accepted frameworks for illustrating beliefs about African American women's sexuality. The sexual images are the Diva, the Gold Digger, the Freak, the Dyke, the Gangster Bitch, the Sister Savior, the Earth Mother, and the Baby Mama. However, for the purpose of the current study, attention was given to the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama scripts in particular. These scripts are of particular attention because they are the most salient depictions of Black women in hip hop media. For example, women within hip hop and the popular

culture are often portrayed as people who are willing to sleep with many different men, out to use men for financial and material gain, and subsequent mothers as a result of their earlier two roles. The Freak is characterized as a woman who is sexually aggressive, loose, and wild and is capable of having sex without emotional attachment. The Gold Digger is characterized as a woman who falsely seduces a man under the true pretense of spending his money. The Baby Mama is characterized as a young woman who has had a child, is not married to the father of her child, yet maintains a close and often sexual relationship with that man without him being invested in the relationship. According to Stephens and Phillips, young African American women who are frequently exposed to these images and images like these, form sexual scripts in the likeliness of the images to which they most closely identify.

Although Stephen's and Phillips (2003) sexual scripting theory makes a connection between the negative social messages that African American women adopt about their sexuality and subsequent identification with the messages, there is still an absence of explanation as to how the sexual messages are internalized and used to form sexual scripts. Because of this lack of connection between the scripts and individuals' cognitive processes, the current study used the sexual self-schema theory (Andersen & Cyranowski, 1994) to address these gaps and understand the process by which sexual experiences and messages are internalized to form sexual scripts. Andersen & Cyranowski (1994) propose that women's sexual self-schemas are the result of internalizing the meanings and messages of past experiences and integrating that information into the psyche. According to these scholars, the information is then used as

a point of reference for judgments, inferences, predictions, and behaviors of one's current and future sexual self.

The current study employed the sexual self-schema theory to address the gaps in Stephens and Phillips (2003) sexual scripting theory by using the theory as a framework in understanding the relationship between internalized expressions of sexual stereotyping and Black women's views about their sexual selves.

### **Sexual Self-Schema Theory**

Sexual self-schemas are cognitive representations about the sexual aspects of one-self (Andersen & Cyranowski, 1994). The sexual self-schema theory posits that women's schematic representations of their sexual selves have been formed from observing their own sexual behavior, sexual emotions, and discovering their sexual attitudes and beliefs (Andersen & Cyranowski). In many ways Andersen & Cyranowski's (1994) sexual self-schema theory is similar to Stephens and Phillips (2003) sexual scripting theory. Both theories take into account cultural and interpersonal factors that influence how women view themselves as sexual beings. However, the sexual scripting theory fails to give adequate attention to an important component; cognition. Andersen & Cyranowski note that because one's sexuality can be a private matter, and many times may go no further than the cognitive level, giving attention to one's cognition as it relates to one's sexuality may be particularly informative. Furthermore, the theorists posit that including a cognitive component illustrates how past sexual experiences are internalized and manifested in attitudes, thoughts, and beliefs, which are all maintained at the cognitive level. According to the sexual self-schema model, an individual (a) has a sexual experience, voluntary or involuntary; (b) stores the experience at the cognitive level (i.e.,

attitudes, beliefs, ideas); (c) internalizes the experience to form sexual self-schemas; and (d) uses sexual self-schemas to make decisions about current and future sexual experiences (refer to Figure 1 in Appendix A for illustration).

Women's sexual self-schemas can be positive or negative, depending on past sexual messages and experiences. It is important that the reader note that positive and negative sexual self-schemas are conceptualized within this theory in a manner that is contrary to the traditional *positive = good/acceptable* and *negative = bad/unacceptable* conceptualizations. Within this theory, women with positive sexual self-schemas can be conceptualized as more liberal and sexually uninhibited, while women with negative sexual self-schemas can be conceptualized as more conservative and sexually inhibited. Thus, women with positive, versus negative sexual self-schemas, have a number of differences with respect to their sexuality such as the number of previous sexual activities, number of partners across one's lifetime, and age of first sexual intercourse (Andersen & Cyranowski, 1994). According to the theorists, women with positive sexual self-schemas might be expected to enter into relationships more willingly and have more positive emotions about sexual relationships. Furthermore, women with positive schemas view themselves as more emotionally passionate and are open to romantic and sexual relationships. In a study aimed at operationalizing sexual self-schemas, Andersen & Cyranowski (1994) found that women with positive sexual self-schemas are more willing to engage in uncommitted sexual experiences. In the same study, women also reported having more sexual partners and more short-term sexual encounters such as one-night stands. On the other hand, women with negative sexual self-schemas might have less sexual experience and have more negative affects about intimate relationships and be

more uncomfortable when they occur. According to Andersen & Cyranowski, women with negative sexual self-schemas tend to describe themselves as emotionally cold and behaviorally inhibited in their sexual relationships. They may also describe themselves as self-conscious and embarrassed across various sexual contexts. Negative schema women are likely to be more conservative and have negative attitudes and values about sexual experiences. Andersen and Cyranowski assert that for a woman with clear sexual self-schemas, be they positive or negative, her self-schemas should be a quick reference of her sexual history and origin for judgments, decisions, and predictions about her current and future sexual self.

Andersen & Cyranowski's sexual self-schema model will be employed as the undergirding framework for examining internalization of sexual stereotypes in Black women. By employing the sexual self-schema theory, the current study sought to fill gaps in Stephens & Phillips (2003) theory by examining the extent to which Black women internalize negative sexual stereotypes to form sexual self-schemas, which are representative of their sexual thoughts, attitudes, and beliefs.

**Applying the sexual self-schema theory.** The sexual self-schema theory is helpful for understanding the relationship between hip hop sexual scripting, self-views, and risky sexual behavior. According to the sexual self-schema theory, women form sexual schemas based on their past sexual experiences and use these schemas to guide their current and future behaviors and attitudes (Andersen & Cyranowski, 1994). For young women, specifically those who are immersed in the hip hop culture and model their sexual behaviors after the sexual images depicted within the medium, the images serve as guides for how they should behave as sexual beings. Moreover, according to the

sexual self-schema theory, the sexual images, behaviors, and messages within hip hop are a part of the young women's past sexual experiences which helps them negotiate their sexual experiences and make sense of who they are as sexual beings.

Andersen & Cyranowski (1994) note that the sexual self-schema theory is likely to have significant implications for understanding women's self-view. The scholars posit that a woman's view of her sexual self is contingent upon her capacity to maintain sexual relationships. Furthermore, a woman's capacity to sustain relationships may provide a basis for her self-esteem (Josephs, Markus, & Tafarodi, 1992). In the case of a woman with positive sexual self-schema, her self-esteem may be regulated by her ability to be sexually uninhibited and available in relationships. On the other hand, a woman with negative sexual self-schemas who has received past messages emphasizing conservatism in sexual relationships may regulate her self-esteem by her ability to be sexually inhibited and conventional in intimate relationships.

With regards to engaging in risky sexual behavior, the sexual self-schema theory provides a foundation for understanding how women's sexual self-schema and sexual self-view may be related to women's decisions to engage in risky sexual behavior. As mentioned earlier, Andersen & Cyranowski (1994) found that women with positive sexual self-schemas, compared to women with negative sexual self-schemas, had more liberal sexual attitudes, were more willing to engage in uncommitted sexual experiences, and reported having more sexual partners and more short-term sexual encounters such as one-night stands, which may be characteristic of risky sexual behaviors. Furthermore, those women with positive sexual self-schemas may adopt unconventional behaviors and view themselves as sexually uninhibited, thus increasing their likelihood of contracting



STIs. However, the relationship between sexual scripting, self-views, and risky sexual behavior has not been explicitly studied. Moreover, the exclusive relationship between sexual self-schemas and risky sexual behavior is absent from the literature. Therefore, the current study examined the relationship between the internalization of sexual scripts and women's self-views and their predictability of risky sexual behavior.

Several studies have examined the relationship of sexual self-schemas and various aspects of sexuality in a range of women populations, including a broader, more heterogeneous sample to a narrow, more exclusive sample such as women who were cancer survivors (Andersen & Cyranowski, 1994, 1995; Andersen, Cyranowski, & Espindle, 1999; Andersen, Woods, & Copeland, 1997; Andersen, Woods, & Cyranowski, 1994; Cyranowski & Andersen, 1998, 2000). However, there is scant empirical evidence that the theory has been explicitly applied to explore sexuality and sexual behaviors among marginalized groups such as ethnic minority women. Furthermore, exploring sexual self-schemas exclusively in Black women is an area that has received little to no attention. Although previously mentioned studies offer support for the impact that women's sexual self-schemas can have on various areas of women's lives, none of the studies give specific attention to sexual self-schemas in Black women and the impact that these cognitive representations have on Black women's sexual self-views and sexual behaviors. Therefore, the current study examined the relations between Black women's internalization of negative sexual stereotypes, sexual self-views, and sexual behaviors.

### **Sexual Stereotyping and Media's Influence**

Media's pervasive influence on one's sexual experiences is undeniable. Regardless of the gender of the consumer, media has the potential to influence one's

sexual attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Among male and female college students, media was ranked among their top choices for informing sexual aspects of their lives (Andre, Frevert, & Schuchmann, 1989). Furthermore, television has assumed a prominent role in American youth's sexual education (Strasburger, 1995). Despite television's potential to educate consumers about sex and sexual relationships, it can be concluded that the messages conveyed about sexuality are distorted, stereotypical, and potentially harmful (Ward, 2002).

Because media often portrays stereotypical sexual images of particular groups, the impact that it has on those categorized groups can be significant. More specific to the scope of this study is media's significant influence on the sexuality of African Americans as consuming cultural and interpersonal messages regarding sexual images has a direct impact on their sexual self-identity, behaviors, and experiences (Stephens & Few, 2007). One reason why the impact is so great among African Americans may be due to the dominant culture and media perpetuating stereotypical images in ways that promote the belief that these images are accurate representations of this particular group (Edwards, 1993).

Exposure to media's sexual stereotypes does appear to affect consumers' acceptance of those stereotypes, especially among women (Ward, 2002). Stankiewicz and Rosselli (2008) found that 52% of advertisements in the media portrayed women as sex objects. Across several other studies, individuals who were constantly exposed to media where there was repeated references to women as sexual objects would eventually come to adopt similar beliefs about their own sexuality and more widespread acceptance of women as sexual objects (Ward, 2002; Ward & Friedman, 2006). More important are the

sexual stereotypes about Black women in the media and the impact that the stereotypes have on Black female consumers. Hill-Collins (1990) believes that all Black women are impacted in some way by the widespread controlling image that African American women are sexually promiscuous. This type of constant exposure to one's sexuality being objectified may begin to foster the belief in the Black female consumer that these images are true.

The type of media where stereotypical sexual images of Black women are portrayed may be particularly associated with the impact that the stereotypes have on them. Specifically, research has placed significant emphasis on the portrayal of Black women in music videos as a point of reference. Because of their popularity and influence in the African American community, hip hop music and videos have been ridiculed for their over representation of Black women as deviant and hypersexual with undue emphasis on their body parts (Stephens & Few, 2007; Stephens and Phillips, 2003). In hip hop videos, the bodies of Black women are viewed as pieces (e.g., big butt), not as a whole person (Stephens & Few, 2007). The focus on Black women's body parts, rather than the whole, disregards Black women's identity as people (Stephens & Few). It has been speculated that this type of objectification and representation of Black women in hip hop music videos shape how young Black women view themselves (Stephens and Phillips, 2003). For example, rap music's normalization of sexual stereotypes about Black women may result in African American women regarding the images as true depictions of who they are as sexual beings, therefore reinforcing them to model the depicted behaviors in their own lives (Hill-Collins, 2000; Peterson, Wingood, DiClemente, Harrington, & Davies, 2007).

Because of the hip hop culture's evidenced influence in the lives of African Americans, especially African American women, the current study examined the impact that constant exposure to stereotypical sexual images in hip hop have on Black women using the sexual self-schema model. According to this model, self-schemas help individuals filter the ways in which they perceive, organize, and understand information relevant to their sexual selves (Meston et al., 2006). In essence, Black women who are frequent consumers of hip hop music and media will internalize the information presented in this medium to form sexual self-schemas that help them guide their current and future sexual behaviors. However, the lessons conveyed about sexuality through TV and music videos are not always ideal (Ward & Friedman, 2006) as these messages are usually unrealistic, stereotypical, and potentially unhealthy (Ward, 2003). However, the relationship between media images, internalization of sexual stereotypes, and its relative impact on their sexual attitudes and behaviors has not been empirically investigated.

### **Sexual Stereotyping and Risky Sexual Behavior**

Due to cultural factors, African American women are uniquely vulnerable to risky sexual behaviors (Hill-Collins, 1990). Specifically, Black women's experiences with sexual stereotyping and sexual oppression can impact the likelihood for engaging in risky sexual behaviors. For example, because media often portrays sex as occurring in the absence of committed relationships, with little reference to contraception and STIs (Lowry & Shidler, 1993), Black women may believe that this type of behavior is an acceptable model for their own sexual behavior. Subsequently, these women may manage their sexuality in a way that increases the likelihood of them engaging in risky sexual behaviors (Wyatt & Riederle, 1994). Furthermore, internalizing negative sexual

stereotypes and possessing negative sexual self-views may increase the likelihood of engaging in risky sexual behavior. For instance, increased acceptance of stereotypical attitudes about gender and sexual roles has been associated with less effective contraceptive use (Fox, 1997; MacCorquodale, 1984). Likewise, women who accept the stereotypes that women are supposed to be passive and unassertive in sexual relationships are less likely to take responsibility for contraception use, thus placing themselves at an increased risk for pregnancy and STIs (Ward & Wyatt, 1994; Zellman & Goodchilds, 1983).

Gender norms and appropriate sexual behaviors are largely promoted throughout society because of media's contribution in the dissemination of this type of information (Ward et al., 2005). Additionally, different forums within the mass media, such as music videos, that promote messages about what constitutes normal and acceptable sexual behavior can potentially affect consumers' engagement in risky sexual behavior. Researchers have found that a heavy consumption of music videos was associated with a greater number of sexual partners and unhealthy body image (Strouse & Buerkel-Rothfuss, 1987; Tiggemann & Pickering, 1996; Ward, 2003). Because of hip hop's prominence and popularity, in its many forms, among young African Americans, the proposed study is concerned with the sexual messages conveyed about Black women in music, videos, and magazines as these can have negative implications for Black women's sexuality. For instance, the frequent images of young, attractive, African American women being promiscuous in rap videos may serve as models for engaging in sexual behavior with multiple partners, which is related to an increased risk of being exposed to STIs, including HIV (Peterson et al., 2007). To illustrate this reality, adolescents who

perceived more portrayals of sexual stereotypes in rap music videos were more likely to have multiple sex partners and have negative body image (Peterson et al., 2007).

Additionally, Wingood et al. (2003) found that young women reporting greater exposure to rap videos were more likely than those not reporting exposure to have multiple sex partners and test positive for a STI. Because promiscuity is often related to STIs, internalizing the hip hop culture's negative stereotypical sexual messages to develop one's sexual self-views is problematic for Black women, as STIs are already disproportionately high within this population. Using the sexual self-schema theory, this study proposed that internalizations of negative stereotypes are related to one's views about themselves as sexual beings and predict risky sexual behavior.

### **Purpose of the Study**

Black women are at a particular disadvantage within American society based on the several forms of oppression that they encounter at any given time. As a result of being stigmatized because of their race, class, and gender, Black women are sexually exploited and constrained by the wide promotion of sexual stereotypes and sexual oppression. Many of the sexual stereotypes and much of the sexual oppression that Black women experience are perpetuated by the media, specifically within hip hop music, videos, magazines, and television shows. For Black women, being exposed to negative sexual images in hip hop may increase their acceptance and normalization the images. Specifically, if Black women internalize the sexual stereotypes and adopt the sexual scripts that Black women are promiscuous and wild, they may begin to view themselves in the same manner, believe these things about themselves, and behave accordingly.

However, there has been little to no empirical research that has examined the relationship between hip hop sexual scripting, women's self-views, and their sexual behaviors.

Although Stephens and Phillips (2003) have given extensive attention to hip hop scripting among young Black women, their sexual scripting theory lacks a connection between the scripts and the individual with regard to how the scripts are internalized. Therefore, the current study employed the sexual self-schema theory to address these gaps. Particularly, the model served as the theoretical basis for examining Black women's internalization of negative sexual stereotypes in hip hop and the manifestation of these stereotypes in their sexual self-schemas, which impact how they view themselves, understand their sexuality, and negotiate their sexual experiences and behaviors.

Toward this aim, the current study sought to address two important research questions by examining two predictor variables (internalization of hip hop scripts and sexual self-views) and one outcome variable (risky sexual behavior):

1. Is there a relationship between an internalization of hip hop sexual scripts and Black women's self-views?
2. Is there a relationship between the internalization of hip hop sexual scripts and self-reported risky sexual behavior?

Based on theory and the existing literature, the following hypotheses were formed:

1. Higher scores on the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales will be related to more positive sexual self-schema scores.
2. Higher scores on the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales and more positive sexual self-schema scores will be related to higher risky sexual behavior scores.

The following chapter will discuss the participant demographics, measurements, and statistical analyses. Next, methods and data analyses are presented.



## Chapter III

### Methods

#### Research Design

For this quantitative correlational and exploratory study, data was collected via an online survey. All participants completed the survey which consisted of prescreening questions, the Demographic Questionnaire, the Hip Hop Explicit Racial-Sexual Stereotypes Scale (HHERSSS; Coleman et al., unpublished), the Sexual Self-Schema Scale (SSSS; Andersen & Cyranowski, 1994) and Sexual Risk Survey (SRS; Turchick & Garske, 2009). All of the measures were administered as one survey via the online portal, Survey Gizmo. The study's methodology consisted of qualifying only those participants who self-identified as African American female consumers of the hip hop culture for participation. For the purpose of this study, participants who did not meet the criteria were not allowed to complete the survey.

#### Measures

**Pre-screening Questionnaire.** The pre-screening questionnaire consisted of items aimed at gathering information about whether participants met the inclusion criteria to participate in the study. Participants were asked to indicate if they are female, self-identify as African American and are consumers of the hip hop culture. The questionnaire consisted of the following items: "Please indicate your gender.", "Do you self-identify as African American?", "Do you listen to Hip Hop, Rap, or R & B music regularly?", and "Whether on television or the internet, do you watch Hip Hop, Rap, or R&B music videos regularly?"

**Sexual Self-Schema Scale.** The SSSS consisted of 50 trait adjectives that were used to assess one's sexual cognitions, or sexual self-views. Twenty-six of the 50 adjectives were scored. In an effort to make the scale unobtrusive, the remaining 24 adjectives served as filler items. The scale consisted of two positive dimensions: romantic/passionate (Factor 1) and open/direct (Factor 2) and one negative dimension (Factor 3): embarrassment/conservatism. Ten adjectives comprised the romantic/passionate factor: romantic, passionate, unromantic, warm, loving, feelings, sympathetic, arousable, and revealing. Nine adjectives comprised the open/direct factor: direct, straightforward, frank, outspoken, broad-minded, experienced, casual, open-minded, and uninhibited. Finally, seven adjectives contributed to the embarrassment/conservatism factor: cautious, timid, self-conscious, prudent, embarrassed, conservative, and inexperienced. Participants rated themselves on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0, *Not at all descriptive of me* to 6, *very much descriptive of me*. Endorsements of positive adjectives were compared to endorsements of negative adjectives.

A total score for each dimension was calculated by summing the items with scores ranging from 0-48 on Factor 1 (romantic/passionate), 0-54 on Factor 2 (open/direct), and 0-42 on Factor 3 (embarrassment/conservatism). The total scale and subscales were shown to have reliability similar to the original validation study (Andersen & Cyranowski, 1994). The total scale was found to have good psychometric properties as evidenced by an internal consistency of  $\alpha = .71$ . Cronbach's alphas for Factor 1, Factor 2, and Factor 3 were .74, .71, .55, respectively.

**Hip Hop Explicit Racial-Sexual Stereotypes Scale.** The HHERSSS is a 118-item multidimensional instrument that was developed based on the eight theoretical scripts proposed by Stephens and Phillips (2003) and a ninth script, the Video Girl (Ross & Coleman, 2011). The HHERSSS assessed the extent to which individuals identified with each of the nine different scripts in hip hop music and media. The scripts/subscales were Freak, Gold Digger, Baby Mama, Diva, Video Girl, Dyke, Gangster Bitch, Sister, Savior, and Earth Mother.

The instrument used a 5-point Likert-type scale where participants indicated the extent to which the statements are like them. Responses ranged from 1, *Not at all like me* to 5, *Very much like me*. Higher ratings were indicative of a greater self-identification with and internalization of the sexual scripts. Only the subscales relevant to the study were used. Specifically, the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales were used. The Freak script described a woman who is sexually aggressive, loose, and wild and is capable of having sex without emotional attachment. An exemplar item from that subscale was, "She has a high sex drive." The Gold Digger script described a woman who falsely seduces a man under the true pretense of spending his money. An exemplar item from that subscale was, "She manipulates men to benefit from their money." The Baby Mama script described a young woman who has had a child, is not married to the father of her child, and yet maintains a close and often sexual relationship with that man without him being invested in the relationship. An exemplar item from that subscale was, "The father of her child will always come first in her life." Due to the scope of this study, the reliability and validity of the entire scale was not explored. Only the reliability and validity of the subscales of interest (i.e., Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama) were

examined. Cronbach's alphas for the Freak subscale, the Gold Digger subscale, and the Baby Mama subscale were .80, .84, and .75, respectively.

To test the convergent and discriminant validity of the subscales, bivariate correlations were conducted between the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales and the positive and negative dimensions of the Sexual Self-Schema Scale. Analyses did not show convergent validity for either of the HHERSSS subscales when compared to the positive dimensions of the SSSS. However, analyses revealed a significant negative correlation between the Baby Mama subscale and Factor 1 of the SSSS ( $r = -.12, p < .05$ ), which indicates discriminant validity. As the scores on the Baby Mama subscale increased, scores on Factor 1 of the SSSS decreased indicating that a greater internalization of the Baby Mama script was related to less identification with the romantic/passionate dimension of the SSSS. Analyses also revealed a significant positive correlation between the Baby Mama subscale and Factor 3 of the SSSS ( $r = .15, p < .01$ ), which also indicates discriminant validity. As the scores on the Baby Mama subscale increased, scores on the negative dimension of the SSSS increased indicating that a greater internalization of the Baby Mama script was related to greater identification with the embarrassment/conservative dimension of the SSSS. Detailed data are found in Table 1.

Table 1

*Convergent and Divergent Validity of the HHERSS scale*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Freak						
2. Gold Digger	.70**					
3. Baby Mama	.66**	.66**				
4. SSSS Factor 1	-.05	-.09	-.12*			
5. SSSS Factor 2	.06	.03	-.04	.48**		
6. SSSS Factor 3	-.03	.10	.15**	-.07	-.06	

*Note.* Sexual Self-Schema scale (SSSS) Positive dimension: Factor 1 - romantic/passionate, Factor 2 – open/direct; Factor 3 = Negative Dimension

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Sexual Risk Survey.** The Sexual Risk Survey is a 23-item scale that assessed the frequency of sexual risk behaviors in the past six months. The scale was comprised of five subscales, Sexual Risk Taking with Uncommitted Partners, Risky Sex Acts, Impulsive Sexual Behaviors, Intent to Engage in Risky Sexual Behaviors, and Risky Anal Sex Acts, that assessed a broad range of sexual behaviors. The measure was divided into two sections, both measuring frequency, based on the types of responses required for each section. The first section was comprised of items 1-7 and includes items such as “How many times have you left a social event with someone you just met?” Participants were asked to respond to such items by recording the number that is true for them over the past six months. Participants were instructed to record “0” if the question does not apply to them. For the next section, which was comprised of items 8-23, participants were asked to follow the same directions, but record “0” if they have never had sex. An example of an item in this section was “How many times have you or your partner used alcohol or drugs before or during sex?”

Computing scores based solely on participants responses can be problematic for data analysis as responses do not have a set cut off, which means that participants can respond with numbers as high as 10,000 if they so desire. However, responding in such a way skews the data. Therefore, items were scored 0-4, based on frequencies of participants’ responses, with a possible score of 0-92. For example, responses to item 9 were given the following values: 0 = 0 times, 1 = 1-5 times, 2 = 6-10 times, 3 = 11-15 times, and 4 = 16+ times. Responses to the items were computed into a total score with higher scores indicating engaging in a greater sexual risk in the past six months.

All subscales were shown to have reliability similar to the original validation study (Turchick & Garske, 2009). Cronbach's alphas for the Sexual Risk Taking with Uncommitted Partners, Risky Sex Acts, Impulsive Sexual Behaviors, and Intent to Engage in Risky Sexual Behaviors subscales were .87, .82, .70, and .84, respectively. The fifth scale, Risky Anal Sex Acts, was shown to have weak internal consistency as evidenced by a Cronbach's alpha of .60 and was interpreted with caution. Turchik and Garske note that although the subscale has weak internal consistency, it has been retained within the overall scale because of the potential use with more diverse populations and because the subscale has high-risk sexual practices that may be used as screening items. The total scale was shown to have good internal consistency ( $\alpha = .88$ ).

**Demographic Questionnaire.** The demographic questionnaire consisted of items aimed at gathering information about the participants' age, class standing, race, gender, sexual orientation, relationship status, music and music video consumption, consumption of other types of media (e.g., magazines, websites, etc), and level of hip hop consumption (i.e., percentage of time spent watching hip hop related television, percentage of time spent listening to hip hop music, and percentage of time browsing hip hop related sites). Participants' level of hip hop consumption was assessed using three items (i.e., items 8, 9, and 10). Scores for each item ranged from 0-5, where 0 = 0%, 1 = 1-20%, 2 = 21-40%, 3 = 41-60%, 4 = 61-80%, 5 = 81-100%. Responses from each item were summed into one composite variable. Total scores for this composite variable ranged from 0-15, where 0 = 0%, 3 = 1-20%, 6 = 21-40%, 9 = 41-60%, 12 = 61-80%, 15 = 81-100%.

**Procedure**

Students were recruited for the study via several methods. Participants across three historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) were recruited via email announcements provided to professors in the respective liberal arts departments. In the email announcements students were provided the online link to the survey and asked to complete the survey if they were interested. Participants at a fourth university were recruited online through SONA and the survey was administered through the online portal, Survey Gizmo. The online survey took approximately 30-40 minutes to complete. Participants were not required to report to a designated location to complete the survey.

**Statistical Analysis**

Data from the online survey was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) 19. Descriptive statistics were computed for all of demographics and all additional study variables. Bivariate correlations were also computed to examine associations between hip hop scripting (Freak, Gold Digger, Baby Mama), sexual self-schemas (positive and negative), and risky sexual behavior. Multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) were used to explore the impact of relationship status on sexual scripting, sexual self-schema, and risky sexual behavior. To examine the unique contributions of the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama scripts and sexual self-schemas to risky sexual behavior, hierarchical regression analyses were also conducted. HHERSSS scores and SSSS scores were the predictor variables. The overall score on the SRS indicating risky sexual behaviors was the outcome variable.



## Chapter IV

### Results

#### Participant Demographics

Participants were 342 self-identified African American women recruited across four southern urban universities. Participants' mean age was 22.49 ( $SD = 5.4$ ), with a range of 18-60. With regard to class standing, 33.9% ( $n = 116$ ) of the participants were seniors, 33.6% ( $n = 115$ ) were juniors, 18.7% ( $n = 64$ ) were sophomores, and 12.6% ( $n = 43$ ) were freshmen. A large portion of the participants, 92.7% ( $n = 317$ ), identified as heterosexual, 2.0% ( $n = 7$ ) identified as gay/lesbian, and 3.2% ( $n = 11$ ) identified as bisexual. A majority of the participants reported that they have never been married (52%;  $n = 178$ ), while 39.5% ( $n = 135$ ) reported that they were dating, 5.8% ( $n = 20$ ) reported that they were in a committed relationship, 1.2% ( $n = 4$ ) reported that they were separated, and .3% ( $n = 1$ ) reported that they were divorced. All participants were self-identified consumers of the hip hop culture as required for participation in the current study. A majority of the participants, 55.8% ( $n = 191$ ), indicated that they read magazines such as *Ebony*, *Essence*, and *Vibe*, which are African American-centered magazines. On average, participants reported low levels of hip hop consumption ( $M = 6.35$ ,  $SD = 3.22$ ). Detailed demographics are found in Table 2.

Table 2

*Sample Demographics (N = 342)*


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Demographic Variable	
Mean age (SD)	22.49 (5.4)
Range	18-60
Class Standing	
% Freshmen	12.6
% Sophomores	18.7
% Juniors	33.6
% Seniors	33.9
% Graduate Students	.3
Relationship Status	
% Never married	52.0
% Dating	39.5
% In a committed relationship	5.8
% Separated	1.2
% Divorced	.3
Sexual Orientation	
% Heterosexual	92.7
% Gay/Lesbian	2.0
% Bisexual	3.2
% No answer	2.0
Magazines (e.g., <i>Ebony</i> , <i>Essence</i> , & <i>Vibe</i> )	
% No	43.0
% Yes	55.8
Level of Hip Hop Consumption	
Mean (SD)	6.35 (3.22)

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### **Preliminary Analyses**

**Means and standard deviations.** Descriptive statistics of the predictor and outcome variables are provided in Table 3. Participants' scores on the Freak subscale ranged from 15-66 out of a possible range of 15-75. Participants' scores on the Gold Digger subscale ranged from 17-75 out of a possible range of 17-85. Participants' scores on the Baby Mama subscale ranged from 12-50 out of a possible range of 12-60. The mean score for the Freak subscale was 28.32 ( $SD = 8.71$ ), 31.94 ( $SD = 9.24$ ) for the Gold Digger subscale, and 21.01( $SD = 6.40$ ) for the Baby Mama subscale. Although all of the mean scores fell in the low range, participants, on average, scored higher on the Gold Digger subscale. This indicates that, on average, participants endorsed more internalization of items relative to the Gold Digger script than either the Freak or Baby Mama scripts.

With regard to sexual self-schema as assessed by the SSSS, participants' scores on the romantic/passionate dimension ranged from 7-48 out of a possible range of 0-48. Participants' scores on the open/direct dimension ranged from 9-48 out of a possible range of 0-54. Participants' scores on the embarrassment/conservative dimension ranged from 2-36 out of a possible range of 0-42. The mean score for Factor 1 of the positive dimension was 33.56 ( $SD = 6.73$ ), 30.86 ( $SD = 6.94$ ) for Factor 2, and 19.49 ( $SD = 5.75$ ) for the negative dimension. Mean scores fell in the high range for romantic/passionate and open/direct dimensions and in the moderate range for the embarrassment/conservative dimension, Participants, on average, tended to score higher on the positive dimension. Moreover, participants endorsed more items relative to the romantic/passionate dimension than either the open/direct or negative dimensions.

Participants' scores for the total SRS ranged from 0-72 with a mean score of 12.02 ( $SD = 10.47$ ), which suggests that, on average, participants denied frequently engaging in risky sexual behavior in the past six months. Descriptive statistics were computed for each subscale of the SRS (i.e., Sexual Risk Taking with Uncommitted Partners, Risky Sex Acts, Impulsive Sexual Behaviors, Intent to Engage in Risky Sexual Behaviors, and Risky Anal Sex Acts) and data are listed in Table 3.

Table 3

*Descriptive Statistics of Predictor and Outcome Variables*

Variable	Mean	Median	SD	Range
<b>HHERSS scale</b>				
Freak	28.32	27	8.71	13-66
Gold	31.94	29	9.24	0-75
Digger				
Baby	21.01	19	6.40	12-50
Mama				
<b>SSS scale</b>				
Positive	64.41	64	11.74	30-93
Negative	19.49	20	5.75	2-36
Total Score	44.92	44	13.45	3-82
<b>SRS scale</b>				
Factor 1	3.80	2	4.34	0-26
Factor 2	5.27	4	5.24	0-20
Factor 3	1.92	1	2.10	0-14
Factor 4	.30	.0	.88	0-8
Factor 5	.70	.0	1.49	0-12
Total Score	12.02	10.50	10.47	0-72

*Note.* Sexual Self-Schema scale (SSSS) Positive dimension: Factor 1 - romantic/passionate, Factor 2 – open/direct; Factor 3 = Negative Dimension. Sexual Risky Survey (SRS) Factor 1 = Sexual Risk Taking with Uncommitted Partners; Factor 2 = Risky Sex Acts; Factor 3 = Impulsive Sexual Behaviors; Factor 4 = Intent to Engage in Risky Sexual Behaviors; Factor 5 = Risky Anal Sex Acts.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Correlations.** Bivariate correlation analyses were conducted to explore the relationships between continuous demographic variables (i.e., age and level of hip hop consumption) and participants' scores on scales assessing sexual scripts, sexual self-schemas, and risky sexual behavior.

***Demographics and sexual scripting.*** Analyses revealed significant negative relationships between participants' age and total scores on the Freak ( $r = -.11, p < .05$ ), Gold Digger ( $r = -.13, p < .05$ ), and Baby Mama ( $r = -.15, p < .05$ ) subscales. The negative relationships between the variables indicate that as participants' increase in age, their identification with each of the scripts decreases. Analyses did not reveal significant relationships between the sexual scripts and participants' reported level of hip hop consumption. Detailed data are provided in Table 4.

***Demographics and sexual self-schemas.*** There were no significant relationships between participants' age and total scores on either dimension of the SSSS. Furthermore, analyses did not reveal significant relationships between participants' reported level of hip hop consumption and their sexual self-schemas. Detailed statistics are provided in Table 4.

***Demographics and risky sexual behavior.*** In exploring participants' age and level of hip hop consumption as it relates to total SRS scores and its individual subscales, analyses revealed a significant relationship between participants' age and Risky Sex Acts ( $r = .17, p < .01$ ). No significant correlations were found between reported level of hip hop consumption and reported risky sexual behavior. Detailed statistics are found in Table 4.

Table 4

*Correlations of Demographics and Test Variables*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Age														
2. Hip Hop Consumption	.04													
3. Freak	-.11*	.08												
4. Gold Digger	-.13*	.05	.70**											
5. Baby Mama	-.15*	.06	.66**	.66**										
6. SSSS Factor 1	.08	-.05	-.05	-.09	-.18*									
7. SSSS Factor 2	.08	-.06	-.06	.03	-.04	.48**								
8. SSSS Factor 3	-.07	-.10	-.03	.10	.15**	-.07	-.06							
9. SRS Factor 1	.00	.00	.37**	.17	.17**	.04	-.01	-.11*						
10. SRS Factor 2	.17**	.03	.11**	.05	.06	.21**	.11	-.15**	.53**					
11. SRS Factor 3	-.01	.03	.35**	.32**	.26**	.02	-.03	.02	.55**	.27*				
12. SRS Factor 4	-.09	.00	.34**	.31**	.31**	-.07	-.10	.10	.27**	.02	.45**			
13. SRS Factor 5	-.08	-.00	.30**	.28**	.32*	.10	.01	-.03	.30**	.36**	.34**	.26**		
14. SRS Factor 6	-.09	.02	.35**	.22**	.23*	.13*	.04	-.11*	.85**	.82**	.65**	.34**	.54**	

*Note.* Sexual Self-Schema scale (SSSS) Positive dimension: Factor 1 - romantic/passionate, Factor 2 – open/direct; Factor 3 = Negative Dimension. Sexual Risky Survey (SRS) Factor 1 = Sexual Risk Taking with Uncommitted Partners; Factor 2 = Risky Sex Acts; Factor 3 = Impulsive Sexual Behaviors; Factor 4 = Intent to Engage in Risky Sexual Behaviors; Factor 5 = Risky Anal Sex Acts

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA).** One-way MANOVAs were conducted to compare the effect of participants' relationship status on scores for the HHERSSS, SSSS, and SRS. For the purpose of this analysis, relationship status was coded into three groups: no relationship, dating, and committed relationship.

***Relationship status and sexual scripts.*** Analyses did not reveal a significant effect for participants' relationship status on scores on either of the HHERSSS subscales. Data are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

*MANOVA Table – Relationship Status and Hip Hop Sexual Scripting*

Relationship Status					
	No Relationship	Dating	Committed Relationship	Between Subjects	
Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i> (2, 325)	<i>p</i>
Freak	29.19	27.33	26.53	2.13	.12
Gold Digger	32.90	31.22	29.11	2.25	.11
Baby Mama	21.67	20.33	18.90	2.71	.07

*Note.* \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$



***Relationship status and sexual self-schemas.*** Analyses revealed a significant effect for participants' relationship status on sexual self-schemas. Specifically, there was a significant effect for relationship status on the romantic/passionate dimension [ $F(2, 338) = 4.31, p < .05$ ], the open/direct dimension [ $F(2, 338) = 8.03, p < .001$ ], and the embarrassment/conservatism dimension [ $F(25, 338) = 6.84, p < .01$ ] of the SSSS. With regard to the romantic/passionate dimension of the SSSS, post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for no relationship ( $M = 32.60, SD = 6.85$ ) was significantly different than the mean score for dating ( $M = 34.53, SD = 6.38$ ). There were no significant differences between the mean score for committed relationship and the mean scores for no relationship and dating. The results show that participants who reported that they were dating had higher scores on the romantic/passionate dimension than those participants not in a relationship. With regard to the open/direct dimension, post hoc comparisons indicated that the mean score for no relationship ( $M = 30.11, SD = 6.73$ ) was significantly different than the mean score for committed relationship ( $M = 36.50, SD = 6.15$ ). There was also a significant difference between the mean score for dating ( $M = 31.03, SD = 7.00$ ) and the mean score for committed relationship. There was no significant difference between the mean score for dating and the mean score for no relationship. These results show that participants who reported that they were in a committed relationship had higher scores on the open/direct dimension than participants who were dating and those who were not in a relationship. With regard to the embarrassment/conservatism dimension, post hoc comparisons indicated that the mean score for no relationship ( $M = 19.98, SD = 5.40$ ) was significantly different than the mean score for committed relationship ( $M = 15.05, SD = 5.81$ ). The mean score for dating ( $M =$

19.57,  $SD = 6.00$ ) was also significantly different than the mean score for committed relationship. There was no significant difference between the mean score for no relationship and the mean score for dating. These results show that participants who reported that they were not in a relationship or were dating had higher scores than on the embarrassment/conservatism dimension than participants in a committed relationship. Taken together, these results suggest that being in a relationship, whether it is a casual or committed relationship, is related to an endorsement of more positive sexual self-schemas. In turn, not being in a relationship or casually dating is related to an endorsement of more negative sexual self-schemas. Specifically, the results suggest that when women are dating or in a committed relationship, they tend to have more positive sexual self-schema. Data are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

*MANOVA Table – Relationship Status and Sexual Self-Schema*

Variable	Relationship Status			Between Subjects	
	No Relationship <i>M</i>	Dating <i>M</i>	Committed Relationship <i>M</i>	<i>F</i> (2, 338)	<i>p</i>
SSSS Factor 1	32.60	34.53	35.65	4.31	.01*
SSSS Factor 2	30.11	31.03	36.50	8.03	.00***
SSSS Factor 3	19.98	19.57	15.05	6.84	.00**

*Note.* Sexual Self-Schema scale (SSSS) Positive dimension: Factor 1 - romantic/passionate, Factor 2 – open/direct; Factor 3 = Negative Dimension. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

***Relationship status and risky sexual behavior.*** A one-way MANOVA revealed significant differences between participants' relationship status and reported sexual behavior. Specifically, there was a significant effect for relationship status on the Risky Sex Acts [ $F(2, 338) = 11.18, p < .001$ ] and the Intent to Engage in Risky Sexual Behaviors subscales [ $F(2, 338) = 4.23, p < .05$ ] of the SRS. With regard to the Risky Sex Acts subscale, post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for no relationship ( $M = 4.11, SD = 4.96$ ) was significantly different than the mean scores for dating ( $M = 6.52, SD = 5.08$ ) and committed relationship ( $M = 5.29, SD = 5.23$ ). There was no significant relationship between the mean score for dating and the mean score for committed relationship. These results show that participants who reported that they were dating or in a committed relationship reported higher frequencies of risky sex acts than those who were not in a relationship. With regard to the Intent to Engage in Risky Sexual Behavior subscale, post hoc comparisons indicated that the mean score for no relationship ( $M = .41, SD = 1.07$ ) was significantly different than the mean scores for dating ( $M = .17, SD = .53$ ). There was no significant difference between the mean score for committed relationship and the mean scores for no relationship and dating. These results show that participants who reported that they were not in a relationship had higher frequencies of intentions to engage in risky sexual behavior than those who were dating. Detailed statistics are found in Table 7.

Table 7

*MANOVA Table – Relationship Status and Risky Sexual Behavior*

Variable	Relationship Status			Between Subjects	
	No Relationship <i>M</i>	Dating <i>M</i>	Committed Relationship <i>M</i>	<i>F</i> (2, 338)	<i>p</i>
SRS Factor 1	4.16	3.53	3.45	.92	.40
SRS Factor 2	4.12	6.52	7.75	11.18	.00***
SRS Factor 3	2.14	1.67	1.70	2.01	.14
SRS Factor 4	.41	.17	.00	4.23	.02*
SRS Factor 5	.59	.79	1.00	1.21	.30

*Note.* Sexual Risky Survey (SRS) Factor 1 = Sexual Risk Taking with Uncommitted Partners; Factor 2 = Risky Sex Acts; Factor 3 = Impulsive Sexual Behaviors; Factor 4 = Intent to Engage in Risky Sexual Behaviors; Factor 5 = Risky Anal Sex Acts

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

### **Hip Hop Sexual Scripts and Sexual Self-Schema**

Bivariate correlation analyses were conducted to address the first question of the study exploring a relationship between an internalization of hip hop sexual scripts and Black women's self-views. Detailed findings are presented in Table 1. Analyses revealed a significant negative relationship between scores on the Baby Mama subscale and Factor 1 (romantic/passionate) of the Sexual Self-Schema Scale ( $r = -.12, p < .05$ ). Analyses also revealed a significant positive relationship between scores on the Baby Mama subscale and scores on the negative dimension of the SSSS ( $r = .15, p < .01$ ). However, there were no significant relationships between the Freak and Gold Digger subscales and SSSS scores. The findings do not support the hypothesis that higher scores on the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales will be related to more positive sexual self-schema scores.

### **Hip Hop Sexual Scripts and Risky Sexual Behavior**

Bivariate correlation analyses were also conducted to explore the relationship between the internalization of sexual scripts as assessed by the Hip Hop Explicit Racial-Sexual Stereotypes scale and self-reported risky sexual behavior as assessed by the Sexual Risk Survey. Significant positive relationships emerged across each of the HHERSSS subscales and total scores on the SRS. Specifically, there was a significant relationship between the Freak subscale and total sexual risk scores ( $r = .35, p < .01$ ) as well as a significant relationship between the Gold Digger subscale and total sexual risk scores ( $r = .22, p < .01$ ). Analyses also revealed a significant relationship between the Baby Mama subscale and total sexual risk scores ( $r = .23, p < .01$ ). When examining each

of the HHERSSS subscales in relation to each of the SRS subscales, analyses revealed several significant relationships, which are detailed in Table 8.

Table 8

*Correlation of Hip Hop Sexual Scripts and Risky Sexual Behavior*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Freak									
2. Gold Digger	.70**								
3. Baby Mama	.66**	.66**							
4. SRS Factor 1	.37**	.17**	.17**						
5. SRS Factor 2	.11**	.05	.06	.53**	.				
6. SRS Factor 3	.35**	.32**	.26**	.55**	.27**				
7. SRS Factor 4	.34*	.31**	.31**	.27**	.02	.45**			
8. SRS Factor 5	.30**	.28**	.32**	.30**	.36**	.34**	.26**		
9. SRS Total	.35**	.22**	.23**	.85**	.82**	.65**	.34**	.54**	

*Note.* Sexual Risky Survey (SRS) Factor 1 = Sexual Risk Taking with Uncommitted Partners; Factor 2 = Risky Sex Acts; Factor 3 = Impulsive Sexual Behaviors; Factor 4 = Intent to Engage in Risky Sexual Behaviors; Factor 5 = Risky Anal Sex Acts

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

To further examine the extent to which participants' sexual self-schemas were related to their sexual behavior, correlational analyses were conducted between Sexual Self-Schema Scale and Sexual Risk Survey. Analyses revealed a significant positive relationship between Factor 1 (romantic/passionate) of the SSSS and SRS total scores ( $r = .13, p < .05$ ). A significant negative relationship emerged between the negative dimension of the SSSS and SRS total scores ( $r = -.11, p < .05$ ). Significant relationships were also found between SSSS scores and several subscales of the SRS. There was a significant positive relationship between Factor 1 (romantic/passionate) and the Risky Sex Acts subscale ( $r = .21, p < .01$ ). A significant negative relationship was found between the negative dimension of the SSSS and the Risky Sex Acts subscale ( $r = -.15, p < .01$ ). Similarly, there was a significant negative relationship between the negative dimension of the SSSS and the Sexual Risk Taking with Uncommitted Partners subscale ( $r = -.11, p < .05$ ). Refer to Table 9 for detailed data.

Table 9

*Correlation of Sexual Self-Views and Risky Sexual Behavior*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. SSSS Factor 1									
2. SSSS Factor 2	.48**								
3. SSSS Factor 3	-.07	-.06							
4. SRS Factor 1	.04	.01	-.11*						
5. SRS Factor 2	.21**	.11	-.15**	.53**	.				
6. SRS Factor 3	.02	-.03	-.02	.55**	.27**				
7. SRS Factor 4	-.07	-.10	.10	.27**	.02	.45**			
8. SRS Factor 5	.10	.01	-.03	.30**	.36**	.34**	.26**		
9. SRS Total	.13*	.04	-.11*	.85**	.82**	.65**	.34**	.54**	

*Note.* Sexual Self-Schema scale (SSSS) Positive dimension: Factor 1 - romantic/passionate, Factor 2 – open/direct; Factor 3 = Negative Dimension. Sexual Risky Survey (SRS) Factor 1 = Sexual Risk Taking with Uncommitted Partners; Factor 2 = Risky Sex Acts; Factor 3 = Impulsive Sexual Behaviors; Factor 4 = Intent to Engage in Risky Sexual Behaviors; Factor 5 = Risky Anal Sex Acts

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

Overall, the significant correlations that emerged support the hypothesis that higher scores on the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales and more positive sexual self-schema scores will be related to higher risky sexual behavior scores.



**Predicting Risky Sexual Behavior**

To examine whether the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama scripts and sexual self-schemas predict risky sexual behavior, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted. The hierarchical regression comprised two steps. The ordering of each step was based on the tenets of sexual self-schema theory, which posits that internalizing past sexual experiences influences the development of one's sexual self-schemas, which then guides one's current and future sexual behaviors (Andersen & Cyranowski, 1994). To control for age, sexual orientation, relationship status differences, and level of hip hop consumption, this data was entered in the first step. Participants' scores on the three HHERSSS subscales and the positive and negative dimensions of the SSSS were entered in the second step. The Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales and the positive and negative dimensions of the SSSS were added as predictors in Step 2. Seventeen women did not have complete data on all of the measures; therefore, the following results were based on 325 women. Data are found in Table 10.

Table 10

*Results for Hierarchical Regression for Sexual Risk Survey*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
Sexual Risk			
Step I			
Age	.13	.12	.07
Sexual Orient.	.42	1.41	.02
Relationship	.67	1.03	.04
Hip Hop Cons.	.05	.18	.02
Step II			
Age	.19	.11	.10
Sexual Orient.	.07	1.35	.00
Relationship	-.08	.17	-.02
Hip Hop Cons.	.81	.98	-.02
Freak	.41	.10	.34***
Gold Digger	.01	.09	.01
Baby Mama	.04	.13	.03
SSS Factor 1	.27	.09	.17**
SSS Factor 2	-.14	.09	-.10
SSS Negative	-.12	.10	-.07

*Note.* Sexual Orient. = Sexual Orientation, Relationship = Relationship Status, Hip Hop Cons. = Level of Hip Hop Consumption. Sexual Self-Schema scale (SSSS) Positive dimension: Factor 1 - romantic/passionate, Factor 2 – open/direct; Factor 3 = Negative Dimension

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

Step 1 explained less than 1% of the variance in risky sexual behavior.

Furthermore, results of the first model indicate that none of the variables significantly predicted the variance in risky sexual behavior. Adding the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales along with both dimensions of the SSSS to the model in Step 2 increased the percentage explained to 16%,  $F(10, 324) = 6.05, p < .001$ . A review of the coefficients revealed that the Freak subscale provided a significant contribution to the explanation of risky sexual behavior ( $\beta = .34, p < .001$ ). In addition, Factor 1 (romantic/passionate) of the positive dimension of the SSSS also provided significant contributions to the explanation of risky sexual behavior ( $\beta = .17, p < .01$ ). Overall, the

results of the model suggest that internalization of sexual stereotypes and sexual self-schemas significantly predict risky sexual behavior.

### **Chapter V**

#### **Discussion**

Stephens and Phillips (2003) have examined hip hop sexual scripting among young Black women. Their sexual scripting theory is based on the premise that African American women frequently exposed to negative sexual images of Black women in hip hop may use the images to shape their own sexual scripts. However, their sexual scripting theory does not provide a connection between the scripts and the individual with regard to internalization of the scripts. Therefore, the current study used Andersen & Cyranowski's (1994) sexual self-schema model as the theoretical basis for examining Black women's internalization of negative sexual stereotypes in hip hop and the manifestation of these stereotypes in their sexual self-schemas. The sexual self-schema model posits that women's sexual self-schemas are internalized past experiences that guide current and future judgments and behaviors and impact how one views themselves and understands their sexuality. Thus, the current study explored the relationship between sexual stereotyping in hip hop media as described by the hip hop sexual scripting theory and sexual self-schemas as described by Andersen and Cyranowski to risky sexual behavior in Black women. Specifically, for the purpose of this study, the relationship between three prominent sexual scripts in hip hop media, the Freak, the Gold Digger, and the Baby Mama and positive versus negative sexual self-schemas was explored. The current study also examined the relationship of the hip hop sexual scripts and sexual self-schemas to risky sexual behavior and the extent to which those variables predict risky sexual behavior. Findings from the current study may prove helpful in understanding Black women's sexuality as it relates to their internalization of negative sexual

stereotypes and the use of that information in informing their sexual experiences, an area that has received little empirical attention.

The first question of the current study was: Is there a relationship between an internalization of hip hop sexual scripts and Black women's self-views? Based on prior findings that suggest that internalizing negative sexual stereotypes negatively impacts how women view themselves as sexual beings (Roberts 1996; Ward & Friedman, 2006, & Stephens and Few, 2007), it was hypothesized that higher scores on the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales will be related to more positive sexual self-schema scores. However, the results of this study do not support the hypothesis. Although women in the study tended to endorse more positive sexual self-schemas, particularly the romantic/passionate sexual self-schema, and were observed to internalize the Gold Digger script at a higher rate than either the Freak or the Baby Mama, there was no clear relationship between internalizing the Gold Digger script and positive or negative sexual self-schemas. The same was observed for the Freak script. However, a clear relationship between the Baby Mama script and a negative sexual self-schema revealed that women who internalized this particular script tended to describe their sexuality in more conservative terms instead of the stereotypic promiscuous, uninhibited, and unrestricted terms as expected (Zellman & Goodchilds, 1983; Wyatt & Rierderle, 1994; Ward & Wyatt, 1994).

One potential explanation for the lack of relationship between the three hip hop sexual scripts and positive sexual self-schemas may be the women's reported level of hip hop consumption. On average, the women reported low levels of hip hop consumption. According to Stephens and Phillips (2003), those Black women who are frequently

exposed to negative sexual images of Black women in hip hop may use the images to shape their own sexual scripts. Therefore, it is likely that although the women identified as consumers of the hip hop culture, they were not exposed to hip hop media frequently enough to internalize the negative messages in a way that would adversely influence how they view themselves as sexual persons.

The second research question addressed by the current study was: Is there a relationship between the internalization of sexual scripts and self-reported risky sexual behavior? Based on prior findings that suggest that being exposed to negative sexual stereotypes increases the likelihood of engaging in risky sexual behaviors (Wyatt & Riederle, 1994; Wingood et al., 2003; Peterson, Wingood, DiClemente, Harrington, & Davies, 2007), it was hypothesized that higher scores on the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales and more positive sexual self-schema scores will be related to higher risky sexual behavior scores. On average, the women in the study reported low frequencies with regard to engaging in risky sexual behavior. Nonetheless, findings suggest that identifying with negative sexual stereotypes is directly positively associated with engaging in risky sexual behaviors, which was expected. Regardless of the script that was internalized, the women reported engaging in greater risky sexual behavior the more they internalized the hip hop sexual scripts.

There was a clear association between women who internalized behaviors descriptive of the Gold Digger and Baby Mama scripts and the tendency to engage in sex with uncommitted partners, be impulsive in sexual relationships such as having one night stands, have intentions on engaging in sex, and to have anal sex. Those women who internalized the Freak script also had the tendency to engage in the same types of

behaviors as those acknowledged by women in the Gold Digger and Baby Mama scripts. However, those who internalized the Freak script also acknowledged engaging in risky sexual behaviors such as not using a condom or birth control during sex, which was not endorsed for the Gold Digger and Baby Mama scripts. These results are in line with findings across research examining stereotypical attitudes about sex roles and contraceptive use. For instance, an increased acceptance of stereotypical attitudes about sexual roles has been associated with less effective contraceptive use (Fox, 1997; MacCorquodale, 1984). Similarly, it has been found that women who accept negative stereotypes about women are less likely to take responsibility for contraception use (Ward & Wyatt, 1994; Zellman & Goodchilds, 1983). The overall pattern of findings between negative sexual stereotypes and risky sexual behavior found in this study is consistent with the research in this area that asserts that internalization of negative messages, specifically those related to promiscuity, looseness, and irresponsibility, increases one's engagement in risky sexual behavior (Strouse & Buerkel-Rothfuss, 1987; Wyatt & Riederle, 1994; Abraham & Sheeran, 1994; Tiggermann & Pickering, 1996; Ward, 2003).

This study found a significant direct positive relationship between women's sexual self-schemas and risky sexual behavior, which is consistent with literature in this area (Abraham & Sheeran, 1994). Findings in the current study show that as women describe their sexual selves using more liberal terms, their reported risky sexual behavior increased. Specifically, there was a positive association between women who acknowledged having romantic and passionate and open and direct sexual self-views and reported sex behaviors where condoms or birth control were not used. In addition,

findings show that as women described themselves as cautious, conservative, and inexperienced, they reported less risky sexual behavior, particularly less frequency of sex with uncommitted partners and sex without protection or while under the influence of substances. Overall, the significant correlations that emerged support the hypothesis that there is a positive association between internalizing negative sexual stereotypes and one's sexual self-views and engagement in risky sexual behaviors. The findings suggest that regardless of the type of sexual self-views (i.e., positive versus negative), how Black women view themselves is related to their sexual experiences. Findings in the current study also indicate that Black women who internalize negative stereotypes will, in turn, form negative sexual self-schemas which can predict their likelihood of engaging in risky sexual behaviors.

An exploration of the data also revealed that Black women's age is positively related to risky sexual behavior. As the women increased in age, their reported engagement in risky sexual behavior, such as having unprotected sex and sex without birth control, increased. These findings are consistent with prior research that shows that younger women have better attitudes about condom use (Sterk, Klein, & Elifson, 2004). Findings also revealed that one's relationship status is directly related to risky sexual behavior. Specifically, women who were dating or in a committed relationship reported higher frequencies of engaging in risky sex acts than those women who were not in a relationship. Recent literature supports this finding in that dating has been found to impact one's endorsement of risky sexual acts, especially sex without protection (Corneille, Tademy, Reid, Belgrave, & Nasim, 2008). Furthermore, women who were not in a relationship reported higher frequencies of intentions to engage in risky sexual



behavior than those who were dating. One might infer that women who were in a relationship or had a committed partner were more likely to engage in risky sex acts such as not using birth control or condoms during sex, but results did not show that relationship status significantly predicts risky sexual behavior.

Findings from the current study also show that women's relationship status directly impacts how they view themselves as sexual persons, which is consistent with prior research that found a relationship between relationship status and sexual self-esteem (Higgins, Mullinax, Trussell, Davidson, & Moore, 2011). Furthermore, results revealed significant differences between the women's relationship status and sexual self-schemas. Women who were dating endorsed more romantic/passionate sexual self-schemas than those who were not in a relationship. Women who were in a committed relationship endorsed more open/direct sexual self-schemas than those who were dating and those who were not in a relationship. Women who were not in a relationship or were dating endorsed more embarrassment/conservatism sexual self-schemas than participants in a committed relationship. Overall, the findings indicate that being in a relationship is related to more positive sexual self-schemas. On the other hand, not being in a committed relationship is related to more negative sexual self-schemas. The results suggest that when Black women are in a relationship, they tend to have more positive sexual self-schemas.

In further examination of the predictive value of sexual scripting and sexual self-schema in risky sexual behavior, sexual scripting was found to explain the variance in women's reported sexual behavior. One's sexual self-schema was also found to explain the variance in reported sexual behavior. The results suggest that Black women's

engagement in risky sexual behavior can be predicted by their internalization of the Freak script and positive (romantic/passionate) sexual self-schemas. Furthermore, the findings are consistent with prior research that asserts that women encounter messages in society about acceptable sexual beliefs and behaviors which then influence their own thinking and behavior related to sexual experiences (Zellman & Goodchilds, 1983; Wyatt & Riederle, 1994; Ward & Wyatt, 1994). The findings support Andersen and Cyranowski's (1994) model of sexual self-schema that posits that women's sexual self-schemas guide and predict current and future judgments and behaviors.

### **Limitations, Implications, and Future Research**

To examine the internalization of hip hop sexual scripting, the Hip Hop Explicit Racial-Sexual Stereotypes Scale, based on Stephens and Phillips (2003) hip hop sexual scripting theory, was developed and employed for this study. Because the HHERSSS was constructed for use in the current study as a means for validating the theory, there was no prior empirical support and sound psychometric properties for the measure. The scale originally consisted of items exploring nine sexual scripts or subscales. However, for the purpose of the current study, only three of those scripts were analyzed and tested for reliability and validity. Items relative to the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama scripts were found to have good reliability. However, convergent validity for the subscales seemed to be lacking when compared with the Sexual Self-Schema Scale. Only discriminant validity was confirmed for the Baby Mama subscale of the HHERSSS.

The absence of convergent validity may be due to several factors. First, the items selected for use in the study may not assess hip hop sexual scripting in the manner intended by Stephens and Phillips (2003). Because there were no existing measures

operationalizing hip hop sexual scripting, the items for the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales, along with the other six subscales, were developed in an exploratory manner based on the hip hop sexual scripting theory. Thus, it is likely that the items developed for the scale and used in the current study failed to fully assess hip hop sexual scripting as intended.

Sample demographics may be another factor that contributed to the lack of convergent validity. Particularly, the sample was comprised of college-educated women who are not representative of the population in which Stephens and Phillips based the hip hop sexual scripting theory. Furthermore, given the participants' educational levels, it is likely that a certain level of critical thinking on behalf of the participants accounted for the outcomes. Specifically, the items and scripts may have served as models for what the Black women do not want to portray themselves as instead of influencing them to portray the negative stereotypes as initially hypothesized. Given these limitations, future studies should extend to include a more varied sample and factor analyses for each subscale in further validation of the HHERSSS in the exploring the impact of negative sexual stereotyping on Black women's sexuality.

As previously stated, the college women in this study may not be representative of typical consumers of the hip hop culture and may not represent the variability within this unique consumer population. Because this is the first study of its kind, using a convenience sample of college women was an appropriate step toward better understanding the impact of sexual stereotyping in Black women. Because a majority of studies in the area of sexuality development use a convenience sample, utilizing a community sample in a study similar to the current study may be beneficial to the

literature in this area. Furthermore, a community sample is likely to be more varied and yield results that are more representative of what would be expected among Black women who are consumers of the hip hop culture.

This study examined sexual stereotypes and risky sexual behavior among Black women, but failed to examine within group differences among this population. Not all Black women who are consumers of the hip hop culture have the same experiences. Moreover, there are differences within this group that may account for how each individual woman experiences and utilizes the messages depicted throughout hip hop media and culture. Factors such as motive, spirituality, cultural influences, and geographical locations may account for the extent to which negative messages are internalized and use to negotiate sexual experiences. For example an 18- year-old woman exposing herself to hip hop media daily as a means to learn how to behave in a relationship may internalize different scripts than a 30-year-old woman exploring hip hop media daily for fashion trends. Therefore, future research may examine several of these unique within-group differences in the exploration of the influence of hip hop culture on Black women's sexuality development.

This study specifically targeted Black women as this population has a history of being sexual exploited and sexualized within the media (Hill-Collins, 1991; hooks, 1992). However, Black women are not the only population impacted by negative sexual messages within the media. In a study exploring the effects of mass media on the sexual behavior of Black and White adolescents, L'Engle, Brown, and Kenneavy (2006) found that White adolescents endorsed engaging in more sexual activity than their Black counterparts. However, the internalization of hip hop sexual scripts and its impact on

risky sexual behavior has not been explored between different racial classes who identify as consumers of this unique culture. Therefore, future research may seek explore between-group differences, as well as within-group differences for various racial classes, as it relates to hip hop sexual stereotypes and their influence on women's sexual attitudes and sexual behavior.

### **Conclusion**

This study helps to fill gaps in the Stephens and Phillips's (2003) sexual scripting theory in that it provides evidence for the cognitive component involved in internalizing hip hop sexual scripts. The study also provides evidence that shows a relationship between sexual scripting and sexual behavior in Black women. Furthermore, internalizing hip hop sexual scripting can predict Black women's engagement in risky sexual behavior. As consumers of the hip hop culture, Black women are at a greater risk for engaging in risky sexual behavior if they internalize the negative messages within media and other outlets. Therefore, prevention and intervention research may explore in greater detail the impact of hip hop sexual scripting as a psychosocial factor in Black women's risk to unwanted pregnancy and STIs, including HIV/AIDS. Because the hip hop culture is so prevalent and widely dispersed, this line of research will likely benefit from also exploring hip hop sexual scripting as an intervention for risky sexual behavior. Pairing the hip hop sexual scripting theory with evidence from this study can be used to educate consumers about the messages they use to guide their sexual behavior.

## SEXUAL STEREOTYPING

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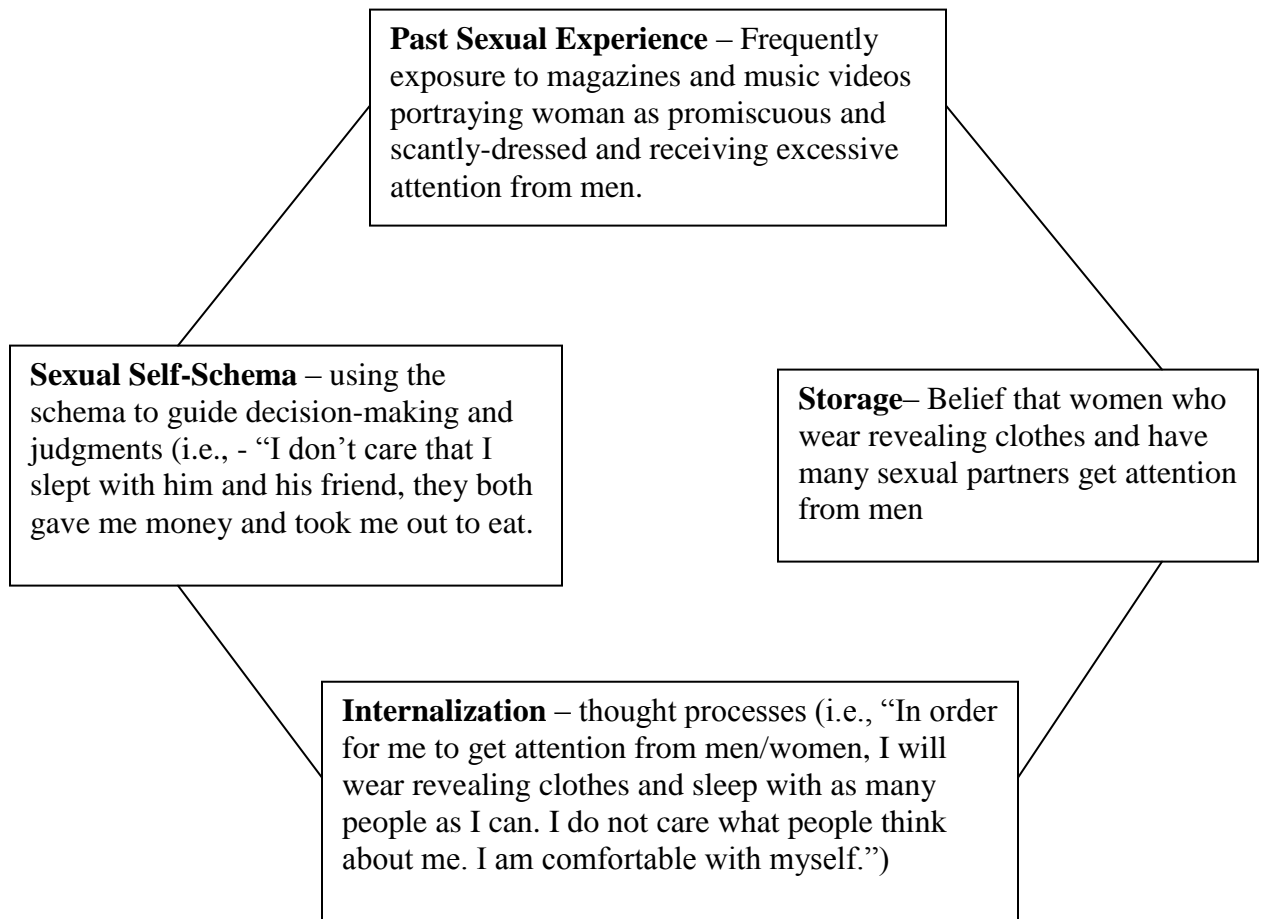
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## SEXUAL STEREOTYPING

### **Appendix A**

#### **Figure 1**



*Figure 1.* Illustration of internalization of sexual stereotypes. The figure is the proposed illustration of the sexual self-schema process in a young African American woman frequently exposed to negative sexual stereotypes within the hip hop culture.



## SEXUAL STEREOTYPING

### **Appendix B**

#### **Pre-screening Questionnaire**

## Pre-Screening Questionnaire

Directions: Please answer the following questions.

1. What is your gender?
  - a. Female
  - b. Male
2. Please indicate if you self-identify as African American/Black?
  - a. No
  - b. Yes
3. Do you listen to Hip Hop, Rap, or R&B regularly?
  - a. No
  - b. Yes
4. Whether on television or the internet, do you watch Hip Hop, Rap, or R&B music videos regularly?
  - a. No
  - b. Yes

## SEXUAL STEREOTYPING

### **Appendix C**

#### **Hip Hop Explicit Racial Sexual Stereotypes Scale**

## Hip Hop Explicit Racial-Sexual Stereotypes Scale (HHERSSS)\*

Coleman, Butler, Anderson, Anderson, Hill, Knight, Ross, &amp; Tran

Directions: Please indicate the following for each item

- A – Not at all like me
- B – Very little like me
- C – Neutral
- D – Somewhat like me
- E – Very much like me

**Freak**

She is sexually aggressive.  
She frequently has sex without emotional attachment.  
When it comes to sex, she has no limits to what she will do.  
She will have sex with any person, in any position, and in any place.  
She is willing to have sex with more than one person at the same time.  
She has had more than one sexual relationship during the same period of time.  
She only has sex when condoms are used.  
She rebels against the “good girl” image.  
When it comes to having sex, her pleasure is most important.  
She dresses in a way to attract sexual attention from potential sexual partners.  
Most women do not want to be her friend because of her bold sexuality.  
She maintains a “bad girl” image.  
She is labeled as a “freak”, “slut”, or “ho” but she is comfortable with her sexuality.  
She is empowered by her sexuality.  
She has a high sex drive.

**Gold Digger**

Her primary goal in a relationship is material and/or financial gain.  
She cares more about a man's bank account than she does about the man.  
She manipulates men to benefit from their money.  
She would end the relationship when her partner runs out of money.  
She seeks to date men who have a higher status than she does.  
She uses her sexuality (i.e., flirting, physical affection) to get material goods and/or money.  
She would date a man even if he were broke.  
She seduces men with the true intent of spending his money.  
She only pursues men that are able to provide for her financially.  
She depends on a man to provide her with money for self-maintenance (e.g., hair, nails, clothes) and care.  
She relies only on her own education or employment to maintain financial stability.  
She is willing to do whatever it takes to keep a man that provides for her.  
She sees her relationships as business rather than personal.  
Her self-esteem is boosted by her man taking care of her.

She is resourceful when it comes to making sure her financial needs are met.  
She has a flashy appearance that lets others know she has money.  
She has a “sugar daddy”.

**Baby Mama**

She had a child as a symbol of her love and commitment to her man.  
She continues a sexual relationship with her child’s father although he has sexual relationships with other women.  
She has conflict with the sexual partners of her child’s father.  
She uses her child for financial gain.  
She uses her child to get revenge against the father when she is angry with him.  
The father of her child will always come first in her life.  
She might spend child support to purchase things for herself.  
She still hopes to marry the father of her child one day.  
Although they are not together, she holds a sense of status in his life because their child.  
She doesn’t care about getting love and respect from her child’s father.  
She is willing to have sex with her child’s father when he desires it.  
Some people think she got pregnant on purpose to keep a relationship with her child’s father.

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*\*Note:* Only those items representative of the Freak, Gold Digger, and Baby Mama subscales were included in this document. For the purpose of the dissertation defense, items have been placed under their respective subscales. The items did not present in this manner in the original survey that participants completed.

## SEXUAL STEREOTYPING

### **Appendix D**

#### **Sexual Self Schema Scale**

## Sexual Self-Schema Scale

## Describe Yourself

Directions: Below is a listing of 50 adjectives. For each word, consider whether or not the term describes you. Each adjective is to be rated on a scale ranging from 0 = *not at all descriptive of me* to 6 = *very much descriptive of me*. Choose a number of each adjective to indicate how accurately the adjective describes you. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be thoughtful and honest.

Question: To what extent does the term \_\_\_\_\_ describe me?

Rating scale:

Not at all descriptive

Very descriptive

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. generous					26. disagreeable	
2. <i>uninhibited</i>					27. serious	
3. <i>cautious</i>					28. <i>prudent</i>	
4. helpful					29. humorous	
5. <i>loving</i>					30. sensible	
6. <i>open-minded</i>					31. <i>embarrassed</i>	
7. shallow					32. <i>outspoken</i>	
8. <i>timid</i>					33. level-headed	
9. <i>frank</i>					34. responsible	
10. clean cut					35. <i>romantic</i>	
11. <i>stimulating</i>					36. polite	
12. unpleasant					37. <i>sympathetic</i>	
13. <i>experienced</i>					38. <i>conservative</i>	
14. short-tempered					39. <i>passionate</i>	
15. irresponsible					40. wise	
16. <i>direct</i>					41. <i>inexperienced</i>	
17. logical					42. stingy	
18. <i>broad-minded</i>					43. superficial	
19. kind					44. <i>warm</i>	
20. <i>arousable</i>					45. <i>unromantic</i>	
21. practical					46. good-natured	
22. <i>self-conscious</i>					47. rude	
23. dull					48. <i>revealing</i>	
24. <i>straightforward</i>					49. bossy	
25. <i>casual</i>					50. <i>feeling</i>	

*Note:* The 26 Sexual Self-Schema Scale items are in italics. Factor scores are calculated by summing ratings on items listed below. Item 45 is reversed keyed. Factor 1 = 5, 11, 20, 35, 37, 39, 44, 45, 48, and 50. Factor 2 = 2, 6, 9, 13, 16, 18, 24, 25, and 32. Factor 3 = 3, 8, 22, 28, 31, and 41. Sexual Self-Schema Score: Total = Factor 1 + Factor 2 – Factor 3.

## SEXUAL STEREOTYPING

### **Appendix E**

#### **Sexual Risk Survey**



## Sexual Risk Survey

Instructions: Please read the following statements and record the number that is true for you over the past 6 months for each question on the blank. If you do not know for sure how many times a behavior took place, try to estimate the number as close as you can. Thinking about the average number of times the behavior happened per week or per month might make it easier to estimate an accurate number, especially if the behavior happened fairly regularly. If you've had multiple partners, try to think about how long you were with each partner, the number of sexual encounters you had with each, and try to get an accurate estimate of the total number of each behavior. If the question does not apply to you or you have never engaged in the behavior in the question, put a "0" on the blank. Please do not leave items blank. Remember that in the following questions "sex" includes oral, anal, and vaginal sex and that "sexual behavior" includes passionate kissing, making out, fondling, petting, oral-to-anal stimulation, and hand-to-genital stimulation. Please consider only the last 6 months when answering and please be honest.

In past six months:

1. How many partners have you engaged in sexual behavior with but not had sex with?
2. How many times you have left a social event with someone you just met?
3. How many times have you "hooked up" but not had sex with someone you didn't know or didn't know or didn't know well?
4. How many times have you gone out to bars/parties/social events with the intent of "hooking up" and engaging in sexual behavior but not having sex with someone?

5. How many times have you gone out to bars/parties/social event with the intent of “hooking up” and having sex with someone?
6. How many times have you had an unexpected and unanticipated sexual experience?
7. How many times have you had a sexual encounter you engaged in willingly but later regretted?

For next set of questions, follow the same direction as before. However, for questions 8-23, if you have never had sex (oral, anal, or vaginal), please put a “0” on each blank.

8. How many partners have you had sex with?
9. How many times have you had vaginal intercourse without a latex or polyurethane condom? Note: Include times when you have used a lambskin or membrane condom.
10. How many times have you had vaginal intercourse without protection against pregnancy?
11. How many times have you given or received fellatio (oral sex on a man) without a condom?
12. How many times have you given or received cunnilingus (oral sex on a woman) without a dental dam or “adequate protection”?
13. How many times have you had anal sex without a condom?
14. How many times have you or your partner engaged in anal penetration by a hand (“fisting”) or other object without a latex glove or condom followed by unprotected anal sex?

15. How many times have you given or received anilingus (oral stimulation of the anal region, “rimming”) without a dental dam or “adequate protection”?
16. How many people have you had sex with that you know but are not involved in any sort of relationship with (i.e., “friends with benefits”, “fuck buddies”)?
17. How many times have you had sex with someone you don’t know well or just met?
18. How many times have you or your partner used alcohol or drugs before or during sex?
19. How many times have you had sex with a new partner before discussing sexual history, IV drug use, disease status and other current sexual partners?
20. How many times (that you know of) have you had sex with someone who has had many sexual partners?
21. How many partners (that you know of) have you had sex with who had been sexually active before you were with them but had not been tested for STIs/HIV?
22. How many partners have you had sex with that you didn’t trust?
23. How many times (that you know of) have you had sex with someone who was also engaging in sex with others during the same time period?

## SEXUAL STEREOTYPING

### **Appendix F**

#### **Demographic Questionnaire**

**Demographics**

Directions: Please answer the following questions.

1. How old are you?
2. What is your academic class standing?
  - a. Freshmen
  - b. Sophomore
  - c. Junior
  - d. Senior
  - e. Graduate Student
3. Do you self-identify as African-American/Black?
  - a. No
  - b. Yes
4. Do you self-identify as female
  - a. No
  - b. Yes
5. Which of the following choices best describes your sexual orientation?
  - a. Heterosexual
  - b. Gay/Lesbian
  - c. Bisexual
  - d. Other
6. What is your relationship status?
  - a. Single
  - b. In a committed relationship
  - c. Married
  - d. Separated, not divorced

- e. Divorced
  - f. Widowed
7. Do you read magazines like Essence, Ebony, Vibe, Jet, King, and XXL regularly?
- a. No
  - b. Yes
8. What percentage of your week is spent watching movies, reality shows (e.g., Tiny & Toya, Real Housewives of Atlanta, Fantasia for Real), television series (e.g., The Game, Tyler Perry's House of Payne, Meet the Browns), and talk shows (e.g., The Monique Show, Wendy Williams, 106&Park) that are primarily Hip Hop, Rap, & R&B-based?
- a. 0%
  - b. 1-20%
  - c. 21-40%
  - d. 41-60%
  - e. 61-80%
  - f. 81-100%
9. What percentage of your week is spent listening to Hip Hop, Rap, and R&B music?
- a. 0%
  - b. 1-20%
  - c. 21-40%
  - d. 41-60%
  - e. 61-80%
  - f. 81-100%
10. What percentage of your week is spent browsing, reading, or commenting on Hip Hop, Rap, & R&B- based blogs (e.g., Bossip, Media Take Out, World Star Hip Hop, YBF, etc)?
- a. 0%

- b. 1-20%
- c. 21-40%
- d. 41-60%
- e. 61-80%
- f. 81-100%