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# Messages in the Medium: The Relationships Among Black Media Images, Racial Identity, Body Image, and the Racial Socialization of Black Youth

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# Messages in the Medium: The Relationships Among Black Media Images, Racial Identity, Body Image, and the Racial Socialization of Black Youth

## **Abstract**

Despite modest research relating racism and media (Tynes & Ward, 2009; Ward, 2004), how Black youth interpret negative stereotype images of Black people promulgated in the media has not adequately been explored. This dissertation study examines the relationships among exposure to Black media images, racial identity, racial socialization, body image and self-esteem for 14- to 21-year-old Black youth.

Focus groups were administered to learn about how Black youth interpret Black media images and whether they could identify negative stereotype messages. Next, survey data was collected to pilot the Black Media Messages Questionnaire and to examine the relationships among Black media images, racial identity, racial socialization, body image and self-esteem scores of Black youth.

Confirmatory factor analysis of the BMMQ revealed a 3 scale (Black Media Message Belief, Black Media Message TV Frequency and Black Media Message Magazine Frequency) six-factor solution. The BMMQ factors were found to have significant correlations with age, body image, Black History Knowledge, racial identity and racial/ethnic (R/E) socialization. Although there were few significant ANOVA findings for racial/ethnic socialization MANOVA analyses resulted in significant relationships among age, gender, R/E coping and R/E stereotypical socialization.

A four cluster racial identity solution resulted in distinct profiles that were found to have significant interactions with gender, age, body image, Black history knowledge, endorsement of negative stereotype media messages and racial ideology scores. The findings suggest racial identity, racial socialization and Black History knowledge play a role in whether Black youth identify and endorse stereotypical media images of Black people.

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Howard C. Stevenson Jr.

## **Second Advisor**

Diana Slaughter-Defoe

---

**Third Advisor**

Sonja Peterson-Lewis

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MESSAGES IN THE MEDIUM:  
THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG BLACK MEDIA IMAGES, RACIAL IDENTITY, BODY  
IMAGE, AND THE RACIAL SOCIALIZATION OF BLACK YOUTH

Valerie Nicole Adams

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in

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Messages In The Medium:

The Relationships Among Black Media Images, Racial Identity, Body Image, And The  
Racial Socialization Of Black Youth

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2011

Valerie Nicole Adams

## DEDICATION

To my sisters, Felicia and Candace Adams, high achievers, distinguished learners, and gifted intellectuals who started on the academic path before I knew or imagined I would take this journey. To all of the young people in the United States and abroad who have touched my life and allowed me to touch theirs, you are truly wonderful. To my grandparents, Ed Scott, Viney Mae Scott, Allie Mae Mann, and Peter Mann, from whom I believe I inherited the *don't quit* gene, and whose spirits often carried me further and held me up along the way. You all were inspirations and motivators throughout this journey from who I drew courage, strength, and tenacity.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I started the dissertation process, I had no idea how quickly I would feel akin to Alice in Wonderland. It was not long before I titled the process PhDland. Like Alice, I had help with my journey. My ability to navigate was buoyed by the guidance, support, and prayers of mentors, friends, and family who became my personal village. Without God and the members of my village I would not have completed the journey and successfully made it to the PhDland exit.

Dr. Howard Stevenson is a dynamic researcher and brilliant therapist with a dedication to improving the lives of Black Americans, especially children and youth. Before I began my studies Dr. Stevenson reached out to me by phone, extending an invitation to converse about research interests. This initial conversation became the platform for our many discussions about how to conduct research that could inform theory and practice with African American youth that kept their needs at the forefront and provided them with skills and/or resources.

Although I worked with Dr. Stevenson every semester, he became my advisor serendipitously in 2008. By chance, while searching through papers I had completed for a 2001 master's course, I recently discovered I had actually referenced a racial socialization paper written by Howard Stevenson, so perhaps our relationship as advisor and advisee was predetermined. I treasure most your accessibility while I was here in the U.S. and while I was abroad by Skype, e-mail, and text conversations. Your encouragement, excitement about research, and your confidence in my ability emboldened me to push the envelope by asking "What if?"; to imagine and conduct this wonderful research project. Very truly, thank you.

I took my first methods course with Dr. Sonja Peterson-Lewis while a master's student at Temple University. Her expansive knowledge, ability to convert any topic into

a research question, and her finesse with numbers were so impressive! It is with her persuasion that I begin to think analytically about my work with youth and to pursue doctoral studies. I spent many late nights tinkering with my data sets and patiently standing in line during your office hours for critique and advice on my research because your quiet assurance, confidence, guidance, standard of excellence, and anecdotal stories are invaluable. Thank you for being phenomenal and for dinner.

I initially met Dr. Diana Slaughter-Defoe in 2000 when I sat in on one of her classes as a potential master's student. After completing a class with her in 2005, she selected me to serve as one of the summer 2006 UPenn Freedom School Coordinators. Since then, Dr. Slaughter-Defoe has served as a supportive mentor. She has used her sage foresight to introduce me to endeavors I may not have considered but that complement my interests and expand my professional scope. She also offered her support and encouragement to my preexisting interests, visiting me in Durban, South Africa, and accompanying me to the Valley of 1000 Hills to view the location where I worked with young adult Zulus to use their imagination and to write stories that are now published in *Ukudla Kwendlebe—food for the ear*. I have learned many things from listening to your stories and watching how you navigate academia with simple sophistication and generous laughter. Thank you for your courtesy, fellowship, and fidelity.

In 2006 I attended an Annenberg School of Communication lecture given by Dr. L. Monique Ward. I was immediately impressed by her thorough analysis of media as a powerful influence on adolescents. Dr. Ward's body of research is a contemporary standout for research with Black youth. It is clear that her studies are designed with thoughtful consideration of media and its relationship to adolescent developmental processes. As I sifted through the literature and begin my data collection, I thought about



this presentation, your research, and our subsequent conversations about research possibilities. Thank you for being a trailblazer, for being accessible, and for your willingness to serve on my committee.

Acquiring a dream team of stellar researchers to serve on my committee was one of the high points of my journey. I admire in each of them a commitment to conducting quality research that matters with Black children and youth. Thank you for your investment in this dissertation, for asking me difficult questions, for nudging me in the right direction, for your excitement about my work, for your patience, for your sense of humor, and for your support.

The village of people who supported me was a colorful patchwork of family and fictive kin that extends beyond my six years at Penn. I thank my mother, Doris Adams Scott, for bringing books home for me to read to my father when I was very young, and for including Black history, Black dolls, and Black pride in my childhood; these were norms, not exceptions. I also thank my mother for the eccentric decisions she made about my education, refusing to send me and my sister to a neighborhood school, selecting a majority Black private school for my first years of school and busing us to a school well outside our neighborhood where we would have a chance at an equal opportunity to learn, to thrive, and to be challenged.

I thank my dad, Freddie Robert Scott, for being a gentle, supportive man whose unobtrusive eavesdropping, listening ear, and observations informed well-timed and unexpected words of encouragement that let me know he was *listening*.

My older sisters, Felicia and Candace Adams, are amazing; no one can compare. I believe hugs are a love language; the residual essence of Felicia's hugs was incredibly powerful for me when I needed assurance and warmth. Candace's eloquent command of writing was in the back of my mind when I was stuck staring at a blank page. My writing

is not nearly as graceful as hers, which served as a model and an impressive example. Her sharp wit motivated me to keep going.

I have two older cousins who have been consistent cheerleaders. My cousin Viney Scott-Lewis' continuous prayer and encouragement were always uplifting; I could feel her praying for me. Her brother, Judge Gray, has been the best go-to for heavy lifting and comic relief.

I think of my friends who were in this village as extended family who also helped to nurture me. Darryl J. Wilson has been my number one cheerleader. From the very beginning of the doctoral application process and through the dissertation revisions he has consistently offered words of encouragement that have been priceless. I cannot imagine my experience in PhDland without your heartfelt encouragement. Thank you, Darryl.

My special soror Amy E. Roberson has been my friend for 18 years; she has taken late-night calls, witnessed early morning panics, been a sounding board, and offered her corporate expertise to me when I was at a loss for the right words to say. My soror Judge Verna L. Saunders, for keeping me practically grounded, but understanding when I needed to get on a plane and go. My soror Judy Dumorney McDaniel, who kept me connected to Philadelphia youth. Thank you to Elmore Hunter for being excited about my ideas and for returning my calls for recruitment assistance with my master's and doctoral research studies. To my *mothers*: Regina E. Maxwell for welcoming me; Joeyl Jones Watts for her discriminating eye that brought me from Penn State to University of Pennsylvania; Ermine Laud-Hammond, who cooked me healthy meals that I could pick up to take home or eat with her in understanding silence; Mabel L. Wilson for cooking, comfort, conversation, and for Penny, who has been entertaining company; Nierve Dumorney for saving me a generous plate and making Haitian inspired meals that were

just for me. I have other family members and friends who have checked in along the way and cheered me on to the finish: Thank you.

I was very fortunate to meet and work with a cohort of young scholars who became my friends and confidants—I affectionately refer to them as members of the APHD Precinct; Keisha Bentley, Ph.D., Chonika Coleman-King, Ph.D., Zehua Li, Ph.D., Celine I. Thompson, M.S. Ed, Vernita Williams, Ph.D., and Shaun Wilson, Ph.D. Thank you for enduring and commiserating with my musings about PhDland and for sharing hard belly laughs. My Temple University Urban Education colleagues Dr. Fatima Hafiz-Wahid and Dr. Lynette Mawhinney have been a continuous source of positive energy. Very special thanks to my former advisor Dr. Margaret Beale Spencer for our challenging and insightful discussions and for your advice to *always trust myself*.

This dissertation was made possible in part by financial assistance from the RUTH LANDES MEMORIAL RESEARCH FUND, a program of The Reed Foundation.

## ABSTRACT

### MESSAGES IN THE MEDIUM:

#### THE RELATIONSHIP AMONG BLACK MEDIA IMAGES, RACIAL IDENTITY, BODY IMAGE, AND THE RACIAL/ETHNIC SOCIALIZATION OF BLACK YOUTH

Valerie Nicole Adams

Howard C. Stevenson, PhD

Despite modest research relating racism and media (Tynes & Ward, 2009; Ward, 2004), how Black youth interpret negative stereotype images of Black people promulgated in the media as part of their racial identity and the influence of racial socialization experiences has not adequately been explored. This dissertation study examines the relationships among exposure to Black media images, racial identity, racial socialization, body image and self-esteem for 14- to 21-year old Black youth.

This study occurred in two phases. Data from 65 focus group participants and survey data from 113 Black adolescents ages 14-to 21 was collected and analyzed. Phase one was the administration of focus groups to learn about how Black youth interpret Black media images and whether they could identify negative stereotype messages. The data was used to develop and refine the Black Media Messages Questionnaire (BMMQ). Phase two was the collection of survey data to pilot the BMMQ and to examine the relationships among Black media images, racial identity, racial socialization, body image and self-esteem scores of Black youth.

The results of the focus group analyses suggests, although this generation of youth is living in a more culturally diverse society than prior generations and has access to multiple media platforms that feature Black people, they perceive that persistent negative messages about Black people still exist and influence youth perspectives of Black people.

Confirmatory factor analysis of the BMMQ revealed a 3 scale (Black Media Message Belief, Black Media Message TV Frequency and Black Media Message Magazine Frequency) six-factor solution. The BMMQ factors were found to have significant correlations with age, body image, Black History Knowledge, racial identity and racial/ethnic (R/E) socialization.

ANOVA models also resulted in significant differences in identifying media messages as positive or negative for females versus males, significant differences in identification and endorsement of negative stereotype Black media images between males and females and between 14-to 17-year olds and 18 to 21-year olds. Younger youth identified more positive media images than older youth. Body image variables were also found to have significant relationships with racial identity and endorsement of negative stereotype media images.

Although there were few significant ANOVA findings for racial/ethnic socialization MANOVA analyses resulted in significant relationships among age, gender, R/E coping and R/E stereotypical socialization. Boys who received higher amounts of R/E stereotypical socialization were more likely to endorse negative stereotype media images.

A four cluster racial identity solution resulted in distinct profiles that were found to have significant interactions with gender, age, body image, Black history knowledge, endorsement of negative stereotype media messages and racial ideology scores. The findings suggest racial identity, racial socialization and Black History knowledge play a role in whether Black youth identify and endorse stereotypical media images of Black people.

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## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

The selection of Blacks—defined as any person of African descent—presented in mainstream media is often limited to a discrete group of Black celebrities<sup>1</sup> or stereotypical images (Gorham, 1999; Jackson, 2006; Srividya, 2007; Ward, 2004). With the rapid evolution of technology, traditional communication outlets—including television, radio, and print mediums—have been joined by gaming, Internet websites, webzines, web and computer based instruction (Roberts & Foehr, 2008) to increase the level of exposure to media images. Although television remains the most prevalent viewing outlet, these contemporary mediums have increased exposure of and access to imagery of Blacks.

Media exposure, particularly for children (Calvert, 2008) and youth (Bush, Smith & Martin, 1999), has been demonstrated to be a powerful tool used to brand images, to increase market share (Calvert, 2008), and, in the case of public health campaigns, to impart knowledge and influence behavioral change (Evans, 2008; Grier & Bryant, 2005; Hastings & Haywood, 1991; Walsh, Rudd, Moeykens & Moloney, 1993). While marketing and communication studies have focused on creating successful product campaigns that influence behavior and attitudes, in comparison, few psychological studies have been conducted that assess the impact of media exposure on adolescent development.<sup>2</sup>

Further, while there are research studies with Black adolescents that consider racial identity as a relevant variable for investigation, many of these studies are dated, as

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<sup>1</sup> The research presented in this study references American media that feature Black actors and actresses. African American will be used interchangeably with Black throughout this dissertation; referenced researchers use Black and/or African American to define their samples.

<sup>2</sup> Adolescence is when young people begin to develop a sense of sovereignty and are confronted with choices and tasks that are a normative function of the transition into adulthood.

evidenced by the literature referenced here that goes back to 1966. This study seeks to apply the concepts of racial identity and racial/ethnic socialization (R/ES) to the research on exposure to Black media images to assess how Black young people interpret messages associated with these images.

### *Statement of Problem*

Studies of adolescence and media focus on violence and aggressive behavior (Felson, 1996; Wilson, 2008), sexuality (Zillmann, 2000), sexual behavior and attitudes (Ward, Day, & Epstein, 2006; Ward et al., 2005; Ward & Harrison, 2005), self-esteem, and body image (Thompson, Berg, Roehrig, Guarda & Heinberg, 2004). These studies provide insight into racial differences in the amount of exposure to media, behavior, and attitudes among youth but fail to comprehensively address issues of race and racism experiences as influential on the development and viewing perspectives of African American youth (Berry, 2000; Lee et al., 2003; Sneed et al., 2006; Spencer, 1995; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). During adolescence, the primary crisis around which many tasks and experiences revolve is identity development;<sup>3</sup> for Black youth, racism is a significant cultural factor influencing identity. Due to the pervasiveness of racism that influences everyday interactions, messages about ethnicity, race, and gender are of primary concern as Black adolescents begin exploring and maturing into their adult selves.

*Socialization.* Parents and family members are primary socializing agents for youth; they serve as models for expected behaviors. In addition, many Black parents practice racial/ethnic socialization that helps youth to buffer negative messages and experiences they may encounter about being Black (Barr & Neville, 2008; Bennett Jr.,

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<sup>3</sup> Identity development is defined as the developmental process that provides meaning, direction, and purpose, allowing young people to form a sense of competence and function adaptively in adulthood (Erikson, 1968).

2007; Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009; Berkel et al., 2009; Brown, Linver, Evans, & DeGennaro, 2009; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson, 1994, 1995; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000). However, because of increasing levels of exposure, media is also considered a socializing agent, providing youth with messages about societal norms and modeling expected behaviors (Arnett, 1995; Berry, 2000; Powell, 1982; Stroman, 1991). The high TV-viewing hours of Black adolescents and the stereotypically negative television images of Blacks are two prominent reasons why there should be a research agenda for exploring relationships among racial identity, racial/ethnic socialization, and exposure to Black media images.

*Media Research with Black Americans.* Allen (1998), Berry (1998) and Watkins (2005) published research agendas that presented compelling arguments about the ability of TV to impact and possibly conflict with the socialization experiences of Black children and youth. Each researcher referenced repeated exposure to televised persistent negative stereotype imagery of Black people and Black life as a source of conflict with real-life positive messages and experiences Black youth may have with their families and communities. The common concerns are that exposure to negative TV images will reinforce and influence negative perspectives of Black people by White society, and that Black Americans, both adults and youth, may accept the TV images of Black people as valid, resulting in a negative impact on identity and self-esteem (Allen, 1998; Berry, 1998; Watkins, 2005). Yet only a small group of researchers has established a body of research that investigates relationships among media viewing, Black identity, racial media stereotypes, and racial/ethnic socialization <sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Multiple definitions exist for the terms racial identity and ethnic identity (Hughes et al., 2006; Swanson et al., 2003). The terms are often used interchangeably, which contributes to the uncertainty about whether there is a distinction between racial and ethnic identity. The complexity of identity including within-group

Allen and Bielby (1977) found the demographic variables of socioeconomic status and education to be influential in how Black adults interpreted situation comedies that featured Blacks. Education level and socioeconomic status influenced viewer critique of “bad” points of Black-oriented situation comedies. Participants in this study were queried about their socialization experience in relation to the Black community. Berry and Mitchell-Kernan’s 1982 publication was the first to present a research discussion about how ethnic identity influences perception of media messages (Tynes & Ward, 2009). Researchers have also proposed or conducted media investigations that incorporate racial identity as a prominent variable (Allen, 1998; Berry, 1998; Davis & Gandy, 1999; Fujioka, 2005; Gandy, 2001; Gordon, 2008; Ward, 2004; Ward et al., 2005; Ward & Harrison, 2005; Watkins, 2005).

Davis and Gandy’s 1999 study of racial identity and media constraint determined that racial identity was a significant predictor of media viewing. Gandy’s 2001 study examined African American adult viewing habits, Black identity, and risk perception. His results demonstrated a modest relationship between Black identity and perception of risk. Both studies excluded youth and only included two questions about racial identity. Ward published a series of studies with Black adolescents that examined the relationships among media exposure, media consumption, media influences, self-esteem, and racial identity (Ward, 2004; Ward, Day, & Epstein, 2006; Ward et al., 2005; Ward & Harrison, 2005). Gordon’s 2008 study examined the relationship among media exposure, racial identity, and the self-concept of Black adolescent females.

In each case, these researchers identified the media habits of Blacks and the prevalence of negative media stereotypes as influencing their research designs. Despite

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variation and contextual factors such as family composition, neighborhoods and heritage lead me to believe racial identity and ethnic identity are overlapping components of an integrated identity. This research study focuses on racial identity.

this consideration, these studies fell short of exploring the relationship that Black racial identity and racial/ethnic socialization have to level of exposure to Black media images. Media is a form of communication transmitting messages to the audience for interpretation. For Blacks, racism is a significant cultural factor, influencing identity exploration. Music videos, prime-time sitcoms, and dramas provide limited characterizations of African Americans; more often than not media images of Black people present negative racial stereotypes (Berry, 1998; Gandy, 2001; Jackson, 2006; Tynes & Ward, 2009; Watkins, 2005). Racial/ethnic socialization can serve as a filter for messages received about one's ethnic and cultural group, including messages received through media exposure. The racial/ethnic socialization youth experience serves as the reference for how youth interpret messages about Black people and helps to identify message as positive or negative.

*Black Adolescents and Media.* How Black youth interpret images of Black people promulgated in the media as part of their racial identity and whether racial/ethnic socialization influences their perspectives on media representation of Blacks has not adequately been explored. There remains an assumption that all children experience developmental benchmarks as normed by research with White American youth (Sneed et al., 2006; St. Louis & Liem, 2005). Whether investigating global identity or individual identity components (self-esteem, body image, gender), research models are more likely to accurately interpret and assess the process when cultural and societal factors are accounted for (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990).

This generation of youth experiences an increased exposure to visual images; how they perceive and interpret the messages that accompany these images depends upon processes that happen as a function of identity development. In the case of African

American adolescents, who have the highest television viewing among their White, Asian and Latino peers (Berry, 1998; Lee & Browne, 1981; Watkins, 2005), identity development research warrants the inclusion of cultural factors to interpret this fundamental process (Bukowski & Sippola, 1998; Spencer, 1990; Swanson & Spencer, 1999) and its relationship to media.

Current research allows us to examine how exposure to media influences cognition, behavior and social development in youth and children (Dietz & Strasburger, 1991; Strasburger, 2004; Strasburger, Jordan, & Donnerstein, 2010; Strasburger & Wilson, 2002; Strasburger, Wilson, & Jordan, 2009a). There is also research that investigates how Black parents act as racial/ethnic socialization agents for their children (Bentley et al., 2009; Brown et al., 2009; Caughy, Nettles, O'Campo, & Lohrfink, 2006; Coard & Sellers, 2005; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson, 1994; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009; Stevenson, McNeil, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2005); yet there has not been research that considers how both racial/ethnic socialization and racial identity are related to exposure to Black media images for African American adolescents.

### *Research Question*

The main research question for this study is: What are the relationships among degree of exposure to images of Blacks in the media, racial/ethnic socialization, and racial identity for 14- to 21-year-old Black adolescents? This study also seeks to investigate what relationships exist among exposure to images of Blacks in the media and (a) body image, (b) self-esteem, and (c) Black history knowledge scores of Black adolescents.

### *Research Hypotheses*

H<sub>a</sub>: Youth will identify preexisting messages about Black people after viewing images of Blacks in the media.

H<sub>b</sub>: Youth perceptions of media images of Black people are a psychosocial construct made up of subfactors that will be found to be reliable and valid within a sample of urban Black youth.

H<sub>c1</sub>: Youth racial identity will have a significant relationship with Black media messages belief.

H<sub>c2</sub>: Youth racial identity will have a significant relationship with the frequency of the types of Black media messages identified on TV.

H<sub>c3</sub>: Youth racial identity will have a significant relationship with the frequency of the types of Black media messages identified in magazines.

H<sub>d1</sub>: Youth racial/ethnic socialization will have a significant relationship with Black media messages belief.

H<sub>d2</sub>: Youth racial/ethnic socialization will have a significant relationship with the frequency of the types of Black media messages identified on TV.

H<sub>d3</sub>: Youth racial/ethnic socialization will have a significant relationship with the frequency of the types of Black media messages identified in magazines.

H<sub>e</sub>: Youth Black history knowledge will have a significant relationship with the frequency of the types of Black media messages identified on TV. It is expected that youth high in Black history knowledge will identify negative stereotype Black media messages more than youth with lower scores.

H<sub>f1</sub>: Youth exposure to Black media images will be significantly related to self-esteem scores.

H<sub>g1</sub>: Youth exposure to Black media images will be significantly related to body image scores.

H<sub>h1</sub>: Youth racial/ethnic socialization, Black history knowledge and self-esteem will mediate the influence of exposure to images of Blacks in the media on racial identity and body image.

H<sub>h2</sub>: Youth racial/ethnic socialization and Black history knowledge will mediate the influence of exposure to images of Blacks in the media on racial identity and body image.

### *Significance of the Study*

While technological advances have expanded media platforms, and communication mechanisms continue to evolve, television viewing remains the most popular medium for African American youth (Albarran & Umphrey, 1993). The present generation of youth is exposed to media images at least 100 times more than youth in prior generations (Roberts & Foehr, 2008). Despite the increase in media technology and the growing multicultural adolescent demographic (Berry, 2000), messages associated with images of Blacks in the media have been relatively stagnant (Bogle, 2001a; Jackson, 2006).

The terminology and images associated with Black people are accompanied by implicit and sometimes explicit messages that have changed very little (Allen, 1998; Allen & Thornton, 1992; Coltrane & Messineo, 2000; Gandy, 2001; Gorham, 1999; Jackson, 2006; Jacobs, Henderson, & Baldasty, 2003; Jefferson, 1970; Mehlinger, 1970; Tynes & Ward, 2009; Watkins, 2005). Commonly, portrayals of Black males are often negative. They are presented as shiftless, violent, unintelligent, and aggressive, or as criminals or “Bucks” (Bogle, 1973, 2001b; Hazell & Clarke, 2008; Jackson, 2006; Tynes & Ward, 2009); characterizations of Black women have consistently been one-



dimensional recycled images of Jezebels, Mammies, Sapphires and Matriarchs (Bentley & Adams, 2006; Balaji, 2008; Bogle, 1980). Black characters who reflect these negative stereotype images constantly appear on prime-time television and shows targeted toward Black audiences.

### *Constructs*

This study seeks to investigate how exposure to negatively stereotyped Black media images relates to the racial identity, racial/ethnic socialization, body image, and self-esteem of Black adolescents. This section presents an overview of the key constructs and terms that will be referenced in this study.

*Media.* Although the definition of media has evolved to include a comprehensive list of technological advances, this study will focus on images of Black people that are viewed on television and in print media. The focus on TV and print media images is because TV remains the highest-ranking medium of use for African American youth. Television viewing includes cable, pay-per-view, and music video programs. Print media were selected because not enough researchers have investigated the types of magazines read by Black youth and the impact of the images in print media on them.

*Black History.* The collective historical and contemporary experience of Blacks that chronicles the experience of Black people in America.

*Blackness.* Superficial symbolic representations of cultural preferences, norms, expressions, dress, language, mannerisms, and communication styles that are treated as representations of African American cultural and ethnic identities that have been defined by mainstream society and media.

*Racial/ethnic socialization.* Racial socialization is defined as the processes by which children acquire behaviors, perceptions, values, and attitudes through direct or indirect messages and modeling from the important people around them as well as from

societal cues (Bentley et al., 2009). It includes the process that Black parents employ for raising healthy youth with a solid sense of self while preparing them for living in a society where they are likely to encounter negative racial experiences (Stevenson, 1994). Proactive racial socialization involves acknowledging inequitable treatment of African Americans, providing youth with pragmatic examples and instructions about how to manage racial encounters, sharing the historical and cultural legacy of African Americans, and validating ethnic standards of beauty and attractiveness (Stevenson, 1994; Stevenson, McNeil, Herrero-Taylor & Davis, 2005).

In 2007, Stevenson and Bentley revised the five factors that Stevenson (2002) used to measure racial/ethnic socialization to reflect theoretical and empirical advances. The factors are as follows: (1) Racial/Ethnic Protection: offers youth positive knowledge about their own group; (2) Racial/Ethnic Affirmation: provides affirmation about the contributions of Black people to society; (3) Racial/Ethnic Reappraisal: provides an awareness of the both-and experience of being Black where-in youth learn to reappraise negative racial encounters and develop a critical cultural consciousness; (4) Racial/Ethnic Competence: provides an awareness of Black culture; and (5) Racial/Ethnic Stereotyping: exposes youth to and informs them about negative stereotypes that are associated with Black people (Stevenson & Bentley, 2007).

Recent revisions of the racial/ethnic socialization construct have broadened the definition to: (1) summarize research literature between broad themes of preparation for bias and cultural socialization (Hughes et al., 2006); (2) consider ethnic versus racial dynamics of socialization (Brown & Krishnakumar); (3) consider R/ES as a precipitant to racial identity processes; (4) consider R/ES to be most powerful as a mediator between racism experiences and racial identity and coping (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009); and (5) situate R/ES processes within a stress and coping framework, mostly as a stress

reappraisal factor (Stevenson, 2010). For African American youth, racial/ethnic socialization helps to strengthen their level of resiliency and coping; it is an essential value-added component of identity development (Hughes et al., 2006; Spencer, 1990; Stevenson, 1995; Swanson & Spencer, 1999) that shapes their self-image and identity.

*Racial identity.* Racial identity is an extension of, and closely related to, racial/ethnic socialization. Sellers defines racial identity using four dimensions. Two dimensions address the significance of race: Salience is the extent to which race is a defining characteristic at any given moment in time, and Centrality is the extent to which an individual normatively defines race. The remaining two dimensions examine how people make meaning. Regard is subdivided into Private Regard and Public Regard. Private Regard measures how positively an individual feels about being Black and about other Black people; Public Regard focuses on the degree to which one thinks others view Blacks positively or negatively. Ideology addresses what one thinks Black people should do or should be like (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley & Chavous, 1998). This is a multidimensional perspective of racial identity that can be used to examine diverse interpretations about racial identity among Black people. It allows researchers to capture the stress related to racialized experiences such as exposure to stereotypical media images of Black people.

### *Conceptual Framework*

In this dissertation, development is not perceived as occurring in isolation, nor is it seen as static or homogenous. Rather, development is influenced by micro and macro level environments: exchange of information, perception of experience, individual response to environment, and environmental responses to an individual converging and/or conflicting as youth transition into adults (Ashmore et al., 2004; Bukowski & Sippola, 1998; McMahan & Watts, 2002; Rubin, 1998). The influences of micro social

systems<sup>5</sup>—family and peers—are acknowledged as primary factors in racial identity and racial socialization. Youth observe the preferred behavior patterns and media habits of their parents and their peers; thus it is likely that the viewing preferences and magazine preferences of adolescents will be patterned after parent and/or peer selections.

### *Theoretical Framework*

Two theories served as a framework for this research: Cultivation Theory (Gerbner & Gross, 1976) and Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) (Spencer, 1995). Cultivation theory will be used to frame media exposure and perceived media messages. PVEST serves as the paradigm for the study design, helping to shape the research model and to form the hypotheses for this study.

*Cultivation theory.* Gerbner's cultivation theory (1976) is widely accepted as the primary model for communication and media research studies. Cultivation theory is premised upon the assumption that television viewing is the primary source of storytelling in American society. Early studies that used this theory were concerned with extended exposure to television violence. This theory suggests that higher rates of TV exposures are associated with internalizing the stories (images) as representative of reality. High-volume viewers exposed to repeated messages are theorized to adapt a "mean world view"—a view of the world as worse than it actually is, and a resulting mistrust of people around them (Gerbner, 1998; Gerbner & Gross, 1976).

Over time, communications researchers have applied cultivation theory to other TV genres. Although cultivation theory is limited to an analysis of how viewers interpret and perceive TV shows, it is understood to cultivate the dominant tendencies of a culture's beliefs, ideologies and worldviews and is frequently applied to studies with

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<sup>5</sup> Family, peers, school, and neighborhood are Microsystems according to Bronfenbrenner (2005).

children and youth. Cultivation theory has proven consistently useful for confirming associations between level of TV exposure and real-life perceptions (Gerbner, 1998).

Applying cultivation theory to the TV-viewing habits of Black youth, who have the highest number of viewing hours and a preference for Black TV shows (Berry, 1998; Watkins, 2005), suggests that youth will accept Black character portrayals and media images as valid models of acceptable and expected behaviors for Black people. I consider the stereotypical grounding of Black media images problematic for Black youth. I have a particular concern for Black youth whose exposure to these images is not buffered by supportive variables or filtered by racial/ethnic socialization. Television viewing is just one of the multiple variables that influence the adolescent identity development process. An integrated perspective on how variables influence identity can offer researchers an opportunity to learn more about how exposure to media images relates to Black youth's identity processes. I offer phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory (PVEST) below as a research framework for examining how I propose media exposure interacts with the study's variables of racial/ethnic socialization, racial identity, body image, self-esteem, Black history knowledge, and demographics.

*PVEST*. Phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory allows for contextual analysis of behavior by assessing vulnerability level, net stress, reactive coping strategies, emergent identities, and life stage outcomes relative to the experiences of African American youth. In determining vulnerability level—protective factors (those which help to shield youth from stressors) and risk contributors (those things which heighten vulnerability and stress reaction), racial attitudes and behaviors can be incorporated into the analysis of the experiences of African American youth (Spencer, 1995, 2006). Net stress, the second component of PVEST, permits examination of how risks (such as racism) that youth confront are counteracted by available supports (i.e.,

family structure, neighborhood composition, or friends); the quality and quantity of supports available to youth influence their reactive coping strategies—which may be adaptive or maladaptive. African American youth are frequently tasked with developing healthy, positive emergent identities<sup>6</sup> as part of adolescence by navigating around conflicting messages received from media, family, friends, and teachers, along with interpreting racialized experiences and developing necessary coping strategies (Spencer, 1995; Spencer, Dupree, Swanson, & Cunningham, 1996).

Vulnerability level, net stress, and reactive coping strategies are the first three elements of PVEST and they will be used to frame the present study. Studies presented in the literature review demonstrate that the relationship of media exposure and Black adolescents' identity is associated with the type of media (mainstream or Black oriented), racial identity, racial socialization, age, and, in some cases, gender. Compared to White and Latino youth, Black youth have the highest consumption of television viewing (Allen & Clarke, 1980; Berry, 1998; Lee & Browne, 1981; Watkins, 2005). Employing the PVEST framework, demographic variables such as income, parent education, age, gender, and school level may serve as supports that balance out the effects of exposure to negative Black media images. Figure 1 in appendix E is a visual model of the study variables within the PVEST framework.

This dissertation study assumes that this generation's increased exposure to the manipulated media imagery and the global distribution of *Blackness* beyond television are considered vulnerability level risks, and that exposure to Black images in the media will correlate with racial socialization, racial identity, body image, and self-esteem processes (scores). Within the context of net stress engagement, racial/ethnic

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<sup>6</sup> Within the PVEST framework emergent identities may be positive or negative. The access youth have to protective factors and supports influence their coping behaviors, which ultimately shapes their emergent identities.

socialization, Black history knowledge, and self-esteem may be considered supports or challenges. High scores for each of the listed variables are expected to represent net stress supports that can serve as buffers against the influence of exposure to negative Black media images. As discussed, racial/ethnic socialization is theorized to shape an individual's perceptions of self and his or her racial/ethnic group. When used to develop coping skills for managing negative racial experiences, positive racial/ethnic socialization can counteract the effects of these encounters on an individual's self-perception, racial identity, and cultural values (Stevenson, 2008). Low scores for each of these variables are expected to represent net stress challenges, providing little protection against the influence of negative Black media stereotypes.

From a PVEST perspective, low racial/ethnic socialization, Black history knowledge, and self-esteem scores are considered challenges for youth. As they encounter media images of Black people, they will have difficulty filtering negative stereotypical messages because they have not had the racial/ethnic socialization they can use to address the racial stress associated with negative media stereotypes. These youth are likely to endorse the images as genuine models of Blackness. Contingent upon available protective factors, some low-scoring youth may reference these images as affirmations of self, while others may reject these models altogether. Youth with low Black identity and body image scores will likely be engaged in maladaptive coping and endorse perceived negative stereotype messages about Black people. Examination of the Centrality and Public and Private Regard racial identity variables may reveal low Public Regard scores for these youth. Similarly, a closer look at the racial/ethnic socialization variables may reflect a comparable pattern. Others, whose racial identity scores are high, are theorized to have activated adaptive coping using the vulnerability level protective

factors and net stress supports available to them to preserve their identity and body image.

At the other end of the spectrum, youth with high racial/ethnic socialization scores are predicted to score high on Black history knowledge and be less likely to endorse negative stereotypical messages associated with Black images in the media. These youth may score higher on Black identity, self-esteem, and body image than youth with low racial/ethnic socialization scores.

The remaining youth may fall between these extremes and their outcomes may be associated with demographic factors such as type of school attending/ed, neighborhood composition, family composition, and involvement in extracurricular activities. Diversity of school population, school type (private, parochial, public, charter), ethnic identification, and exposure to different social contexts may result in the delineation of additional subgroups.



## CHAPTER 2

### Review of the Literature

*Opening a magazine or book, turning on the television set, watching a film, or looking at photographs in public spaces, we are most likely to see images of Black people that reinforce and reinscribe White supremacy. Clearly, those of us committed to Black liberation struggle, to the freedom and determination of all Black people, must face daily the tragic reality that we have collectively made few, if any interventions in the area of race and representations (hooks, 1992).*

For more than 50 years researchers have conducted studies examining the influence of television on psychosocial functioning of children and youth. Early studies appear to be designed to address concerns that exposure to TV could possibly impede cognitive and social development. The longevity of TV is magnified by advanced technologies such as cable, satellite, DVRs, DVDs, and Internet streaming sites such as YouTube and Hulu that allow for the recycling of movies and TV shows. Because of this, it is important to consider the impact media exposure has on youth. This is particularly important for Black youth when we consider the legacy of stereotypically negative Black character portrayals.

Before reviewing the literature on Black adolescence and media exposure I must introduce several key topics. To begin, definitions of media socialization will be introduced. Next, a discussion of cognitive functioning will elucidate how children and youth's engagement with media is grounded in their cognitive capability. Developmental differences in media engagement for younger children, older children, and adolescents will be introduced. The literature review will include these discussions: media socialization; cognitive functioning and media; children cognition and media; adolescents, cognition, and media; media exposure, cognition, and academic achievement; and media and adolescents.

The latter section of this chapter will be dedicated to literature that pertains to media exposure and Blacks. It will begin with a historical review of Blacks in the media, then a discussion of Black media stereotypes, racial socialization, and racial identity will follow. These topics offer insight into how Blacks are presented in the media and the regard Blacks have for media. Although much of this research has been conducted with Black adults, it provides a foundation for inquiries of Black youth and media. To conclude, studies that focus on Black adolescents, media exposure, and behavioral outcomes will be discussed.

### *Media Socialization*

Media Socialization lays the foundation for how youth come to acquire static or stereotypic self- and other representations. There appears to be no consensus on a definition for media socialization even though it is consistently referenced in research. Dennis McQuail defines media socialization as the process of teaching norms and values by way of symbolic reward and punishment for different kinds of behavior as represented in the media; or a learning process whereby people learn how to behave in certain situations and the expectations which go with a given role or status in society (McQuail 2005: 494). Margaret Heide (1995) defines media socialization as “the manner in which we establish a relationship to social reality through media representation.” It has also been defined as the internalization of *attentional cues* via a “thorough initiation into the terrain of television's forms and conventions.” Attentional cues are described as formal features of active viewing that guide an individual’s cognitive processing (Biocca, 1988).

I believe media socialization is a combination of the above and define it as the exposure to mass communication (television, radio, internet, newspapers) messages, which teach people socially expected behaviors that have: (1) a direct influence of

cognitive ability and behavioral functioning; (2) a mediating or facilitative indirect influence on learning.

There are two established paradigms of media socialization. The traditional paradigm referenced in child and adolescent studies is concerned with how media<sup>7</sup> is used and its effects on cognitive development and behavior (Arnett, 1995; Wartella, O'Keefe, & Scantlin, 2000). The Bobo doll study is an example of the type of studies that are concerned with the effect of exposure on behavior. The Bobo study was concerned with whether exposure to violent behavior could influence violent behavior in young children. The study used both an experimental and control group. Children were exposed to video of a model behaving violently toward Bobo.<sup>8</sup> After exposure, researchers observed the behavior of children to determine if there were differences (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963; Plomin, Foch, & Rowe, 1981). This method of inquiry is the basis for many of the early studies with media, children, and youth.

The second paradigm considers how different kinds of media influence children's cognitive growth (Wartella, O'Keefe, & Scantlin, 2000). The definition is not as concerned with establishing how cognitive capabilities are used to interpret media; rather, it is helpful for understanding how children learn from different mediums. Studies premised on this definition are concerned with how media products designed to stimulate the cognitive abilities of children can enhance and/or facilitate learning. *Sesame Street* and video game studies are examples of this type of media socialization inquiry. *Sesame Street* integrates the established cognitive abilities that have been proven to teach social and educational skills with the media preferences of young children (Browne Graves, 1982; Strasburger, Wilson, & Jordan, 2009b). Experimental

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<sup>7</sup> Classic studies examined exposure to television. Some researchers continue to employ the same definition with contemporary studies of TV, video games, and other mediums.

<sup>8</sup> The original Bobo study was performed live, however, replicated studies exposed children to videotaped sequences.

studies with video games that require the use of cognitive and motor skills have demonstrated an increased ability in the targeted skill set (Schmidt & Vandewater, 2008).

In addition to the above paradigms, more recent research with adolescents has begun to identify and accept media as an influential socializing agent. That is to say, researchers have added media to the list of primary socializing agents for youth during the adolescent stage of development (Berry, 1998; Brown & Marin, 2009; Brown & Cantor, 2000; Roberts, 2000). This newer paradigm is a result of the number of hours adolescents are exposed to media via *multitasking*—the practice of using multiple technologies at once (Strasburger et al., 2009a). TV remains the largest medium of exposure by far, but cell phone, computer, radio, and video games are elements of consideration for multitasking (Brown & Marin, 2009; Roberts, 2000; Roberts & Foehr, 2008) and require cognitive skills to manage several of these mediums simultaneously.

The research reviewed in this section is framed by all three definitions of media socialization. A discussion of cognitive functioning is presented to provide an understanding of children's media processing capabilities. This discussion will emphasize differences between how children and youth respond to and comprehend media content because their responses shape the design of TV shows targeting these audiences.

#### *Cognitive Functioning and Media*

According to Strasburger, Wilson and Jordan (2009a), there are five mental tasks children use to interpret media messages. First, children must select important information for processing. Next, they must sequence major events into a story, i.e., a story line or plot, and then draw inferences from implicit cues. From here, children have to make sense of explicit and implicit cues—accessing their memory database to relate to

the media message—and lastly children have to evaluate the message (Strasburger et al., 2009a). While all children, preschoolers through adolescents, use these mental tasks, their cognitive abilities at each developmental stage differ and will influence how they interpret media messages.

Cognitive studies help us to understand children's perception and memory capabilities, which evolve as they move through the stages of childhood (Strasburger et al., 2009a). Media exposure and cognitive functioning studies are often conducted with preschool and elementary age children because of the rapid physical and cognitive growth they are experiencing during these stages. Below is a description of cognitive differences in media interpretation for younger children (2 to 7 years old) and older children (8 to 12 years old).

*Children, Cognition, and Media.* Preschoolers' attention to salient features is labeled perceptual boundness. It is defined as the over reliance on perceptual information at the expense of using non-obvious and unobservable information that may be more relevant (Strasburger et al., 2009a). For example, in Hoffner and Cantor's 1985 study of 169 children ages 3 to 10, preschool children used physical appearance to describe the characters regardless of their actual behaviors when rating TV characters as nice or mean. Older children were influenced more by the behavior than the appearance of the characters (Hoffner & Cantor, 1985). All children can be swayed by strong perceptual cues, but with developmental advances, children are able to suppress immediate responses to cues and instead rely on slower, thoughtful ones (Strasburger et al., 2009a).

Younger children's tendency to focus on a single striking feature at the exclusion of others is defined as *centration* (Strasburger et al., 2009a). Piaget's conservation tasks are an example of preschoolers' fixation on the obvious. Although younger children

observed and agreed that there was an identical amount of water in two glasses of the same shape, once water from one of the glasses was poured into a taller glass the children determined that there were differing amounts of water in the glasses. Older children are able to use perceptual cues to determine that a differently shaped glass does not change the quantity of the liquid (Strasburger et al., 2009a).

When we consider centration and media, younger children are likely to fixate on a single feature of a character that is appealing to them. The prominence of cues and a child's interest will influence what becomes the most salient object, i.e., a weapon, outfit, or hair color. In some cases centration can interfere with a younger child's ability to follow the story line (Strasburger et al., 2009a).

The shift from *concrete* to *inferential thinking* plays an important part in how children interpret and respond to media. Concrete thinking is when younger children focus on what they see and hear (explicit content). By age 6 they are able to respond to perceptual cues and pay more attention to plots (inferential thinking), but remain more likely to recall actions in the story rather than a character's goals and motivations (Strasburger et al., 2009a).

Preschool children are not quite able to distinguish between fantasy and reality. Children ages 2 to 3 may believe inanimate objects have voices or that objects are able to come out of the TV. By age 4, children are able to appreciate TV representations but remain swayed by things that look real as being real. Children's ability to distinguish real from unreal evolves as they mature and are able to respond to perceptual cues, although they remain swayed by the idea that things that look real are real at ages 5 to 6. Older children notice perceptual cues and become aware of program genre and the purpose of a program; they are likely to judge a character or television show as realistic if the scene depicts a possible event (Strasburger et al., 2009a).

Collins, Berndt, and Hess' (1974) study demonstrated a dramatic improvement in the ability of children ages 8 to 9 to link scenes and draw connections among characters' motives and behaviors when compared to younger children. The study involved children (grades K, 2, 5, 8) who viewed an aggressive television program and were interviewed about their knowledge of the character's motives and consequence cues. The researchers found that younger subjects evaluated the aggressive actor in terms of the consequences of his acts, while older viewers evaluated the character's actions on the basis of motives or both motives and consequences (Collins, Berndt, & Hess, 1974). Children's cognitive advances and inferential thinking abilities continue to evolve as they move into adolescence.

So far there has been a discussion of how children's cognitive abilities influence their interpretation and understanding of media. Full comprehension of media content involves understanding explicit content and implicit information from the unfolding narrative. Viewers need to link scenes together and draw causal inferences about non-explicit content (Strasburger et al., 2009a). As children mature they are better able to comprehend and interpret advanced plots, respond to and interpret context clues, and distinguish between reality and fantasy (Strasburger et al., 2009a). This next section will provide a description of cognitive advances in media interpretation for adolescents 13 to 18 years old.

*Adolescents, Cognition and Media.* While older children are able to use a variety of clues to judge the reality of media content, adolescents are even savvier. They judge content as realistic if it is considered probable—likely to occur in real life. Teenagers use reasoning to determine if something viewed on TV is likely to occur in real life (Strasburger, 2004; Strasburger et al., 2009a). The shift from empirical to hypothetical reasoning that occurs between later childhood and early adolescence also impacts media

interpretation. Adolescents are increasingly able to understand abstract concepts and engage in inductive and deductive reasoning.

Teenagers' ability to think hypothetically allows them to anticipate plot events and outcomes as a story unfolds (Strasburger, 2004; Strasburger et al., 2009a).

Hypothetical reasoning also allows teens to critique media messages and "consider the meaning behind a message"—who is the source and why is the message constructed this way? How would the message differ if someone else with different motives designed it? (Strasburger et al., 2009a). This ability is very important when we consider the implications of media exposure for youth as they experience adolescence.

*Metacognition* is the ability to understand and manipulate one's own thought processes. There are two types of metacognition. The first, *metacognitive knowledge*, is a person's beliefs about the human mind and how it works. *Metacognitive monitoring and self-regulation* is the second type. It is the process of monitoring and readjusting one's ongoing thinking (Strasburger et al., 2009a). It is expected that the metacognitive capabilities of adolescents will enable them to better analyze the cognitive demands of different media and different messages within a particular medium.

Adolescent awareness of the effort required for engaging with different mediums influences their media preferences. The type of medium affects the depth of processing, which can enhance comprehension and learning. Television requires less effort and concentration than reading or radio listening (Gandy, 2001; Strasburger et al., 2009a). Unless children are watching instructional TV, watching television is unlikely to improve cognitive performance. For example, in one study when children were instructed to pay attention and learn from TV, their mental effort and performance increased compared to children who did not receive this instruction (Strasburger et al., 2009a). Still, we must



keep in mind that adolescents have more sovereignty over TV viewing and may use their metacognitive abilities to choose TV shows that require less processing.

Researchers are just beginning to identify how regulatory functioning is impacted by the development of the frontal cortex regions of the brain (Strasburger et al., 2009a). These areas regulate behavior and emotion. Younger teens' likeliness—as opposed to older teens—to engage in such risk-taking behaviors as speaking with strangers on the Internet is associated with this difference (Escobar-Chaves & Anderson, 2008; Strasburger et al., 2009a).

*Schemas.* Lastly, all children regardless of age are subject to domain-specific knowledge, that is, as children are exposed to different experiences they began to store this knowledge into their memory. These schemas are referenced for how to interpret new information, how children see the world and interpret media (Strasburger et al., 2009a). Children develop schemas about media, and knowing what to expect from each medium increases a child's sophistication with it. Children call on large stores of remembered information across a variety of domains. Their schemas become more elaborate and differentiated, resulting in a richer, more advanced interpretation of media content as they mature and encounter diverse experiences.

It is important to note that memory capacity changes with maturity and impacts children's ability to recall and process familiar tasks into preexisting schema. This frees up space for other cognitive processing. As children mature they become more efficient processors. Research suggests that adolescents are able to use this ability to process complex media messages with main plots and subplots that move at a quick pace via schematization (Strasburger et al., 2009a). As exposure to advanced media content increases, the cognitive processing becomes routine.

Developmental differences influence the design of TV shows targeted to children for each stage of their development (Calvert, 2008; Evans, 2008; Strasburger, 2004). With this in mind, it is possible that exposure to well-designed TV shows could be a powerful resource for improving learning and academic achievement by using methods that maximize and stimulate the cognitive abilities of children and youth. The following section provides insight into the associations among media exposure, cognition, and educational achievement.

### *Media Exposure, Cognition, and Educational Achievement*

As media expands to include different platforms researchers have begun to develop media-based curricula with the goal of improving academic achievement, but TV exposure continues to be a premium inquiry of studies that investigate the relationship between media and academic performance. Hancox, Milne, and Richie (2005) conducted a longitudinal study with a cohort of 1,000 youth born from 1972 to 1973 in Dunedin, New Zealand. Data on TV viewing was collected at ages 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, and 15. Parents provided viewing information for the children between ages 5 to 11. At ages 13 and 15 youth provided information on their viewing habits. At age 26, educational attainments were collected and scored on a 4-point scale ranging from *no qualifications* to *a bachelor's degree or higher*.

Hancox, Milne, & Poulton, (2005) collected data on 967 participants at age 26 (477 women and 490 males). Mean viewing hours for childhood (ages 5 to 11) and adolescence (ages 13 and 15) were calculated and compared to educational attainment at age 26. After controlling for socioeconomic factors, the results demonstrated that higher levels of childhood and adolescent TV viewing are significantly associated with poor educational achievement. Adolescent achievement was a stronger predictor of no

qualifications, and childhood viewing was a stronger predictor of non-university qualification attainment (Hancox, Milne, & Poulton, 2005).

In *Media and Attention, Cognition and School Achievement*, Schmidt and Vandewater (2008) also note the association between TV viewing hours and academic performance. Meta-analysis of TV exposure studies demonstrated an overall negative effect of high levels of exposure (11 or more hours of viewing per week), and a positive effect of moderate exposure (1 to 10 hours per week) (Schmidt & Vandewater, 2008). The influence of socioeconomic factors varies. For example, increased viewing for higher socioeconomic status (SES) youth is associated with lower achievement, while higher viewing is associated with better grades for lower SES youth (Schmidt & Vandewater, 2008). This suggests each group has a different utility for TV watching.

Schmidt and Vandewater's 2008 review of video game studies provides an interesting set of results. Although there were some studies with no difference, for the most part, results suggested children and youth who are exposed to video games have better spatial skills, better problem-solving abilities and better visual attention skills than those who are not exposed (Schmidt & Vandewater, 2008). Education has increasingly incorporated learning games with the goal of improving learning, but there is little known about the impact of these games because of a lack of rigorous studies (Schmidt & Vandewater, 2008).

We do know that viewing well-designed educational TV positively influences academic performance and cognitive ability in children and youth compared to entertainment viewing (Kirkorian, Wartella, & Anderson, 2008; Schmidt & Vandewater, 2008). Kirkorian, Wartella, and Anderson (2008) point out that exposure to programs designed around an educational curriculum is associated with enhanced academic and cognitive functioning in preschool children ages 2 and up. Educational TV relies on

extended and repeated exposure; educational TV studies commonly engage children versus adolescents (Schmidt & Vandewater, 2008). Adolescent studies are more likely to focus on the associations among exposure, behavior, and attitude.

In general, studies with younger children provide insight into how they learn, their memory recall abilities (Collins et al., 1974; Collins, Wellman, Keniston, & Westby, 1978) and how exposure is associated with academic outcomes and cognitive capability (Hancox et al., 2005; Kirkorian et al., 2008; Schmidt & Vandewater, 2008). Adolescent studies indicate that their cognitive and memory abilities permit youth to view and understand advanced plots and story lines (Strasburger, 2004; Strasburger et al., 2009a), but high levels of TV viewing are associated with poor academic performance when it replaces alternative activities that use advanced cognitive processes (Brown & Marin, 2009; Hancox et al., 2005; Schmidt & Vandewater, 2008).

The cognitive differences between adolescents and children and how children and youth engage with, use, and understand media help researchers to understand how media affects children and youth differently. I assume that the advanced cognitive ability of adolescents and their interest in developing sovereignty, interest in peer relationships, interest in popular culture, and identity-exploration processes influence their TV viewing preferences. With this in mind we can also safely assume that adolescent TV viewing is for entertainment or information, not for educational instruction. Given this consideration, it is difficult to study and analyze the effects of exposure to educational TV on the cognitive abilities of youth.

Despite research that explores media exposure, attitude, and behavior with younger children, this study focuses on media and adolescents. Moving forward, studies reviewed for this research will center on adolescents' cognitive ability to process complex media content (Strasburger et al., 2009a), their increased exposure to media, and their

primary task of identity development (Erikson, 1999). The next section will be a review of common adolescent media research topics that include violence, sex/sexuality, viewing preferences, body image, and self-esteem.

### *Media and Adolescents*

There is a robust body of literature on TV exposure and adolescents. These studies examine relationships with sexual behaviors and attitudes, violence, body image, self-esteem, and viewing preferences (Blosser, 1988; O'Connor, Brooks-Gunn, & Graber, 2000; Roberts, 2000; Roberts & Foehr, 2008; Ward, 2004; Ward et al., 2006; Ward et al., 2005; Ward & Harrison, 2005; Watkins, 2005; Strasburger, 2004). All of these topics are common variables of interest for adolescent research. The following review provides a blueprint for how media exposure relates to adolescent development.

*Sexual Behaviors and Attitudes.* Sexual behaviors/sexuality studies most often focus on female youth (Mastronardi, 2003); findings are not easily summarized and sometimes conflict with each other, although there does appear to be emerging trends. While sexuality is influenced by exposure to sexually explicit content for female youth, the influence of media is also related to the genre of the TV show and whether youth are able to associate with the characters (Ward, 1995, 2003). For example, the influence of media that feature traditional gender roles for men and women is related to the genre and whether youth have a preexisting disposition to these types of roles (Ward & Friedman, 2006; Brown, 2000).

*Violence.* There is a growing body of evidence linking media violence exposure to actual violent behaviors, but there is not a majority consensus by researchers about the effect of exposure (Block & Crain, 2007; Bloom, 2002; Olson, 2004). There are some researchers who argue that there is a significant link (Cantor, 2000; Mastronardi, 2003; Zillman & Weaver, 1999), and, just as convincingly, there are those who dispute the

link's validity (Cumberbatch, 1989). In spite of this, there are several key issues that are clear: The influence of exposure to media violence is investigated with closer attention to males, exposure to violent video game content (Hopf, Huber, & Weiss, 2008; Olson et al., 2007), and there is a consistent relationship between exposure to media violence and aggressive behavior in youth and children who already exhibit a tendency toward violent and/or aggressive behavior (Bloom, 2002; Cumberbatch, 1989; Hopf et al., 2008).

*Body Image and Self-Esteem.* Music videos and prime-time dramas popular among youth are two frequently referenced genres for body image and self-esteem studies (Grabe & Hyde, 2009; Hesse-Biber, Howling, Leavy, & Lovejoy, 2004; Mastronardi, 2003). While body image and self-esteem scores vary by study, the difference in scores between White and Black youth remains consistent: Black youth score higher on measures of body image and self-esteem (Ata, Ludden, & Lally, 2007; Harrison, 2006; Ward, 2004; Ward & Harrison, 2005). There is also literature that is focused on how media usage habits may be related to childhood obesity. The main hypothesis for this segment of research is that youth who spend long hours engaging with media instead of doing more physically engaging activities are likely to overeat or to be unfit (Andersen, Crespo, Bartlett, Cheskin, & Pratt, 1998). Another literature uses content analysis of TV shows and commercials to determine how often unhealthy food selections are featured (Bertrand, 2002). Although these are important inquiries, this study is concerned with how exposure influences attitudes about body image and self-esteem. Only studies designed to assess these relationships are referenced in this review.

*Body Image Scores.* In spite of higher viewing hours and controlling for demographic variables, Black male and female adolescents' body image and self-esteem scores are less likely to be influenced by images viewed on TV when compared to scores of White youth (Ata et al., 2007).

Ata, Ludden, and Lally (2007) conducted a study of gender differences, media consumption, body image, and self-esteem with 177 youth ages 13 to 19. The study included 43% males. Overall, participants expressed dissatisfaction with their bodies. For females, high-risk eating behaviors and psychosocial factors were important variables for body dissatisfaction. For males, low parental support and greater pressure to be muscular emerged as high-risk variables for body dissatisfaction (Ata et al., 2007). Yet, their findings demonstrated a significant difference for minority participant's attitudes toward eating compared to White participants (Ata, Ludden & Lally, 2007). However, 93% of the study participants were White and the ethnic/racial identity of the minority participants was not disaggregated, making it difficult to accept the findings as representative patterns for minority youth, and impossible to identify the attitudes of African American participants.

The studies referenced above follow the common method of inquiry by comparing results across different ethnic groups. While comparison studies establish a baseline of media influence, they fail to investigate within-group differences or give consideration to additional socialization variables that influence adolescent media usage and interpretation. White adolescent media habits seem to be the standard of comparison; this type of inquiry offers little explanation for ethnic differences or within-group variability. An obvious line of inquiry would be to investigate the viewing habits of adolescents for an explanation of the differences.

*Viewing Habits.* White and Black youth have different television viewing habits. African American children spend a significantly higher number of hours viewing TV than White youth (Bickham et al., 2003; Blosser, 1988; Roberts, 2000; Roberts & Foehr, 2008). In 1988 Blosser worked with a sample of 349 Black, White, Puerto Rican, and Mexican children ages 5 to 15 to examine differences in quantity of use, frequency of use,

access to media, and media usage habits. The study found Black youth watch more TV during the school day, after school, and during the evening than White and Hispanic youth (Blosser, 1988). Roberts' 2000 census of children's and youth's media habits found Black youth dedicated 48% of their media diet to TV viewing, compared to White youth, whose viewing equaled 38% (Roberts, 2000). Both Blosser (1988) and Roberts (2000) found Black youth reported higher levels of playing video games and going to movies than White youth.

A study of 8- and 9-year-old Black and White girls' media preferences offers some additional insight into viewing preferences (O'Connor, Brooks-Gunn, & Graber, 2000). Racial preferences in music, television and peers were examined with 140 Black and White girls; both Black and White girls' preferred Black music but White television shows. An important predictor of TV viewing preferences for Black girls was the racial socialization practices of mothers. Girls with Black mothers who engaged in racial socialization practices were more likely to select Black-oriented TV shows (O'Connor, et al., 2000). This is one of the few comparative studies that explicitly examined racial socialization variables as influential on the media habits of youth.

### *Limitations*

As noted earlier, most of the cited studies limit their analysis by relying on comparison studies of race differences and neglecting within-group differences. Socioeconomic and demographic variables demonstrate differences in the types of media consumed but do not dissolve racial consumption differences. The findings of O'Connor et al. (2000) suggest other variables may serve to explain and/or predict viewing preferences and consumption. Indeed, comparative studies with adults have been useful to a degree by demonstrating different consumption and use of TV viewing between Blacks and Whites (Albarran & Umphrey, 1993; Allen & Bielby, 1979; Allen & Clarke,



1980; Darden & Darden, 1981). Without incorporating context variables that assist in understanding the results, we are limited in how the data from these types of studies is interpreted and what interventions might be created or developed.

Contextualized interpretation of research leads to a more cohesive explanation of results and to a design of appropriate interventions that provide all adolescents, particularly those at a cultural disadvantage, with fair and equitable spaces for development (Garcia Coll, Bearer, & Lerner, 2004; Lerner, Taylor, & Von Eye, 2002). Researchers who investigate media socialization with Black youth must also consider cultural processes such as racial socialization and racial identity.

Research with Black samples that focuses on mediums designed for Black audiences or incorporates context variables demonstrates a qualitative difference in outcomes when judged against comparative studies. The following section emphasizes studies that explicitly integrate racial identity, racial socialization, or the findings suggest that these cultural contexts served as factors in the analyses and interpretation of results. Before reviewing media studies with Blacks, it is important to present a discussion of the historical treatment of Blacks in the media, racial identity, and racial socialization because these context variables are important aspects of the studies reviewed.

#### *Historical Representation of Blacks in the Media*

As noted by hooks, concern over media images of Black people is not a new discussion; media representations of Black people are often stereotypical depictions that reinforce negative perceptions of Black men and women and too often serve as justification for racist behaviors, attitudes, and social practices.

Mehlinger (1970) discussed the evolution of the representation of the Black man (Black people) in the media, TV, and books, arguing that the scarcity of mainstream representation was replaced with “cackling, bumptious, buffoonish clowns” and Black

children portrayed as “pickaninnies.” Even though it is important for children to see visual images of people who look like them, limited presentation of Black children has been a long-established pattern of the media. Mehlinger critiqued mainstream media for the low and negative representation of Blacks, arguing that systematic exclusion of Blacks in the media accelerates the identity crisis and “makes him less accepting of himself” (Mehlinger, 1970).

Noting the “systematic exclusion of Blacks has given both Blacks and Whites a false depiction of their lives and the world we live in,” Mehlinger identified advertisers’ practice of adhering to an industry code of SDP (Segregation, Discrimination, Prejudice), though to advertisers, SDP means “subtle, discerning perception.” Hollywood is also critiqued for continuing to produce canned films filled with distortions, caricatures and negative images of minority group people (Mehlinger, 1970).

Mehlinger’s critique is echoed by many of the researchers noted in this review; positive movement of the representation of Blacks on TV and in other mediums has occurred slowly. Although there has been some improvement in media depictions of Black people, negative stereotypes persist and continue to influence real-life perspectives of Blacks (Allen, 1998; Allen & Thornton, 1992; Bogle, 1973, 1980, 2001a, 2001b; Fujioka, 1999, 2005; Jackson, 2006; Nama, 2003; Tynes & Ward, 2009).

In 1973 Bogle released his first edition of *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks*, which provided an in-depth analysis of Blacks in the media. He organized and critiqued media content for its representation of African-Americans as *Toms*: Black men who were subservient to Whites and unwilling to stand up for Black rights and social justice; *Coons*: uneducated Blacks who were prone to repetitive erroneous behavior; *Mulattoes*: Black people of mixed race who were tragically trapped in a light-skinned body that afforded them privilege among White people yet created anguish among

darker-hued Black Americans: *Mammies*: larger-framed subservient Black women whose primary concern and responsibility was to White people, the children and family of their employers, often at the expense of their own family and children; and *Bucks*: physically imposing Black men who could manage hard labor and harbored sexual desires for White women (Bogle, 1973). Later editions included a sixth caricature: the *sidekick*. Sidekicks are asexual characters cast in contrast or support of lead characters.<sup>9</sup>

Bogle's *Brown Sugar: Eighty Years of America's Black Female Superstars* chronicled the careers of popular African American female entertainers on and off the big screen from 1900 into the late 1970s. In addition to prescribing the roles of Black women in film according to the particular historical moment in time, Bogle's analysis resulted in three dominant depictions of Black women: as sex, social, or political symbols (Bogle, 1980). These symbols do not replace the categories in his earlier volume; rather they are an additional layer added to preexisting imagery.

Published in 2001, *Primetime Blues* presented a reflective critique of Black television shows—prime-time series that targeted a Black viewing audience. While many of the shows discussed were popular and resonated with Black audiences, Bogle reveals that there were often behind-the-scenes power struggles over the depictions of characters. More often than not, the producers and writers won out. For example, Florida Evans (Esther Rolle), the mother in *Good Times*, was initially scripted as the lead character; her character, along with that of her husband, James Evans (John Amos), was scripted to present a glimpse of the complexity of life for a struggling Black family. Early in the series, changes were made and eldest son J.J. (Jimmy Walker) became the primary focus of the show (Bogle, 2001a). J.J. characterized the contemporary Coon,

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<sup>9</sup> Since its first publication, Bogle has updated and released three editions of *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks*; the fourth and most recent was released in 2001. This text presents a historical content analysis of the most frequent portrayals of Black media images over 90 years.

which the other cast members saw as problematic. *Ebony* magazine quoted Rolle as stating, “Little by little—with the help of the artist [Walker] ...they made him more stupid and enlarged the role...I resent the imagery that says to Black kids that you can make it by standing on the corner saying ‘Dyn-o-mite!’ ” (Bogle, 2001a).

Bogle’s work focuses on content and characterization of Black media images; throughout his text he considers the persuasive effect of media, particularly prime-time television. In the final analysis he describes prime-time television as “a mixed bag of sitcoms full of stereotypical images that lack dramatic portrayals and varied characterizations of African-Americans” (Bogle, 2001). Although Bogle’s research is not of a psychological context, it does provide a robust chronological footprint for the persistent and sometimes refined contemporary stereotypical depictions of Blacks in the media. A valid concern of many researchers is that repeated exposure to negative images may affect how Black youth perceive, develop, and accept their Black identity (Gorham, 1999; Tynes & Ward, 2009; Watkins, 2005).

#### *Racial [Black] Identity and Media*

Racial identity is defined as the degree to which an individual feels a *connection* with and an attachment to his or her racial group based on a common history and shared values (Sanders Thompson, 1999; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000). The studies below consider racial identity as a factor in media use or interpretation.

In the same year that Bogle released *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks*, Jenkins, Fitzgerald, and Sears (1973) conducted a study to ascertain if the “Black is Beautiful” campaign altered perceptions of the Black image. The campaign was described as a 10-year parallel effort to the Civil Rights Movement during which Blacks attempted to affirm their self-concept by counteracting negative mainstream media depictions of Black people with positive imagery in advertising and music (Jenkins,

Fitzgerald, & Sears, 1973). The researchers sought to answer three questions: (1) Has the “Black is Beautiful” campaign in any way affected the average Black person's evaluation of the Black image?; (2) Has the campaign influenced the accuracy of the Black individual's self-assessment?; (3) Are there significant psychological indices to be found in individuals who either distort or accurately describe their image? (Jenkins et al., 1973)

From a pool of 200 people, 50 under-25 and over-35 participants volunteered to participate in the study. The authors describe the selection of the sample as purposeful—choosing a *silent majority* segment of the Black community, a segment whose opinions are omitted from research. A four-part test was administered that involved both the examiner and the participant coding the appearance of the participant. Participants were asked questions about labels pertaining to Black people, and they were asked to project value judgments onto pictures and instructed to select a *beautiful face*, *lazy face*, *dishonest face*, etc. (Jenkins et al., 1973).

The data were evaluated by comparing the selection of faces by the whole group. The group was then divided by age and residence, and their selections compared. Lastly, pictures to which subjects projected certain characteristics were compared to the image the subject gave of her/himself. An image index was also created for each subject. The prevalence of negative and positive images was examined for the two age groups.

Frequency analysis demonstrated African characteristics were more popular. Black subjects selected medium brown color, medium lip size, and medium nose size as a beauty model. There was a slight difference according to age group in hairstyle: Selection in females over 35 leant toward straightened hair, under-25 women toward natural hair. The under-25 group showed more distrust of Whites, while the over-35 group was more reluctant to project negative characteristics. Neither group had a tendency to relate negative or positive characteristics to its own personal image. There was a distinct

indication that both groups gave dark brown, African-like male leadership a better image. The older group looked to black female leadership (Jenkins et al., 1973).

These results imply that Black media campaigns that offer positive Black media images can influence actual self-perceptions among Black people. Although there were overall positive trends in the data, this sample did not select a majority of negative or positive characteristics. The authors suggest that positive characteristics may not become part of one's personal image without being reinforced. They also ponder whether defense mechanisms used by Blacks for self-preservation stifle self-expression and affirmation (Jenkins et al., 1973). While the authors did not define this practice as a form of racial socialization, I infer from their description that Blacks may have been activating a racial socialization mechanism. As such, additional analysis and questions would be needed for a fuller interpretation of the findings attributed to the silent majority.

In *Nature of Constraint & Racial Identity*, Davis and Gandy (1999) focus on the role of racial group identity in the formation of Black media orientation. The authors explain that relationships with media are partly determined by perceived utility and the information we receive from them. Cognitive schemas are influenced by contextual factors (background, personal experiences, and media) that help us to understand our environments, expected behavior, and outcomes. Racial identity is considered a powerful determinant of individual mass media behavior and choices re: audience and consumers (Davis & Gandy, 1999).

Interpretation of media is a result of experiential contexts that act as schema and help people to understand environments, making decisions and actions predictable. Media evaluation from a group orientation<sup>10</sup> helps members learn how to disseminate

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<sup>10</sup> Media representations of people of color have been implicated in historical and contemporary racial projects with stereotypical images used to influence redistribution of resources beneficial to dominant groups.

common interpretations of media and develop critical viewing and listening competencies (Davis& Gandy, 1999). Racial identity becomes salient for Blacks when they see and hear harmful, distasteful media representations of Black people (Davis& Gandy, 1999).

Davis and Gandy conducted a telephone survey about media use and domestic violence attitudes with 405 adults living in Pennsylvania, California, and Alabama in relation to a radio campaign that aired in these states about domestic violence. Two questions about racial identity were incorporated into the survey. Results indicated that respondents tended to agree that the media present all Black men as violent, but were indifferent about whether domestic violence would draw attention away from other important topics. Racial identity served as a measure of constraint: Higher scores on both race identity questions meant viewers were more critical of media.<sup>11</sup> The importance of domestic violence did not predict interpretation of how participants critiqued media. On the other hand, for some participants racial identity was a significant predictor of how respondents felt Black men were portrayed in relation to domestic violence (Davis& Gandy, 1999).

Only two questions about racial identity were included in this study; the first question asked about respondent agreement with “What happens to Black people generally will affect what happens in my life” and the second statement was “Each of us can make real progress only when our community as a whole makes progress.” The authors assigned different dimensions of racial identity to each of these questions. *Linked fate*,—which considers self-interest as a component of racial identity, was assigned to the first question, and group community and collective progress to the latter, although I believe the first question appears to be related to racial socialization

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<sup>11</sup> California was an outlier with very high and highly significant racial identity scores, but even when controlled for, results were similar.

experience more than racial identity. This study was an assessment of radio media, which requires advanced cognitive skills compared to TV viewing. It is possible the results of a TV viewing campaign would present differently.

Gandy (2001) published another study that explored how racial identity influences the processes and understanding of media. Gandy suggested differences in race centrality would be reflected in TV viewing preferences—those with high race centrality would select shows that provided an opportunity for indirect interaction. A multi-city panel of 3,091 Black adults participated in a telephone interview about an anti-domestic violence campaign. Respondents were asked about media usage habits, racial identity, and domestic violence. The results suggest racial identity influences how Blacks utilize the media, although there were no significant findings related to perception of risk of violence with race identity. There was a significant relationship with education level. The higher the education the more likely respondents were to identify White women as being at higher risk for domestic violence (Gandy, 2001).

These studies were conducted with adults, but demonstrate that racial identity can be influential itself and/or influence media interpretation. Racial/ethnic identity is closely related to racial socialization; however, racial socialization is a separate variable to be considered in media research with Black adults and youth.

### *Racial/Ethnic Socialization*

Racial/Ethnic Socialization (R/ES) often includes a level of identity development, but an important distinction between racial socialization and racial/ethnic identity is that racial socialization involves a transfer of messages about how to adapt to living in a racist society without internalizing how others perceive you (Stevenson, 2008). It lays



the foundation for the development of identity frames.<sup>12</sup> R/ES is a set of distinct processes from both racial and ethnic identity in that it precipitates racial/ethnic identity development. Stevenson (2008) describes it as “the reciprocal delivery and reception of messages and interactions between parents and children about managing racial/ethnic discrimination and promoting cultural affirmation across the developmental lifespan.” Racial socialization is the foundation for racial identity and race centrality (Bennett, 2006).

In 1979, Allen and Bielby published an article of their seminal work presented at the 1977 Association for Education in Journalism conference. In this study, the authors distinguished their research from others by including racial socialization variables in the research model. Instead of assuming all Blacks have a homogenous socialization experience and perspective, Allen and Bielby included questions that allowed them to identify and examine variability in how Black adults interpret and respond to television (Allen & Bielby, 1979).

A recursive structural equation model was employed to interpret patterns of direct and indirect effects among a set of variables representing demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, general and race-related attitudes, television exposure, preference, and evaluation. Education, SES, Age, and Sex (gender) were the background variables in this model. Public Affairs, Black Public Affairs, and Total Viewing Time were codified as the exposure variables. Television preference and evaluation were represented by Perceived TV Bias, Favorite Black Show, and Perceived Bad Points of Situation Comedies variables. Personal Control, Anomie, Alienation from White Society,

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<sup>12</sup> A challenge of research on ethnic identity is lack of consensus on a definition. Interpretation of ethnic identity is distinguished here by considering the purpose of racial socialization vs. ethnic identity. Ethnic identity may be used so that one can affiliate with a particular group.

and Black Identity represented subjective orientations, the social context variables, in the model.

This is one of the first studies that included racial socialization and racial identity variables in the model. Including these variables permitted the researchers to dispute accepted assumptions that Black people are homogenous TV viewers.

Education was the most powerful predictor of Black TV attitudes and behaviors except for the preference for viewing Black-oriented TV shows. Results indicated that variation in attitudes and behaviors toward television (especially those related to perceived bias and perceived bad points of Black-oriented situation comedies) was systematically related to differences among Black adults in their exposure to the medium, subjective orientations, and demographic and socioeconomic characteristics (Allen & Bielby, 1979). In every case these differences were related to the educational level of participants.

Allen and Bielby used the results of their study to encourage researchers to consider diversity within the Black community when studying what “Blacks do with the media,” rather than focusing exclusively upon “what the media do to Blacks” (Allen & Bielby, 1979). This study serves as a principal example of how to incorporate the socialization experiences of Blacks into a study so that researchers may offer better explanations of Black viewing preferences and perceptions of media. In spite of the continuous critique of Black media images, Black viewers prefer TV shows with a Black cast or Black characters. The next two sections present an analysis of Black TV characters and Black viewing habits.

### *Blacks on TV*

Nama (2003) conducted a content analysis of Black representation in mainstream media using data from AATR 2000, the *2000 African American Television*

*Report.* This report is considered to reflect representational diversity in television as a medium that reflects and reinforces the boundaries of shared beliefs in American society. Television has been the primary vehicle for delivering various indicators of racial progress whether real or fictional (Nama, 2003). “Because African American characters on dramatic network television are created as true-to-life representations they can become, to borrow from Jean Baudrillard, as ‘real’ as the everyday African Americans that actually populate American society” (Nama, 2003). This study tackles this intersection of race, television, and genre by examining how African American characters are depicted in the network television drama genre and what these seemingly realistic characters communicate about American race relations.

Nama, like Bogle, notes that the first representations of African Americans on television were stereotypical images that validated separate and unequal social worlds (Nama, 2003). Such images communicated the purported inferiority and the real devaluation of Black people and Black life and reinforced negative ideas, behaviors, attitudes, and opinions about racial minorities that ultimately supported real relations of racial inequality. Although the representation of Black TV images evolved to reflect sociohistoric moments in time negative stereotypes persist (Nama, 2003). The depiction of African Americans on television does not exist outside of the overall mission of television networks to garner the largest share of the viewing audience by casting a broad ideological net that reinforces negative stereotypes about Blacks that influence day-to-day social interactions.

Nama analyzed mainstream dramas in order to address three research questions: To what degree are African American characters present in dramatic television programming? How are African American characters present in dramatic television programming? To what degree are African American characters participating in

dramatic television programming? Fifty-three episodes of 33 one-hour prime-time dramatic series on ABC, CBS, NBC, Fox, UPN, and WB were analyzed for five weeks between October 17, 1999, and December 4, 1999. Tabulations were based on the quantity of African American television portrayals and their social characteristics. Content was not analyzed based on negative or positive representation.

Four categories of representation of African American characters were measured: (a) the number of African American characters appearing in the sampled programming; (b) the social characteristics of the roles (for example, age, occupation, education, gender, etc.); (c) the functions of the characters in the narrative stories (for example, hero, villain, etc.); and (d) the prominence of the African American characters in the overall series (for example, series regular, guest star, etc.). The presence of African American characters was measured according to physical characteristics and direct references to a character's race. Characters were coded as "male" or "female" on the basis of physical characteristics (Nama, 2003).

How African American characters were presented in dramatic television programs was operationalized along two lines, casting position and narrative position. Casting position was measured according to three possible categories: (a) "series regular," (b) "guest star," (c) "other."<sup>13</sup> In addition, how African American characters were present in dramatic television was analyzed according to the narrative location of African American characters in episodes with multiple story lines and the degree of participation in dramatic television programming measured by screen time (Nama, 2003).

Of the 3,341 character appearances on dramatic television programming, African

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<sup>13</sup> "Series regulars" and "guest stars" were identified from the opening credits of each program; "co-stars" and background actors ("extras") were defined as actors who were neither series regular nor guest stars. The "guest star" African American character appears in stories specific to the particular episode.

American characters appeared 405 times (12%) across the various episodes. The percentage of Blacks on TV correlates with the percentage of Blacks in America according to the U.S. census. Of the 33 shows analyzed, nearly one half (49%) had no Black series regular. Moreover, shows that did not have Black series regulars were primarily family, friend, and lifestyle-oriented dramas. In contrast to this pattern, among dramatic television programs that had at least one Black series regular, 10 (56%) of these shows were fundamentally law-enforcement-oriented shows such as legal, police, and detective dramas (Nama, 2003).

Although dramatic television series with African American characters as series regulars or guest stars present the opportunity for African American characters to play a significant part in the narrative, they do not guarantee it. Only 12 out of 33 dramas with African American leads gave them over 10 minutes of airtime. Less screen time means less time to participate in the narrative. Of the 405 appearances, 373 out of 405, (92%) had appearances shorter than 10 minutes.

Given the projection of TV characters as real-life representations, the scarcity of appearances symbolizes African American marginality in the television narrative and also their value in society (Nama, 2003). Severely limited screen time operates to reduce African American characters to backdrop ambiance and generic objects: “these characters are not subjects of the narrative they are merely objects in the narrative” (Nama, 2003). The lack of African American series regulars on close to half of network dramatic series expresses an implicit ideology of the creators: Primarily, that White audiences will fail to identify with African American characters.

This study gives a perspective on the representation of Blacks in prime-time TV dramas, which suggests that the overrepresentation of Blacks in law enforcement shows and limited airtime in general serve to reinforce stereotypes about Black people. While

network television programming may have added more African Americans on the screen, the results of this study reveal that these representations are more symbolic than substantive in providing a meaningful space for African American representation to take place. Given that the genre of dramatic television is reality-centered, “this takes on a more ominous tone because in the final analysis these images are considered to be true-to-life, acceptable, believable and in the end, valid” (Nama, 2003).

Disappointingly, Nama’s study was conducted 33 years after Jefferson’s critique of syndicated television series. Jefferson (1970) reviewed TV series appearing on the three major television networks: NBC, ABC, and CBS. In summary, he found that the increase of Black actors and actresses on prime-time series demonstrated few advances in characterization (Jefferson, 1970). The roles Blacks played were closely aligned with pre-established stereotypes. Characters who offered a somewhat positive perspective on Blacks were projected as one-dimensional individuals whose presence and existence on the series were closely aligned with the leading White actors (Jefferson, 1970).

Research illustrates that Black youth have an affinity for TV shows that feature Black characters. Many prime-time TV shows do not include Black characters (Jefferson, 1970; Nama, 2003; Watkins, 2005). Thus, Black children, youth, and adults watch Black-oriented half-hour sitcoms that tend to be racially segregated, but feature an all-Black or majority Black cast (Jefferson, 1970; Watkins, 2005). If researchers are interested in learning more about the relationship between media and adolescence for Black youth, an awareness and attention to viewing habits should be used to shape future studies. Studies that analyze the viewing habits of Black youth are discussed in the next section.

*Black American TV Viewing Patterns.* Gerson (1966) conducted one of the earliest studies in mass media socialization differences between African American<sup>14</sup> and

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<sup>14</sup> African American respondents in this study are referred to as Negroes.

White adolescents. He surveyed 638<sup>15</sup> adolescents (351 Black youth and 272 White youth) about their viewing habits and intentions, concluding that Black youth used mass media as a socializing agent at much higher rates than White youth. Gerson was concerned with the intent of viewers and interpreted the patterns of Black youth as viewing mass media for the purpose of learning how to act like Whites—behave in a socially acceptable way (Gerson, 1966). This study did attempt to use contextual factors to explain the media socialization differences between White and Black adolescents. Consideration was given to segregation, Black adolescent self-concept, and structural differences in Black and White communities. However, this study failed to fully consider the viewing options and stereotypical images of Black people that were presented in mainstream media.

The findings of another early study suggest that African American teens use TV for learning about people from other ethnic and social backgrounds (Greenberg & Dominick, 1969). Analysis of data from 84 Black and 222 White youth (N=306) was assessed to ascertain attitudes toward TV, motivations for TV viewing and TV usage. Black youth had the highest number of viewing hours and scored higher on TV credibility questions. Participants responded to 34 questions about why they watch TV; 12 of these questions related to using TV as a learning device. Black youth selected these options more often than White youth (Greenberg & Dominick, 1969).

In 1980, Allen and Clarke published a study that investigated media behaviors among Black and Latino viewers. The objective was to disaggregate *minority-viewing preferences* by identifying differences in four different ethnic groups. A two-city sample of 391 Black, 111 Cuban, 127 Puerto Rican, and 162 Chicano adults were surveyed about viewing habits. Sociodemographic data was collected along with information about TV

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<sup>15</sup> Fifteen unreliable responses were excluded from the analyses.

viewing, TV dependency, and newspaper reading and radio listening (Allen & Clarke, 1980).

The media consumption habits of Black participants were similar to the findings of Allen and Bielby's 1979 study. Black consumers had high TV viewing hours that were significantly reduced by education levels. Higher education reduced the dependency on TV for information about Blacks, but higher-income Blacks tended to rely on TV for this information more than lower-income Blacks. Latinos with higher education also rely on TV less for information about their community (Allen & Clarke, 1980). In contrast, Latinos with higher education watched more TV and tended to read the papers. Higher-educated Blacks had lower rates of TV viewing. Age and gender also emerged as significant variables in TV viewing and newspaper reading patterns. It seems older Blacks depended on TV and read papers more often than younger Blacks, but this finding did not hold true for Latinos. There was a significant relationship with newspaper reading for all males, and being female was related to higher viewing for Blacks (Allen & Clarke, 1980). Relationships with media for Chicanos and Blacks were the most similar; only age did not emerge as a significant variable for Chicanos. All other relationships examined were of a similar pattern and direction.

This study established that minority groups have commonalities in viewing patterns. There was also a fair amount of differences among the groups surveyed, providing evidence that all minorities do not have the same relationship with media. The experiences of these groups in the U.S. are different. Immigration patterns, historical treatment of the group in society, family dynamics, cultural norms, occupations, and language certainly impact their perspectives on media. Without inclusion of questions that help us to examine the relationships of these variables with media preferences,



researchers can only speculate about the differences in viewing habits among these groups.

Lee and Brown (1981) surveyed a sample of 449 Blacks. There were four groups: 66 third and fourth graders; 101 eighth graders (teenagers); 120 college students; and 162 adults. All participants were queried about TV viewing hours, TV use and TV gratification. Significant differences were found in TV viewing hours, with younger children consuming the most TV. Among the adolescents, 36% of college students reported 2 to 4 hours of viewing, 26% reported less than 2 hours, 15% of teenagers reported more than 6 hours; and another 15% of teens reported more than 8 hours ( Lee & Browne, 1981).

There were significant positive correlations between TV use and TV importance for all but the child group. Teens believed TV to be more important than the adult and college groups. In contrast, college students reported watching TV for learning and for information; 22% of teens watched for excitement; 19% watched to pass time; and 18% reported watching because they had nothing better to do (Lee & Browne, 1981). The teen findings somewhat contradicted the findings of other researchers who have reported that Black adolescents indicated they watched TV for information purposes. Information about the TV shows watched and demographic information could provide additional insight into the teen findings. The sociohistorical timing of the study and the survey method may also have impacted teen responses.

Bales (1986) conducted a comparative study between Whites and Blacks designed to assess their confidence in and use of TV. Borrowing from Snare's work, Bales suggests that TV's arrival during societal integration served as a catalyst for Black viewers' interest in society. TV's relative newness compared to other media outlets meant Blacks were less hostile toward the medium; also, their constrained access to recreational

outlets and limited economic resources made TV an alternative recreational outlet (Bales, 1986).

Black and White subsamples from the 1975, 1977, 1980, and 1982 National Opinion Research Center survey were used to conduct correlation analysis between respondent viewing habits and confidence in TV. Sociodemographic variables of age, sex, education, income, and political views were also analyzed.

The results demonstrated that Blacks watch a significantly higher amount of TV than do White viewers and indicated significantly more positive attitudes toward TV than White viewers. In spite of these findings there was only one year, 1982, when there was a significant relationship between confidence and viewing in comparison to a significant relationship in all four years for White viewers. The results indicate that although Blacks rate television more positively than Whites, their viewing habits do not complement their confidence in the medium. When entered into the analysis, sociodemographic controls did not alter the results. This finding also suggests Blacks may have a different utility for TV viewing compared to White viewers.

Albarran and Umphrey (1993) published a study of TV motivation and program preferences that offered additional insight into the preferences of Black viewers. Noting the scarcity of studies that examined minority viewing preferences and the tendency of researchers to codify all non-White viewers as one group, this study sought to identify differences in motivations for TV use of three ethnic groups and to determine to what extent ethnic groups differed in program preference (Albarran & Umphrey, 1993).

A telephone survey was conducted with a sample of 1,241 Black, White, and Hispanic adults in Dallas, Texas. There were 34% White, 28% Black, and 37% Hispanic respondents; 58% of the sample was female. Respondents answered questions about motivation and TV viewing hours. Blacks were significantly more likely to watch TV for

entertainment and diversion than Whites or Hispanics. Hispanics tended to watch TV to learn about others and themselves. Hispanics objected to commercials the most, followed by Blacks then Whites (Albarran & Umphrey, 1993).

Black mean scores were higher, but Hispanics and Blacks reported similar preferences for viewing soap operas, talk/interview shows, reality shows, and Westerns compared to Whites. Blacks also reported viewing situation comedies, sports, police dramas, and game shows more frequently than Whites and Hispanics (Albarran & Umphrey, 1993). The findings of this study were interpreted by the researchers to mean that Blacks view TV for recreation and entertainment, watching TV at a higher rate than Hispanics and Whites. While this study offers evidence about the distinct viewing habits of Black adults, it does not provide insight into what influences these viewing habits.

Bickham, Vandewater, Huston, Lee, Caplovitz, and Wright. (2003) investigated the viewing habits of White, Black, and Latino children ages 0 to 12 years old. One of the goals of this study was to prove ethnic identity has a stronger relationship with media consumption habits than the common SES variables cited in media studies (Bickham et al., 2003). Subsamples of 1,819 and 1,304 were taken from the 1997 *Panel Study of Income Dynamics and Child Development Supplement* to analyze TV viewing and TV content (Bickham et al., 2003). TV content was analyzed and coded as educational or noneducational.

The results demonstrated that African Americans watched more television overall, with a lower percentage of educational programs and a higher percentage of cartoon programs than did European Americans. African Americans played more electronic games than Hispanic Americans, and their percentage of educational game play was lower than that of European Americans (Bickham et al., 2003). Parental psychosocial well-being was related to children's total television viewing for African Americans.

Children with parents who had low self-esteem watched more television.

Analysis of the full model led researchers to conclude that knowing the individual, demographic, familial, and parental characteristics of a child allowed for more accurate prediction of individuals' media use for European American children than for African American children (Bickham et al., 2003). This is important because although the context variables provided some additional detail about Black children's media habits, these variables were still unable to account for differences in Black children's media habits, which indicates other context variables need to be incorporated into future models.

While these researchers did not use racial socialization or racial identity variables, neighborhood composition, family environment, and parental psychosocial well-being were included. Bandura's Social Learning Theory suggests children learn accepted behavior by observing the behaviors modeled by parents (Bandura, 1977). Black parents who practice racial socialization have been proven to socialize for neighborhood context (Bennett Jr., 2006; Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004; Hill, 2001, 2002; Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson, 1998). These variables are important because they are influential in the schema children and youth access to make sense of their environments and media content.

*Blacks and Media Stereotypes.* Allen and Thornton published a study in 1992 that investigated the perception and endorsement of media and Black stereotypes by African American adults. Although limited to an adult sample, this study serves as another seminal work that integrates racial socialization into the research design and analysis. There were two queries about Black socialization experience<sup>16</sup> included in the

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<sup>16</sup> Allen and Thornton (1992) define *black socialization experience* as the extent of physical and emotional contact an individual had with the African American community in the formative years of development. I

study. These questions asked about the presence of Blacks in the junior high school attended and in the neighborhood in which participants lived during the formative years (Allen & Thornton, 1992).

Allen and Thornton (1992) took a subsample of responses from 865 Black adults 18 years and older from the 1980 National Survey of Black Americans. The study sought to examine relationships among exposure to Black media, which includes Black print media, Black press and electronic media, sociodemographic variables, and stereotypes. The authors defined Black print exposure as exposure to print media largely owned by Blacks. Black-oriented TV exposure was defined as the amount of attention given to TV that depicts African American life (Allen & Thornton, 1992).

There were a total of 20 hypotheses tested in the Allen and Thornton (1992) study. Nine investigated Black print media and sociodemographic variables; eight investigated sociodemographics and stereotypes; and three investigated the relationship between media and stereotypes. Like Gerson (1966), Allen and Thornton found income and education to be influential variables for their analysis. Occupation status and religiosity were also influential in predicting stereotype endorsement.

This study demonstrated important relationships among viewing habits, Black electronic media, Black socialization, and Black stereotype endorsement. The most notable findings were that higher education, religiosity, income level, and occupational prestige were significantly correlated with higher levels of reading Black print media. Increased exposure to Black print media was associated with less change to lower endorsement of negative Black stereotypes. Exposure to Black-oriented television resulted in the endorsement of negative and positive stereotypes.

Black racial stereotypes originate from two domains. Positive stereotypes are

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equate the questions they use to operationalize black socialization experience with the contemporary definition of racial socialization.

premised on the concept that “Africans possess special acumen and among their ranks there are an inordinately large number of individuals with ethical and moral insight”; they legitimize the social meaning of Blacks and represent a sense of group pride (Allen & Thornton, 1992). Unfortunately, African Americans have been and continue to be associated with negative stereotypes premised on the idea that Africans have a “penchant for music and for dance and exhibit sexually seductive behavior.” Moreover, Blacks have to “struggle against tendencies toward dishonesty, laziness and hedonism” (Allen & Thornton, 1992).

Racial stereotypes are considered as interrelated dimensions of racial consciousness. The authors note “the fundamental psychological component of racism is the belief in the inherent inferiority of one’s race as compared with another,” and argue that people treated on the basis of race likely assign negative or positive values to their group (Allen & Thornton, 1992).

Ward, Hansbrough, and Walker published a study of music video exposure and gender stereotypes in 2005. A sample of 152 Black adolescents ages 14 to 18 completed measures about their media consumption and were later exposed to a set of music videos featuring stereotypical or nonstereotypical behaviors and asked to complete a survey associated with the video imagery (Ward et al., 2005). The stereotypical video images exhibited traditional gendered stereotypes about women and men.

Data about media consumption habits, demographic background, religiosity, and beliefs about gender stereotypes beliefs were collected from participants. After watching the videos, youth were asked to respond to four questions related to the content and administered the gender questions again. Essentially, participants in both the experimental and the control group who had a media diet of music videos were likely to endorse gender stereotypes about males and females. Surprisingly, analyses of prime-

time media had no relationship with gender stereotypes, although exposure to sports shows and content did (Ward et al., 2005).

*Violence.* Aside from concern about how exposure to thousands of violent acts on TV can impact all youth, there is the concern that Black youth who live in high-poverty and high-crime communities are additionally vulnerable. Exposure to violent media content has multiple implications for African American children and youth. Black or other minority actors and actresses often portray violent and/or bad characters; these images reinforce negative stereotypes about these groups. Black youth are susceptible to internalizing negative messages about being Black through exposure to images that project messages that Blacks are of little value, are an unfavorable group, and must use force and violence to obtain what they want (Levin & Carlsson-Paige, 2003).

Regrettably, contemporary studies are more concerned with how exposure to media influences violent and aggressive behavior than with how the content reinforces negative stereotypes about Black people. So, much of what we know about Black youth and media violence is derived from comparative research studies reviewed in an earlier section of this chapter.

*Body Image and Self-Esteem.* In 2004, Ward conducted a study with 156 Black adolescents ages 14 to 18 that investigated positive and negative stereotype associations between media use and self-concept. Citing the lack of research, the lack of consensus about how media influences the esteem of Black adolescents, and the concern over how exposure to negative media portrayals could influence self-esteem, Ward developed a study that would address these concerns by exploring the relationship(s) among multiple dimensions of self-esteem, self-concept,<sup>17</sup> and media. The goal of this study was to

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<sup>17</sup> Although less often studied, the media are also believed to play a prominent role in shaping self-conceptions, both by supplying ideals to internalize (e.g., the thin ideal) and by providing feedback about the importance of one's social group, values or status (Ward, 2004).

provide an understanding of how media use is related to the self-esteem of Black adolescents (Ward, 2004).

Three research questions were established for this study: Are heavier exposure to and connection with mainstream programs and characters negatively associated with self-esteem and racial self-esteem? Do these associations vary by media genre? Are heavier exposure to and connection with Black-oriented programs and Black characters positively associated with self-esteem and racial self-esteem; and to what extent does religiosity buffer negative (or positive) media influences concerning self-esteem and racial self-esteem? (Ward, 2004)

Participants completed two surveys that measured multiple dimensions of self-esteem and racial identity. Media consumption was measured by viewing amounts; youth were provided with a list of 90 programs and asked to indicate how often they had viewed each of the programs during the prior school year. Exposure to music videos, sports programming, and movies was also captured in this study. Viewer identification was noted by asking youth to indicate how much they identified with a list of 20 popular TV characters (10 male and 10 female characters). An average score was calculated for each participant.

Descriptive statistics merited findings similar to those reported in other studies: high levels of media consumption, with a notable amount of viewing hours dedicated to majority Black programming. Black characters were also identified as favorite characters (Ward, 2004). Zero order correlation analyses were conducted to address the first two research questions and regression analyses were used to address the third research question.



The effect of media exposure on the body image of Black adolescents appears to be mediated by religiosity (Ward, 2004). Religiosity as an important variable for media interpretation with Black adolescents is similar to the findings of Allen and Thornton's 1992 study with Black adults. Levels of viewing for prime-time shows were considerably less important than music videos and sports shows. Frequent viewing of sports shows negatively associated with three dimensions of esteem (Ward, 2004). In general, frequent viewing and character association was linked to lower self-evaluations. The most notable result of this study is that exposure to Black TV content was not associated with self-esteem or racial esteem (Ward, 2004).

Gathering detailed data on the viewing habits of Black adolescents that included mainstream and majority Black TV shows is a commendable asset to the existing literature. Additionally, measuring multiple dimensions of self-esteem and incorporating racial identity and religiosity denotes Ward's awareness of existing literature and research deficits. This study provides an unprecedented baseline for contemporary study with Black adolescents, however, only one dimension of racial identity—private esteem—was analyzed. Although there was no significant relationship with viewing Black TV shows, I wonder whether analyzing additional dimensions of racial identity would have shown different results. Additionally, racial identity is linked to racial socialization, but there was no analysis of racial socialization. Inclusion of a larger male sample may have resulted in discovery of different relationships between variables for males.

Gordon's 2008 study of Black female adolescents demonstrated that being attractive and the importance of appearance were associated with the TV characters girls identified with. This study of 176 girls the ages 13 and 17 examined the relationships between media and attitudes about beauty and appearance. The variables of interest were media exposure, media identification, importance of being attractive, appearance

attitudes, and racial identity. Media identification and the type of character girls identified with, sexually objectified or not, were found to be significant predictors of being attractive and self-worth. A second set of analyses resulted in exposure to music videos being an important predictor for emphasis on appearance before media identification variables were entered into the model. Identification with characters and with sexually objectified artists were significant predictors of the importance of appearance (Gordon, 2008).

Though the measures used in this study were not the traditionally referenced body image or self-esteem measures, appearance and attraction are closely related to body image and self-esteem in adolescent girls. Moreover, Gordon investigated these variables in connection with exposure to Black media content and incorporated racial identity into the model and found it to be correlated with perceived importance of being attractive (Gordon, 2008). This presented an opportunity to learn more about the viewing preferences of Black adolescent females using a relevant reference. There remain unanswered questions about these relationships but the focus of this study presents a depth of analysis and exploration untouched by traditional compare and contrast studies.

### *Limitations*

A considerable number of studies with Black adults were included in this review because they provide insight and a framework for investigating relationships between media and Black adolescents. In fact, there were researchers who suggested adolescents be included in future research (Allen, 1998; Allen & Thornton, 1992; Gandy, 2001). Youth are challenged to meet the demands of adolescence and in spite of what some would hope, media has become an integral and influential element in their

developmental process. Black adolescents are confronted with the additional challenge of filtering and processing information about their racial identity development.

There are concerns that Black adolescents' high consumption and favorable view of TV, combined with the persistent inclusion of Black characters and images that perpetuate negative stereotypes, will lead to poor psychological adjustment (Gorham, 1999; Tynes & Ward, 2009; Watkins, 2005). Another concern is that the minimal appearance of Black lead characters on prime-time television will be interpreted as a real-life reflection of the value of Black people (Allen, 1998; Gorham, 1999; Jackson, 2006; Nama, 2003; Tynes & Ward, 2009; Watkins, 2005). In other words, researchers contend that television viewing Black youth may come to believe that Black people and they themselves are of little value and worth in society (Watkins, 2005). These are certainly valid concerns. However, the existing research has not merited our drawing consensus about media's influence on Black adolescents' identity and psychological functioning.

Currently, there is no standardized measure for identifying Black media message stereotypes. Studies that identify and/or investigate media stereotypes ask for respondents' impressions of media images by employing a strategy of referencing videos, TV shows, and/or characters (Allen & Bielby, 1979; Allen & Thornton, 1992; Fujioka, 2005; Gordon, 2008; Ward, 2004; Ward et al., 2005) that are or were current during the time at which the study was conducted. News-media-oriented studies use current event stories or mainstream vs. Black media outlets (Vercellotti & Brewer, 2006) as a reference for investigating stereotype messages about Black people. Studies of female stereotype images employ a content analysis strategy framed by common negative portrayals of Black females in the media (Balaji, 2008, 2009; Woodard & Mastin, 2005). In fact, content analysis is a common methodology for analyzing media content. However, this

strategy does not ask participants to identify the stereotypes. Rather, researchers frame the analysis using common stereotypical constructs that are applied to Black media content.

Additionally, the majority of the existing media youth studies fall short of following Allen's research paradigm of including racial socialization and/or racial identity into their work with Black adolescents. The research with Black adults established that Blacks have different viewing habits than White adults, and that while Blacks rate TV more favorably, they also tend to be more critical of TV. Similar viewing habits and consumption hold true for Black adolescents. Black adults and youth have been shown to prefer Black-oriented TV shows or shows that feature Black characters. Whether Black adolescents are as critical as Black adults about Black media images has not been established. Surely the current trend toward a multicultural society and youth-oriented shows that display ethnic diversity may mean Black youth are not negatively impacted by the media images they see. In fact, some results suggest Black youth can be savvy media consumers (Watkins, 2005).

To summarize the literature review, there is modest yet persuasive empirical evidence and theoretical paradigms that link racial socialization and racial identity to media viewing habits, media preferences, and media function for Black adults and youth. Comparing the results of traditional studies with studies that include racial identity and/or racial socialization, the latter findings are more nuanced. These studies offer within-group details about how SES and demographic differences relate to or predict viewing habits and preferences. These studies also identify and discuss negative Black stereotypes as both a concern and consideration for study designs and results. Some researchers hypothesize racial socialization experience may serve as a buffer, suggesting that Blacks filter messages that do not apply to them or are unfavorable (Davis & Gandy,

1999; Gandy, 2001; Jenkins et al., 1973). Unfortunately, few studies with Black youth actually incorporate racial socialization into the design and analysis. Without inclusion of racial socialization and racial identity variables researchers are unable to test these hypotheses.

### *The Current Study*

The goal of the current study is to explore relationships between media exposure and the adolescent identity process of Black youth. First, this study seeks to determine whether Black adolescents are able to identify Black racial stereotypes in the media. Next, the study seeks to determine if Black youth endorse Black media stereotypes, how often they are exposed to these stereotypes, and whether their exposure and endorsement of Black media stereotypes is related to racial socialization, Black history knowledge, racial identity, body image, or self-esteem scores.

The current study involves Black adolescents ages 14 to 17 and 18 to 21. These groups have been selected because they represent two different stages of adolescence where shifts in self-image, peer groups, and aspirations are relevant and evolving as adult identities began to emerge. Beauty, attractiveness, personal image, and identity are relevant to both age groups. Among middle adolescents the importance of belonging, academic achievement, peer groups, and social contexts are of major concern. Late-stage adolescents have similar concerns but their decisions and attention are aligned with career choices. Their tasks and affiliations, both professional and personal, are chosen dependent on these near-future aspirations.

## CHAPTER 3

### Methods

This study was conducted in two phases. Phase 1 involved use of focus groups to pilot and refine the BMMQ measure. Data collected from this phase was used to test hypothesis a: Youth will identify preexisting messages about Black people after viewing images of Blacks in the media. Phase 2 of this study was the administration of the survey. Data collected during phase 2 was used to test the remaining hypotheses H<sub>b</sub>: Youth perceptions of media images of Black people are a psychosocial construct made up of subfactors that will be found to be reliable and valid within a sample of urban Black youth. H<sub>c1</sub>: Youth racial identity scores will have a significant relationship with Black media messages belief. H<sub>c2</sub>: Youth racial identity scores will have a significant relationship with the frequency of the types of Black media messages identified on TV. H<sub>c3</sub>: Youth racial identity scores will have a significant relationship with the frequency of the types of Black media messages identified in magazines. H<sub>d1</sub>: Youth racial/ethnic socialization scores will have a significant relationship with Black media messages belief. H<sub>d2</sub>: Youth racial/ethnic socialization scores will have a significant relationship with the frequency of the types of Black media messages identified on TV. H<sub>d3</sub>: Youth racial/ethnic socialization scores will have a significant relationship with the frequency of the types of Black media messages identified in magazines. H<sub>e</sub>: Youth Black history knowledge scores will have a significant relationship with the frequency of the types of Black media messages identified on TV. It is expected that youth high in Black history knowledge will identify negative stereotype Black media messages more than youth with lower scores. H<sub>f1</sub>: Youth exposure to Black media images will be significantly related to self-esteem scores. H<sub>g1</sub>: Youth exposure to Black media images will be significantly related to body image scores. H<sub>h1</sub>: Youth racial/ethnic socialization, Black history

knowledge, and self-esteem scores will mediate the influence of exposure to images of Blacks in the media on racial identity and body image. H<sub>h2</sub>: Youth racial/ethnic socialization and Black history knowledge scores will mediate the influence of exposure to images of Blacks in the media on racial identity and body image.

### *Pre-Analysis*

The G\*Power<sup>3</sup> program (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007), was utilized to conduct a priori power analysis before data collection commenced. This strategy allows researchers to calculate the appropriate sample size (N) that is required to reduce the probability of making a Type II error—mistakenly rejecting the null hypothesis (Cohen, 1988; Faul et al., 2007). A power level of .80 or higher is considered an appropriately low level risk of a Type II error (Cohen, 1992). Performing multiple regression/correlation analyses with 4 predictor variables and 55 subjects,  $\alpha = .05$  and medium effect size ( $f = .15$ ), will yield a power level of .80. To account for possible missing data due to incomplete surveys or participants who do not meet the required qualifications, the recruitment goal for survey data collection was 100 14-to 21-year-old Black youths—45 over the target of 55 subjects. A target of additional youths (60 maximum) was set for focus group participation.

### *Phase I: Focus Group Sample*

Seven focus groups were used to gather information about adolescent perceptions of Black media images and to serve as a pilot for the *Black Media Messages Questionnaire (BMMQ)*. Three focus groups were coed, and four were unisex, with one of those being an all-male focus group. Four focus groups were held with high school students; two of these were held with participants in all-male and all-female after-school leadership and mentoring programs at an inner-city public school. One session was held with suburban students enrolled in a district-wide after-school technology program. The

last of these groups was held with high school students who live in a college town located in the middle of a northeastern state and are enrolled in an affinity program. The remaining three focus groups were held with college students who attended an HBCU located on an isolated campus surrounded by farms 90 minutes outside of a major metropolitan city. A total of 63 participants participated in the focus groups: 20 males and 43 females.

### *Phase II: Survey Sample*

One hundred fifty-five Black youth ages 13 to 21 who reported being consumers of television and magazine media began the survey. Respondents who completed the online survey had a lower completion rate than those who completed paper copies. Partnering with schools and after-school programs yielded a higher attendance rate and survey completion at the scheduled survey sessions for the younger group of adolescents. The response rate for paper surveys was 97% compared to 55% for the online version, with an overall response rate of 73%. Of the 155 surveys given, 113 participants fully completed the BMMQ. The measures toward the end of the online survey were the least complete. I used only the responses of the 113 youth who completed the BMMQ and had completed at least 60% of the entire survey. Mean scores were imputed for the individuals with incomplete surveys.

The sample comprised of two populations. Of the 113 respondents, 44% were 14- to 17-years-old and 56% were 18-to-21 years- old. Sixty-four percent of the respondents identified as Black/African American, 9% identified as Black Caribbean, 8% identified as Multiracial, 5% identified as White, 4% identified as Black African, 4% identified as Other. Fifty-six percent were between the ages of 18 to 21 with a mean age of 18. Sixty-four percent of respondents were female, 36% were male, with 49% identifying as high



school students, 46% as college students, 4% as middle school students and 2%<sup>18</sup> as other—a recent college graduate and trade school student. Study participants reported a mean GPA of 3.00 to 3.24, with students attending Catholic, charter, public, and private high schools or colleges. In line with the findings of existing research, TV viewing was high: 41% indicated 4 to 6 hours of TV watching per week. Twenty-seven percent indicated 7 or more hours of TV viewing per week. (See tables 3.1-3.3).

### *Recruitment Procedures*

Announcements about this project were posted to listservs that host education topics and to youth development professionals who work with the targeted populations. Schools and after-school programs were targeted as research sites. Initial responses to electronic blasts were followed with a formal letter of inquiry and a meeting or conversation with administrators to discuss the feasibility of their institution or organization serving as a research site. Recruitment for 18- to 21-year-olds also involved posting virtual flyers about the study at their organization/school, on listservs they belong to, and on websites they are known to frequent.

Early solicitations were designed to recruit focus group participants. Ideally, four sites would have been recruited to participate in both the focus group and survey research, two sites that serve 14- to 17-year-olds and two that serve 18- to 21-year-olds. The goal was to facilitate six focus groups of 8 to 10 participants; four single-sex focus groups and two mixed-sex focus groups. Although respondents were encouraged to participate in both elements of the study, focus group sites were recruited earlier than survey sites. Those who expressed an interest in the questionnaire were added to a group list. This list was used to recruit participants for the survey administration. Appendix A provide a copy of the focus group protocol and script.

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<sup>18</sup> Percentages were rounded up to whole numbers.

A recruitment and participation schedule was established with the institutions that agreed to serve as research sites and a liaison was identified for each site. At the beginning or end of a class or session I gave a brief presentation about the study and flyers were distributed. After the presentation students were asked to raise their hands if they were interested in participating in the study. Consent forms were distributed, a sign-up sheet (name, telephone number, and e-mail address) was circulated, and data collection dates were scheduled on the spot.

After college level in-class presentations, consent forms were immediately collected, a sign-up sheet circulated, and data collection dates set. Students were instructed to indicate their interest in the focus group, survey, or both. Those who were only interested in the survey were informed that they would receive an e-mail once it was available. In most cases, phone calls, e-mails, and/or text messages were sent to participants the night before, reminding them of the data collection appointment. This strategy was particularly helpful for collecting signed consent forms and for participation. It was the primary recruitment strategy for focus group and in-person survey participation.

Focus groups and surveys were scheduled during after-school hours or on the weekends for youth 14 to 17. To accommodate college students' diverse schedules, focus groups for youths 18 to 21 were scheduled between the hours of 1 PM to 8 PM on the college campus. Focus groups were two hours long. Pizza and beverages were served during the first half of the session. Youth who completed focus groups received a movie ticket at the end of the sessions, which were audio- and videotaped.

Focus groups were used to provide information about adolescent perceptions of Black media images and to serve as a pilot for the BMMQ. This segment of the study sought to identify perceived messages Black adolescents receive when exposed to images

of Blacks in the media. During the first half of the focus group, students were given a pencil and paper then shown a series of images and asked the following question for each image: “*What message do you believe this image represents?*” Students were asked to write down their response to the questions and also to write down additional thoughts or comments about the images. During the second hour students were provided with a pilot version of the BMMQ.

Images were paired with messages and participants were asked to select the message they perceived the image to best reflect; the survey included a blank space for participants to write in messages that were not listed. There were also three images at the end of the survey with no message. Students were asked to write the message they believed the image represented. Then, for each item, youth were asked to indicate how frequently the message selected is communicated when they are watching TV or reading magazines. Participants were also asked to indicate the number of hours they spent viewing TV and reading magazines.

Survey data was collected using two strategies for youth ages 18 to 21. A message about an online Black media images and identity research study was distributed via listservs and e-mails to education professionals, college faculty, and teachers who work with these populations. They were asked to share the information with students, and, if possible, offer extra credit as an added incentive for the students to participate in the study. The email directed youth to an online version of the survey hosted by qualtrics.com. An advertisement directing students to the online survey was also placed on the Facebook websites of Howard, Delaware State, Spellman, Hampton, Morehouse, and Wilberforce colleges and universities. Students who had previously indicated interest in the survey and provided contact information were e-mailed the link and sent a

text message. With the exception of high school students, all youths 18 to 21 completed the online survey.

The first groups of 14- to 17-year olds completed the online survey; observations indicated they were more comfortable with the pencil and paper surveys so the remaining data collection with 14- to 17- year-olds was done using paper versions of the survey. On average, students completed the survey in 75 minutes. The first 120 youth to complete the survey, online or on paper, received a \$10.00 or \$15.00 gift card to Target, Old Navy, or Starbucks.

### *Measures*

#### *Demographic Questionnaire*

Using previous studies as a guide, this study posed questions about age, mother's and father's educational level, income, and gender to obtain basic descriptive information about the sample. Multilayered racial background information allowed data to be gathered about respondent's biracial, multiracial, and Black Diasporic (African, Caribbean, Hispanic) backgrounds.

#### *Black Media Messages Questionnaire (BMMQ)*

The Black Media Messages Questionnaire (BMMQ) is a new instrument designed by this researcher to measure how youth interpret Black media images (Adams, 2009a). Twenty images that were selected with the intent to reflect Racial Knowledge Legacy, Cultural Pride, and Internalized Racism (racial media stereotypes), elements of the CARES survey, were each paired with a set of four statements listed under each image. First, participants were asked to select one of four perceived messages that they thought were reflected in each image. Second, on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*, participants rated their level of endorsement of the messages they selected for each image. Third, youth were asked to identify frequency of exposure

to the identified messages when watching TV and when reading or flipping through magazines. Lastly, participants were asked about their media consumption habits—which TV shows they watched, what magazines they read, the amount of time spent watching TV, and the amount of time spent reading magazines. The rationale for creation of this measure is presented below.

Much of the literature reviewed for this study has been on negative stereotypes because of the potentially damaging impact they could have on the developmental experience of Black adolescents. However, positive stereotype media images of Black people also exist (Allen & Thornton, 1992; Berry, 1998). Unfortunately, the frequencies of these images are low, and the mainstream appearance of characters based on positive stereotypes is also low compared to the appearance of negative stereotype characters (Berry, 1998, 2000; Gorham, 1999; Nama, 2003; Srividya, 2007; Ward, 2004). Both negative and positive stereotype media messages that occur in print and TV media were included in this measure.

*BMMQ Rationale.* A key problem in the literature is the lack of measurement on Black media messages, beliefs, and frequency of use. Currently, there is no standardized measure for identifying Black media message stereotypes. The Black Media Messages Questionnaire was created for use with Black adolescents to (1) determine if they would be able to identify stereotype messages associated with images of Black people on TV and in print magazines, (2) assess their belief of media messages identified; and (3) estimate the frequency of exposure to the message selected when watching TV and/or reading magazines.

The premise for the creation of this measure is that (1) print and television media present stereotypes of Black people, often negative, and (2) these images inform and influence adolescent perspectives about Black people that some youth accept as wholly

true representations. Research demonstrates that as children grow, their cognitive ability to process complex schema also develops. Adolescents who are repeatedly exposed to images have the cognitive ability to access memory and use it to predict plots and subplots of common story lines (schemas) when watching TV compared to younger children who do not. Media studies that examine stereotype characteristics are premised on predefined examples of negative and/or positive stereotypes. The assumption is that repeated exposure results in embedded schemas that are activated when viewing media, and as a result the viewer comes to accept the schema as real.

Characters who embody negative stereotypes about Black people have dominated the U.S. media and entertainment industry throughout history (Allen & Bielby, 1977; Allen & Thornton, 1992; Bogle, 2001a, 2001b; Jackson, 2006). Bogle's (1973 & 2001b) *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies & Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films* is an exhaustive chronicle of Black characters spanning eight decades. His work details the evolution of films and TV shows, noting the persistence of stereotyped Black characters. Early film and television shows featured White actors in blackface whose character portrayals were exaggerated or distorted representations of Black people as uncivilized, illiterate, and/or unintelligent, with little sense of direction and in need of guidance; other characterizations depicted Blacks as subservient hired help whose primary desire was to please their White employers (Bogle, 1973; Jackson, 2006). Jackson (2006) notes:

Over the course of 150 years from 1769 to about 1927, minstrelsy would become an institution, revered by Whites for its dehumanizing yet somehow entertaining characterization of Blacks as darkies and Whites as ordinary, normal, and cultured ladies and gentlemen...indicative of both their attitudes about Blacks and their own self-perceptions.<sup>19</sup> (Jackson, 2006, p. 21)

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<sup>19</sup> See Jackson (2006), pages 20-24, for a detailed discussion of this phenomenon.

Besides the minstrel-inspired “coons” and “mammies,” additional stereotypical characterizations became staple images of Black females (“tragic mulatto”; “sapphire”; “jezebel”) and males (“Buck”; “Uncle Tom”<sup>20</sup>) (Bogle, 1973, 1980, 2001b; Jackson, 2006). Both Bogle (1973) and Jackson (2006) carefully describe the precarious position of Black actors and actresses<sup>21</sup> who starred in these roles during earlier decades when the possibility of fair and equitable treatment for Black Americans was extremely limited and influenced by societal norms. In spite of social advances, there remains within the TV and film industry a practice of presenting negative stereotype images of Black people scripted from early characters<sup>22</sup> predicated on social assumptions about the racial inferiority of Blacks (Allen & Thornton, 1992; Bogle, 2001a, 2001b; Gorham, 1999; Jackson, 2006).

Media studies with African American youth provide a framework for how media exposure influences body image ideals (O'Connor, Brooks-Gunn, & Graber, 2000; Parker, 1999), self-esteem (O'Connor et al., 2000), and sexuality (Arnett, 1995; Escobar-Chaves & Anderson, 2008; Ward, Day, & Epstein, 2006; Ward, Hansbrough, & Walker, 2005; Ward & Harrison, 2005; Ward & Rivadeneyra, 1999). Each is an important variable related to the identity development process of adolescents. It has been noted that African American youth have higher levels of TV consumption when compared to their peers of other racial groups (Bickham et al., 2003; Blosser, 1988; Roberts & Foehr, 2008; Tynes & Ward, 2009; Wartella, O'Keefe, & Scantlin, 2000), and the search for

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<sup>20</sup> Bogle (2001b) discusses the introduction of the “sidekick” as a contemporary negatively stereotyped characterization of Blacks.

<sup>21</sup> Black actors and actresses in earlier decades of TV and film were aware of the negative portrayals they embodied on screen. Cognizant of the limited opportunities for Black actors and actresses and of the importance of Blacks being seen on TV and in movies, they played the characters. Many would attempt to infuse the characters with some level of dignity or resilience. Off stage, many were involved in Civil Rights initiatives, supported equal opportunities for Black Americans, and invested in community-level programming for Blacks (Bogle, 1973).

<sup>22</sup> Jackson (2006) and Bogle (2001a, 2001b) detail other characterizations of Blacks that are premised on the same assumptions that underlie the stock negative profiles.

entertainment is the primary reason for this consumption (Berry, 1998; Bickham et al., 2003; Gerson, 1966; Gordon, 2008; Lee & Browne, 1981; Ward, 2004; Ward et al., 2006).

Even with this insight and the increase in recent media studies that include a robust sample of Black youth, studies that examine the relationship of racial identity to how Black youth interpret and respond to media images of Black people are lacking. Given the historical legacy of Black media representations, the high levels of media viewing, and the importance of identity development during adolescence, it is important to explore what relationships exist among exposure to Black media stereotypes, racial socialization, and the racial identity of Black adolescents.

I believe the implicit stereotype messages associated with Black media images have withstood sociocultural advances and that creating a measure that focuses on the respondents' ability to identify the messages associated with media images will help researchers to further study and measure how media socialization relates to the developmental experiences of Black adolescents.

#### *Focus Groups and the Black Media Messages Questionnaire (BMMQ)*

The focus group phase of this study centered on answering the following question: *What are the dominant messages represented by images of Blacks in the media?* During the first segment of the focus group, youth were shown images projected onto a large screen. For each image youth were instructed as follows: *Take a look at this image; what does it say about Black women? Write down your response.* Participants were asked to describe the message they believed to be reflected in the image. The purpose of this segment of the focus group was to determine youth's ability to identify and/or define negative Black media stereotypes. Chapter 4 provides an analysis of this focus group data.



During the second half of the focus group, participants were asked to complete a pilot version of the Black Media Messages Questionnaire (BMMQ). There were 23 items included in the pilot version. Items 1 to 20 are the same images used in the revised version. This version of the questionnaire permitted youth to select from four pre-written messages associated with each image or to select *other* and write their own message in the blank space provided. The responses that were written into the *other* category for each item were analyzed. Messages that occurred most frequently were incorporated into the item options for the final version of the BMMQ.

Items 21 to 23 were images without any message options. Item 21 was a still image from the popular TV show *The Game*. Three of the main characters, Tasha Mac, Melanie, and Kelly, were shown engaged in animated conversation in the foreground. A mixed ethnic group of Black women in the background were focused on these three characters. There was not enough diversity in written responses to generate four options for this image. The most common written message was similar to one of the message options for question 3A; this image was removed from the measure. Items 22 and 23 used the same picture of Tyler Perry dressed as the Madea character. Madea is shown from a side angle blowing on a pistol. For item 22 youth were instructed to *Take a look at this image; what does it say about Black women? Write down your response.* Item 23 asked youth to *Take a look at this image; what does it say about Black men? Write down your response.* These items proved to be problematic during the focus group sessions. Some participants were confused by the questions because the same image was used to query about Black men and Black woman. These items were removed from the final measure. The results of these focus groups were used to refine the Black Media Messages Questionnaire described below.

### *Black Media Messages Questionnaire (BMMQ)*

The BMMQ is composed of four subscales (Black Media Message; Black Media Belief; Black Television Frequency; and Black Magazine Frequency) reflected in four different response formats. The same 20 items are used for each of the 4 subscales. Each item has a media image followed by four statements. For example, the image for item 1 is a picture of two women in an open convertible smiling and laughing. Black actress Alfre Woodard is in the front seat driving the car while White actress Kathy Bates, is seated in the back leaning over the front seat toward Woodard. Both actresses are wearing hats and sunglasses; Woodard is wearing a wide-brimmed straw hat and sunglasses. The statements for item 1 are: *Black women are happy*; *Black women are fashionable*; *Black women are independent*; and *Black women take care of White people*. Appendix C provides a copy of the complete measure.

The statements for each item reflect both gender and body image themes and views that are either positive or negative as defined by the focus group processes. Again these statements were generated from and evaluated through focus group discourse and analysis. The queries in subscales 2 to 4 are dependent upon the participants' responses to all 20 items within the first subscale, Black Media Messages.

*Black Media Message Subscale (BMMS)*. The first subscale is entitled Black Media Message and is reflected in the instruction *Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image*. Once the participant chooses one of the four statements, she or he then moved to step 2 and answered the Black Media Message Belief (BMMB) subscale. For each of the 20 items (images), a total percent count was tallied for the 4 possible message options. Before moving forward, the sample's answers to subscale 1 were collapsed into a two-category response for each item. Instead of four

possible answers to subscale one, messages labeled *positive* became the *positive* response option and *negative* messages became the *negative* response option.

*Black Media Message Belief Subscale (BMMB)*. After selecting one of the messages associated with the image, the second subscale, Black Media Message Belief (BMMB) is completed. The BMMB is reflected in the question, *How much do you agree with this message?* Youth were instructed to circle the choice that reflected their agreement with the message they had selected. Response options were strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree. Next, participants were asked about frequency of viewing the selected message on TV.

*Black Media Message TV Frequency Subscale (BMMTV-Freq)*. The third subscale is entitled *Black Media Message TV Frequency* and is reflected in the question, *When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?* The response options were never, hardly ever (1-2), lots of times (4-6), and all of the time (7 or more times).

*Black Media Message Magazine Frequency Subscale (BMagM-Freq)*. Lastly, for the fourth subscale, participants were asked about frequency of viewing the selected message in magazines. This subscale is entitled Black Media Message Magazine Frequency and is reflected in the question *When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?* The response options were never, hardly ever (1-2), lots of times (4-6), and all of the time (7 or more times). See appendix A for a sample of the measure.

#### *Cultural and Racial Experiences of Socialization Survey (CARES)*

The CARES survey is a 53-item scale that measures the acquisition of racial socialization messages; it gauges the frequency (exposure), endorsement (internalization), and source of messages (Stevenson & Bentley, 2007a). The CARES

reliability is high;  $\alpha=.94$ ,  $M=102.76$ ,  $SD=17.40$ . After each message, participants are asked about the frequency of receiving the message (*not at all*, *sometimes*, or *all of the time*), and the extent to which they agree with the message (*strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *agree*, or *strongly agree*). The subjects were then asked to cite all of the sources for each message (Mother, Father, Grandparent, Teacher/Professor, Sibling, Other Adult, Peers, Media, or No One Told Me This). The CARES has 6 subscales: Alertness to Racism (7 items;  $\alpha=.79$ ,  $M=14.62$ ,  $SD=3.27$ ); Cultural Coping (9 items;  $\alpha=.79$ ,  $M=18.46$ ,  $SD=3.97$ ); Racial Legacy Knowledge (7 items;  $\alpha=.79$ ,  $M=15.00$ ,  $SD=3.33$ ); Cultural Pride (8 items;  $\alpha=.78$ ,  $M=17.27$ ,  $SD=3.38$ ); Internalized Racism (13 items;  $\alpha=.81$ ,  $M=22.62$ ,  $SD=4.74$ ); Interracial Coping (9 items;  $\alpha=.71$ ,  $M=15.36$ ,  $SD=3.29$ ). The present study utilizes only the CARES Exposure and Endorsement subscale scores.

#### *Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity Teen (MIBI-T)*

The MIBI-T is a 21-item, 7-scale questionnaire designed for use with middle and early adolescents to measure four dimensions of Black identity: Salience (Assimilationist,  $\alpha=.70$ ; Humanist,  $\alpha=.50$ ; Minority,  $\alpha=.57$ ; and Nationalist,  $\alpha=.70$ ); Centrality,  $\alpha=.55$ ; Ideology; and Regard (Public,  $\alpha=.66$ , and Private,  $\alpha=.76$ )<sup>23</sup> (Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyễn, 2008).

#### *Miseducation of Racism Scale –Black History Knowledge (BHK)*

MORS is a 20-item multiple-choice questionnaire designed to ascertain youth knowledge of common Black history facts (Adams, 2009b). This is a two-part measure. For the first part, youth are asked to select from a list of four choices the option that they think best reflects the definition/fact presented. The second part asks youth to identify where they first learned about the topic. This is a newly created measure designed to

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<sup>23</sup> The Spearman-Brown formula was used to estimate what Cronbach's alpha would have been if the subscales had the same number of items as the original MIBI. Estimated alphas ranged from .75 to .88, exceeding the .70 convention (Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyễn, 2008).

complement the RLK and CP elements of CARES. The total score for part 1 of this measure was used in the study analyses.

#### *Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 (SATAQ3)*

SATAQ-3 is a 30-item self-report measure that assesses the relationships of various dimensions of media exposure to self-esteem, body image, and eating disorders using four subscales (Thompson et al., 2004). The Information subscale assesses the perceived importance of media for obtaining information about “being attractive.” The Information subscale will be referred to as Attraction Ideal. The Pressures subscale assesses feeling pressured by media to strive for cultural ideals of physical appearance. The Internalization-General subscale assesses endorsement and acceptance of media messages that present unrealistic ideal images. Internalization-General will be referred to as Unrealistic Ideal. The Internalization-Athletic scale assesses endorsement and acceptance of an athletic body ideal. It will be referred to as Ideal Athletic Body. The items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale (from *definitely disagree* to *definitely agree*) (Karazsia & Crowther, 2008; Thompson et al., 2004). All four subscales were analyzed in this study.

#### *Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE)*

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale is a 10-item self-report measure of global self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1989). It consists of 10 statements related to overall feelings of self-worth or self-acceptance. The items are answered on a 4-point scale ranging from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*. A copy of each measure is located in appendix C.

## CHAPTER 4

### Focus Group Results

The focus group phase of this study centered on answering the following question: *What are the dominant messages represented by images of Blacks in the media?* The purpose of the focus group was also to test whether there was any support for hypothesis 1: Youth will identify preexisting messages about Black people after viewing images of Blacks in the media. In particular, I was interested in determining whether youth could identify and/or define negative Black media stereotypes.

Seven 2-hour focus groups were conducted with high school and college youth. There was one all male, three all female, and three coed focus groups; three groups were held with 14 to 17-year-olds and three groups were held with 18 to 21-year-olds. Table 4.1 in appendix D lists the composition of each focus group.

The focus sessions were all held on school campuses or in a school facility during the late afternoon or early evening. A considerable amount of data was collected from these focus groups. This data offers insight into what influences how young people interpret media images and how they cope with negative exposure to unfavorable images of Black people. The data presented in this chapter addresses the hypothesis for this phase of the study. What follows is a description of how the focus groups were conducted and a presentation of data that supports the first hypothesis of this study.

After a brief overview of the focus group agenda, youth were asked five structured questions about their media consumption habits. Those questions were: 1) When choosing which TV shows or magazines you will watch, do you look for Black people to be featured as lead characters? Why or why not? 2) When choosing which magazines you will read, do you look for Black people to be featured on the cover or in the magazine? Why or why not? 3) What Black character(s) attract you to viewing specific shows? 4)

What message do you believe the character(s) present about Black people? 5) Besides TV and magazines, what other forms of media do you use to view images of Blacks? These questions were followed by additional probing questions based on the answers youth provided.

During the next segment of the focus group, youth were shown images (Appendix B) that were projected onto a large screen and given the following instructions: *When you look at these images I want you to tell me what message you believe is being communicated about Black people based on the image you see. You may or may not watch the show or have seen the advertisements we'll take a look at today, that is not important. What I would like you to do is take a good look at the images and tell the group and me what message you believe is being communicated about Black people.* Youth were also instructed to write their reactions to each image on paper and to provide an estimate of how often they viewed images that reflected the same message(s) when watching TV, a movie, videos, surfing the web, or flipping through a magazine.

At the last stage of the focus group participants were asked to complete a pilot version of the Black Media Messages Questionnaire (BMMQ). There were 23 items included in the pilot version. This version of the questionnaire permitted youth to select from four pre-written messages associated with each image or to select *other* and write their own message in the blank space provided. Items 1 to 20 are the same images used in the revised version. The complete focus group protocol is located in appendix A.

#### *TV Viewing Habits*

When the data about TV viewing preferences was analyzed, most responses could be grouped into two categories: TV viewing by genre or viewing TV with a majority Black cast. Youth made statements such as “I go by if it’s funny,” or “I go by what entertains me.” When asked the question *When choosing which TV shows or magazines you will*

*watch or read, do you look for Black people to be featured as lead characters?* one participant responded, “No preference—what catches my eye,” but she went on to explain, “Like, I watch *Love of Ray J* vs. *Rock of Love*. We connect more with *Love of Ray J* or *Flava of Love* because I relate. White and Black reality shows may be just as dumb, but I just connect with the Black shows.” When talking about White reality shows, she further explained, “I might not be able to connect with them, like what are they talking about...for me to even follow it I may not understand what they are talking about.” Her initial response was that she does not select shows that feature Black characters, but the examples she gave and her explanation for viewing these shows contradicts her initial “No” response. Although this quote is from an older youth participant, this type of contradiction happened in all but one of the focus groups with younger youth.

#### *Genre Viewing*

Youth in the 14- to 17-year-old focus groups were slightly more likely to state that they watched TV by genre and did not select shows based on the inclusion of Black characters. Younger youth would make statements such as “Which ever attracts me first,” “The genre I like, people choose what they can relate to, it doesn’t really matter,” “What I’m attracted to, the genre you’re interested in.” Younger youth identified shows featured on Disney, TNT, and ABC and cartoons such as *SpongeBob Square Pants* as some of their preferences. In contrast, other students did report a Black character inclusion preference. One male participant firmly stated, “I look for Black people, see how many I can see in a day. *CSI*—none, *Numbers*—none, *Simpsons*—one.”

To follow up on nonpreferential viewing statements, youth were routinely asked to identify some of the shows they did watch. In one session, participants almost unanimously declared, “*The Game!*” Other titles were *Real Housewives of Atlanta*,



*Desperate Housewives, Deglassi, and Assistants*. Because of the excited response associated with *The Game* participants were asked to describe why they watched this sitcom. The first response was, “*The Game* is about Black life. It started from *Girlfriends*...I always watched *Girlfriends*. Basically it is about Black people, successful Black people. Who doesn’t want to watch a show on successful Black people?” Although this participant went on to say, “We don’t consciously choose shows with Black people,” a second participant offered a different perspective: “Most of us were raised on *Martin* and stuff like that, so this is our modern day...Mom and Dad watched *Martin* and *In Living Color*. So on BET nowadays, that’s our modern-day show.”

Another participant explained that she watched *For the Love of Ray J* but not *Flava of Love*, because “what girl want to go out with an old man? I tried to watch Bret Michaels but it did not seem as interesting.” Another participant who said, “Black drama is different from White drama” followed up with this statement: “Totally different.” In spite of declarations that their viewing habits were not dictated by the inclusion of Black characters, more often than not youth offered Black shows as examples of what they watched on television.

#### *Black TV Shows, Casts, and Characters*

Older youth were forthright in their preference for viewing Black TV shows or rooting for Black characters. One college student stated, “I watch a lot of cartoons and Black shows they took off the air...I go for a lot of older stuff like *One on One* and *Step by Step*.” When queried about mainstream shows one youth offered, “Every time I watch *America’s Next Top Model* I always root for the Black girl because she the underdog, I want her to win. I’m not even going to front on that one.” Another participant followed with, “Yeah, I’m always looking for that one Black person, you know, shows like that.” And another youth said,

Yeah, I have to agree I always look for the Black person, like even in scary movies—the Black person always dies first but I look for that Black person and I be like, Why does the Black person have to die first? Why can't they stay throughout the whole movie? I just feel sometimes it's a racial thing but maybe it may not be but I do always look for the main character, for, like, a Black person.

### *Magazine Reading Habits*

Participant answers to magazine reading preferences were somewhat different than the TV preferences; preferences for female youth appeared to be associated with age. A female 14- to 17-year-old participant stated, “Whatever is hot or someone I am interested in, like when Michael Jackson died I was buying all the magazines featuring stories about Michael Jackson, but if there is a story about someone I like, like Paris Hilton on the cover, I'll buy it.” While female youth in both groups spoke about reading mainstream and Black magazines, older youth frequently identified a preference for Black magazines. A participant in the 18- to 21-year-old group said, “I used to read those teenybopper magazines like *Seventeen* and *Elle* and stuff like that, but now I subscribe to *Upscale*, *Essence*, and *Ebony*.” Females in both age groups identified *Seventeen* and *Elle* as two mainstream magazines. Every group, except the all male-group, identified *Ebony*, *Essence*, and *Upscale*. There was one young man who implied he read or at least viewed *Jet* magazine. Without specifically identifying *Jet* magazine, he spoke about the inclusion of the *Beauty of the Week* during a discussion of Black female images. Male participants described choosing sports-oriented magazines, and younger participants also said they read *Right On!* magazine. Analysis of focus group data demonstrates there was less discussion of media images and characters when youth identified magazine preferences. However, TV viewing preferences stimulated extended discussions of TV shows, Black characters, and associated messages. When youth were probed about their TV viewing selections, their responses included perspectives on individual characters, entire shows, and Black television images in general.

### *Media Messages*

During the first segment of a focus group, when youth were asked to identify TV shows they view, participants provided names of the shows, then began to critique the shows or the Black characters. In segment 3 of the focus groups, when participants were asked to complete the questionnaire, they were also given an opportunity to suggest additional responses and to comment on the images. Some of the most common comments from participants were critiques of images they believed presented Black women as sexual objects or as easily sexually accessible. The quotes below were taken from all three segments of the focus groups.

### *Sexualized Black Women*

Item 12 of the measure is a nude picture of the singer Ciara (see Table 5.2 in Appendix C). Below are comments from the male focus group in response to this image: “Who is that? “Is that Ciara?” “She horny,” “Porn star,” “I want to meet her,” “I want to marry her,” “Amazing.” Following these initial responses another young man said, “Besides hormones, degrading.” To which I asked, “Why degrading?” “Because it’s a butt-naked image for our Black women. It says they easy, take off your clothes and take pictures to get what you want. Gotta show your body to get something.” The same student then attempted to neutralize his statement by stating, “It’s kind of degrading—but she could be modeling.” Another youth interjected, “With her face like that? She looking like she about to yah mean—you know what time it is.” There was some level of dissonance associated with this last set of interpretations. The final statement was, “Can we move to the next picture?” When asked how often they see images of Black women that portray this message all participants agreed it was “all of the time.”

Female participants also expressed discomfort with sexualized images of Black women. In response to item 6, which is an image of Beyoncé, a female participant stated, “Whole legs open, you can see straight through. You can see the bottom of your butt cheeks right there. Also Beyoncé is this huge name, related to Blacks in general—huge icon Black females—I don’t want to be portrayed as this if this is what you are relating me to.” Not only has this participant interpreted the message as unfavorable, but careful attention to her response reveals she has personalized the description of what she sees as a potential representation of her and of all Black women by stating, “You can see the bottom of your butt cheeks right there,” when describing the image. She also seems to be demonstrating a sense of agency in reflecting upon this representation, such that she will actively prevent it from being a representation of her. She is blocking internalization of her definition of Beyoncé’s image message. This response illustrated that youth can be passive or active responders to not only their perception of the message’s intent, but also to how much they admit to its potential influence of their identification. When asked how often images with similar messages are presented in the media the youth responded “all of the time.” The perception of Black women as sexually promiscuous is associated with the Jezebel character described by Bogle (1980 and 2001) and Jackson (2006).

#### *Black Women, the Caretakers*

Another message presented during the focus groups is associated with Bogle’s definition of Mammy. Item 1 on the questionnaire is a picture of two women, actresses Alfre Woodard and Kathy Bates, in a car. Woodard, who is Black, is pictured in the front seat of the car driving Bates, who is White. One participant in focus group disclosed that she had watched the movie from which the image was taken. She prefaced her statement with this disclosure stating, “If I had not seen this movie I would interpret this image as Black women take care of White people.” This statement led to the resolution that Black

women care for everyone, not just Black people. Another response to item 1 was, “Black women are portrayed as providers more than White women, they are cooking, cleaning, taking care of the house and White children.” A participant from New York City stated, “In New York City, Black nannies are 99 percent. To this day. Go to the Harlem Museum—cute White kids with Black nannies.” A participant from California added her observation that “in California it’s Latino women.” It appears youth identified the Mammy message and associated this image with actual experiences. The tone of their voices, when describing true-life experiences, seemed to be framed by annoyance. When viewing the video footage, one can see the young woman who offered the New York example is clearly exasperated: She shakes her head and her voice raises as she shares her observation.

A second image evoked some similar responses of dissonance. A freestanding image of a Lord & Taylor Michael Kors watch advertisement featured a naked young Black woman holding a blond haired, blue-eyed baby that appears to be White. The tagline for this ad is: “It is not about the time in our life...but the life in our time.” At least one youth in each focus group asked, “Why is she naked?” Two additional comments were, “What is this ad about or for?” and “I don’t get it.” A frustrated youth declared, “I’m over this, it’s too much.” Another youth stated with some mild irritation, “I just think this is reinforcing dominance.” A youth interpreting the ad expressed resignation or was indignant, stating, “It looks like she’s the caregiver again,” which suggests this ad perpetuates the stereotype that Black women are Mammies. While these were common reactions among older youth, there was a clear age difference in the interpretation of this ad.

In two of the focus groups with younger youth the initial interpretations were of the image as representing a new multicultural age—that Black women could have White

babies or adopt them. Other youth seemed to feel this ad reflected the new age and that “you would never see a Black woman holding a White baby on TV or in commercial ads before.” These youth were most likely unfamiliar with older media images and Black history or they failed to make the linear connections between older images and this current ad. This raises the question of how much knowledge of Black history matters in the way youth interpret Black images in the context of public media?

### *Strong Black Women*

Two freestanding images, one of Harriet Tubman and one of India.Irie (images are located in appendix B), were presented during the focus groups. Both were associated with messages that Black women are strong and comfortable with themselves. Unfortunately, when asked how often these types of images of Black women are portrayed in the media, many of the responses were, “Not a lot, not like this.” There were additional discussions about how Black women are portrayed in the media. Most participants explained that Black women are often portrayed as loud and/or angry, sharing, “No one sees the other side –portrayed as angry Black women too often.”

### *Angry Black Women*

During a discussion of viewing preference, one young woman offered the following statement, “A lot of shows with one Black person [the character] comes off as violent or mean, especially Black women. They normally loud and rowdy.” When asked for an example of a show and characters, the response was, “I believe *Hannah Montana*—the bodyguard and the boss from the movie theater.” Other youth interjected with, “Oh, yeah, that’s right.” She finished up by saying “they strict and mean.” This last example was extracted from a 14- to 17-year-old focus group transcript. The character descriptions offered by youth are strikingly similar to Bogle’s Sapphire (Bogle, 1973).

Focus group participants were able to identify common media messages about Black males as often as they identified messages associated with Black women.

*It's a Joke to Be a Black Man*

The messages associated with images of Jay-Jay, a Martin Lawrence character, and Flava-Flav were “A joke to be Black” “Yes, it is original, but it is a joke, that is what people see.” Another participant shared, “I watch to laugh but it is kind of foolish, nothing ever seems positive, serious, just a bunch of jokes. That is it.” The descriptions offered by these youth are readily applicable to the Coon character described by Bogle. There was one male participant who offered, “You can make it and still be yourself...you can be successful and not be stuck-up,” as the message represented by the Jay-Jay character. In contrast, a female participant suggested one of the responses for item 7 of the measure, which is a picture of Flava-Flav, should be “A disgrace.” Another youth stated, “Little-Einstein—the only Black person on there, she dumb—she’s the dumbest one on there, she dumb.” To which another responded, “Why is he Black? It’s a boy.” This young person was both asking why the “dumbest” character is Black and letting his peer know the character is a boy, not a girl.

A different female focus group participant said the image of Lawrence portrayed the message that “Black men are uneducated. They can only get low-paying jobs and can’t be taken seriously.” In another focus group the image of Martin Lawrence prompted similar definitions and a critique as demonstrated in the following transcript excerpt:

“Look at his teeth.”

“Is that realistic?”

“Yeah, that’s realistic.”

“Is the character realistic? No, I don’t think so, for entertainment—a few Black men in some neighborhoods.”

“But, see, that’s the problem. That’s what they see, that’s what they are going to believe. This would result in low expectations of Black people.”

These characters’ portrayals, Jay-Jay, Martin Lawrence, and Flava-Flav were interpreted as presenting messages that say Black men are a joke and cannot be taken seriously. This type of character portrayal predates television (Jackson, 2006) and is embodied in Bogle’s definition of a Coon (Bogle, 1973).

### *A Serious Black Man*

During the all-male focus group, messages associated with two images were defined as representing the strong Black man: item 5, Frederick Douglass, and a freestanding image of LeBron James, one of the Nike Chalk Shoe ads. The first comments about the James ad were, “You have to play a sport to be successful,” “I made it,” “Determination,” and “Champion.” When asked, “How about how he’s standing?” One youth offered:

Humble picture. Seems like he want to unleash himself. Like he got a lot of titles around the world but instead of being that person they try to make him seem to be, he just stays LeBron James and who he is as a basketball player on the court and don’t let anybody get to him. Just stays humble—like he’s tied up by all the critics, wants to unleash but staying humble by being very calm.

While this description could be interpreted negatively, I interpret it as a positive statement about what appears to be James’s mental strength.

The responses the young men gave when asked about frequency of viewing similar images on TV were: “Not that every Black man has to be a thug. He can wear a suit also.” “A leader, courage and conqueror,” “Hardly ever,” “Every now and again,” and “If it has something to do with sports or around Black history.” I asked the young men why these types of images were not in the media, to which one young man responded,



I think people are scared. The real world—not Black people—will get scared if young Black men start to notice what they are capable of...if they all at the top they can't really show this because it might give young men a sense to—a sense of belief that they can actually do something in life. They don't show the good part of Black men because they have a lot to contribute.

A female participant's comment about the Frederick Douglass image was “Strong Black man. Mental and emotional strength.” When asked about the frequency of exposure to similar images, she replied, “Hardly ever...except maybe President Obama, but other males, I don't see it. You may see physical strength but not mental and emotional strength.” Aside from commentary about Frederick Douglass' hair, this image was interpreted as presenting a positive message about Black men that is rarely viewed on television.

### *Sexy Black Men*

The first three comments about the item 8 image of LL Cool J from the BMMQ questionnaire were, “Sexy,” “Hot,” “When the picture came up, the first thing that came to my mind was ‘Yes! Black men know how to have sex’ with his lips.” LL Cool J has a well-developed upper body, abs, and arms. This image features him without a shirt, wearing sunglasses and army fatigues. Leg holsters are strapped around both his thighs and his right hand is clasping a gun in the leg holster. Other interpretations of this image were offered, but most often this image was interpreted as selling sex.

Contrary to the females' initial response, one of the male youth asked, “Where's his shirt, man?” Males offered “show-off” as a message, but they also offered “flirtatious.” Both male and female youth said, “Sex sells.” In response to a somewhat similar picture of 50 Cent, one youth said,

Sex sells. That's like with all the videos. Anything—you got the females takin' off their clothes. You got the dudes doing the same thing, jus' trying to make sure everybody have a nice time and make money. [pause] You see this type of image just about every day, not just Black people.

So some student participants did not always identify these images as uniquely racialized. Although this analysis was extended to all people, Bogle (1973) and Jackson (2006) define a Buck as a hypersexualized, physically imposing Black man. Traditionally, Bucks are associated with a strong sexual desire for White women, but I suggest that contemporary incarnations of this typology have experienced subtle adjustments in how they are presented to the public, but the principal elements still exist as evidenced by the response to these two images.

### *Summary*

The results presented in this chapter are the outcome of a preliminary analysis of whether Black youth could identify a variety of media messages, and they clearly demonstrate that Black youth are aware of and able to identify negative stereotype media messages about Black people. The first hypothesis, youth will identify preexisting messages about Black people after viewing images of Blacks in the media was supported. There were no considerable gender differences in the responses observed, for which the small number of male participants is a likely explanation. Yet it appears there are age group differences in how Black youth analyze and relate to Black media images.

Statements by youth in the younger group about negative media stereotype characters and TV shows were more frequently followed by comments that the portrayals were true or very close to the truth than were similar statements by older youth. Some older youth identified a negative stereotype type of character as a consistent presence on Black TV shows, i.e., J.J. from *Good Times*, Cole from *Martin*, and Flava-Flav. Stating that this type of character is modeled on an actual person or persons in the Black community, youth also said the TV images were exaggerated character(s). Older youth were clearly more critical of negative stereotype Black images than youth in the younger groups, expressing concern that these images would be considered accurate reflections of

Black life, particularly for White people who did not encounter Black people other than on TV.

Youth in the 18- to 21-year-old group have likely developed a racial identity in which identifying as Black and knowing how people perceive the Black community are salient elements of their identities. Older youth participants were college students and have possibly encountered racial experiences and have access to information that influences their evaluation of media as influential on actual behaviors. Future analyses with this data will include a richer analysis of the youth responses to the questions about media consumption and their responses to freestanding images.

The benefits of the focus group process are the ways in which Black youth both respond to and shift their responses to how Black images are influential by the way others in the group react. This mutually reactive process that occurred during the focus groups could be defined in and of itself as an intervention because youth are both gathering a larger picture of how these images might be interpreted. As such, they may have more choices available to them as to the meaning of these Black images, whether negative or positive, and thus be able to more freely choose which to internalize, provided cultivation theory is correct. The focus group gave much support to further investigating Black media images from a quantitative methodological angle.

## CHAPTER 5

### Survey Results

The primary research questions of this dissertation examine the relationships among exposure to media images of Black people, racial identity, and racial socialization for Black adolescents. Secondary research questions are designed to explore how racial/ethnic socialization and Black identity are associated with Black history knowledge, self-esteem, and body image. This chapter provides the results for the BMMQ factor analysis that was conducted to test  $H_b$  and the results of the quantitative analyses which were conducted to test  $H_{c1}$  through  $H_{h2}$ .

#### *Black Media Messages Questionnaire Factor Analysis*

Following the traditional standards for factor analysis, the Black Media Message subscale of this measure would not be considered factorable because each statement in the BMMS is meant to reflect the image, not answer a question. Once a participant completed the entire BMMQ, items were grouped into categories of positive or negative characterizations of Black men and women. The traditional factor analysis strategy is used to group items measuring a common construct that have an identical point of reference, i.e., response scale (George & Mallery, 2010, p. 246). The concepts of negative and positive stereotypes are the constructs that frame the messages associated with the images for each item, but participants gave different answers as to the image representation. Since each statement could reflect a different meaning to each participant and yielded no consistent reliability, no traditional factor analytic method could be applied to the first subscale (BMMS).

The remaining three scales were standardized and met traditional factor analysis guidelines for continuity of responses. Belief and frequency response formats are very

appropriate for factor analytic methods. The primary reason for this is that each participant answered how much he or she agreed or witnessed the message he or she chose in subscale 1. The response options for each subscale were standardized for all 20 items. Options for the Belief scale were *strongly agree*, *agree*, *disagree*, and *strongly disagree*, and options for the TV Frequency and Magazine Frequency scales were *never*, *hardly ever*, *a few times*, *lots of times*, and *all of the time*.

Ideally, the scales would be able to measure a construct independently; however, the responses to these scales are linked to the Message scale. Although this could be considered a weakness of the measure, the association of the responses with the images also serves as a source of strength because this process mimics theoretical assumptions of the persistence of stereotype characterizations across different television shows, media, and generations. The responses to the Belief, TV Frequency, and Magazine Frequency scales were premised on the messages selected for the Message scale. These messages represent negative or positive stereotypes, and the answers selected for the scales are based on either of these constructs. Respondents selected answers based on their perception of Black media stereotypes. To develop factors for each scale, message frequencies for the items that met the decision criteria were calculated.

*Decision Criteria.* The decision criterion for determining if a stereotype image was positive is that 70% of the respondents had to select an answer in the positive direction. There were 10 positive items; 3 items did not meet the 70% threshold. These items were excluded from the remaining procedures. The remaining items were 2, 5, 8, 9, 16, 18, and 20. The decision criterion for determining a negative stereotype representative item is that 60% of the respondents had to answer in the negative direction. Any item in which there was less than a 60/40 split was not included in this study. There were 10 negative items; 9 items met the 60% threshold. The items were 3, 4,

6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15. If there were negative and positive messages for an item, the responses were collapsed to represent two options, negative or positive. If the messages were categorized in one direction, all the responses were collapsed into one response. Tables 5.3-5.6 provides a list of the frequencies for all 20 items.

The 4-item response scale (part B of the measure) for each of these items was then collapsed into a 2-choice scale: *agree* and *strongly agree* became *agree*, and *strongly disagree* and *disagree* became *disagree*. Cross-tabulation was performed in order to analyze belief of the selected messages. Agreement between belief and selected messages ranged from 55% to 100% for positive items, and 23% to 55% for negative items. Percentages for each item and chi<sup>2</sup> results are provided in tables 5.7-5.10.

The 7 positive items had belief percentages of 69% or higher. All of these items were included in the factor analysis procedures. Although 60% or more of the participants selected negative stereotype messages, fewer agreed with the message selected. Even though negative item belief was not as high as positive item belief, my decision to keep all of the negative items for the factor analysis was supported by the schema recognition and social desirability associations. Repeated exposure to the same or similar schemas, also referred to as attentional cues, influences adolescent and adult perception and acceptance of media as true-life representations (Biocca, 1988; Strasburger, 2004; Strasburger et al., 2010). Coltrane and Messineo's 2000 study demonstrates how racially stereotyped images of Black people in commercials supports "the perpetuation of subtle racial prejudice" against African American people. Further social desirability research provides evidence that although people may claim a neutral or unbiased orientation toward racial/cultural groups, when asked to make associations people tend to associate unfavorable and negative behavior (stereotypes) with Black people (David & Patricia, 2006).

The original variables for items 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, and 20 with four response options were tested for reliability and used to create factors for the *Black Media Message Belief (BMMB)*, *Black Media Message TV Frequency (BMMTV-Freq)*, and *Black Media Message Magazine Frequency (BMagM-Freq)* scales.

*Black Media Message Belief (BMMB) Scale.* Items 2, 5, 8, 9, 16, 18, and 20 are positive items and were analyzed to create factor 1, Positive-BMMB (P-BMMB). When all 7 items were tested for reliability, the model resulted in an unacceptably low level of reliability for Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha=.59$ ,  $M=22.79$ ,  $SD=6.90$ ). Removing items 8 and 2 increased the alpha ( $\alpha=.66$ ,  $M=16.73$ ,  $SD=2.24$ ); an alpha of .66 is acceptable, but by removing items 5 and 9 the alpha increased to .77. Items 16, 18, and 20 were the remaining positive items and were used to create the Positive-BMMB (P-BMMB) factor (3 items;  $\alpha=.77$ ,  $M=10.17$ ,  $SD=1.79$ ). Items 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15 were used to formulate factor 2, the Negative-BMMB (N-BMMB). Reliability for these items resulted in an acceptable alpha, (9 items;  $\alpha=.84$ ,  $M=21.74$ ,  $SD=5.55$ ). Removing items from this group did not result in an increased alpha, so all 9 items were kept and represent the N-BMMB factor.

*Black Media Message TV Frequency (BMMTV-Freq) Scale.* Items 2, 5, 8, 9, 16, 18, and 20 were analyzed for creating the Positive Black Media Message TV Frequency (P-BMMTV-Freq) factor. The reliability for P-BMMTV-Freq: (7 items;  $\alpha=.65$ ,  $M=22.75$ ,  $SD=3.75$ ) is at a less than optimal but acceptable level; however removing items from this factor decreases the reliability; as a result these items represent P-BMMTV-Freq.

Items 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15 were used to formulate factor 2, the *Negative Black Media Message TV Frequency (N-BMMTV-Freq)* factor. The reliability for these items (9 items;  $\alpha=.83$ ,  $M=32.50$ ,  $SD=5.79$ ) is .83 and is considered a

meritorious reliability. Removing items from this factor did not increase reliability; these items represent the N-BMMTV-Freq factor.

*Black Media Message Magazine Frequency (BMagM-Freq) Scale.* Items 2, 5, 8, 9, 16, 18, and 20 were analyzed for creating the Positive Black Media Message Magazine Frequency (P-BMagM-Freq) factor. The reliability for P-BMagM-Freq: (7 items;  $\alpha=.70$ ,  $M=22.75$ ,  $SD=3.75$ ) is at a moderate level, but removing items from this factor decreases the reliability; as a result these items represent P-BMagM-Freq.

Items 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15 were used to formulate factor 2, the *Negative Black Media Message Magazine Frequency (N-BMagM-Freq)* factor. The reliability for these items (9 items;  $\alpha=.81$ ,  $M=29.99$ ,  $SD=5.93$ ) is .83 and is considered meritorious reliability. Removing items from this factor did not increase reliability; these items represent the N-BMagM-Freq factor. Table 5.11 lists the scales and the reliability for each BMMQ factor.

The hypothesis for the factor analyses was supported; youth perceptions of media images of Black people were found to be a psychosocial construct made up of reliable subfactors. To summarize, a higher score on the P-BMMB meant youth endorsed more positive Black media messages; a higher score on the N-BMMB meant youth endorsed a high number of negative Black media messages. Youth with higher P-BMMTV-Freq identified higher frequency of viewing images that reflected positive Black media messages on TV. In contrast, higher N-BMMTV-Freq meant youth reported seeing more negative Black media images when viewing television. A higher frequency for P-BMagM-Freq meant youth reported seeing high numbers of positive Black media messages in magazines. Higher N-BMagM-Freq scores meant youth reported viewing more images that portrayed negative messages about Black people in magazines.



### *Correlation Analysis*

Exploratory zero order correlations were conducted for each of the factors from the BMMQ scales with demographic variables. The demographic variables examined were *youth's race, father's race, mother's race, father's education, mother's education, parents' marital status, family income, experience with racist acts, experience of racist acts against a family member, family talks about racism, expected level of educational attainment, helpful life factors, hurtful life factors, TV viewing hours, magazine reading hours, varsity sport participation, extracurricular activity participation, age, developmental age, and gender.*

*BMMB Correlations.* The BMMB factors were examined first. The P-BMMB factor was only found to have a significant relationship with developmental age (N=113,  $p=.21$ ). There were 7 significant correlations for the N-BMMB factor: parents' marital status (N=111,  $p=-.25$ ), family income (N=111,  $p=-.22$ ), family experience of racist acts (N=107,  $p=-.19$ ), expected level of education attainment (n=105,  $p=-.21$ ), extracurricular activity participation (N=107,  $p=-.29$ ), gender (n=111,  $p=-.25$ ), and developmental age (n=111,  $p=-.25$ ). All 7 variables were negatively correlated with N-BMMB.

*BMMTV-Frequency Correlations.* There were two significant correlations for P-BMMTV-Freq: hurtful life factor 2, (N=87,  $p=.22$ ) and age (N=113,  $p=-.22$ ). N-BMMTV-Freq was significantly correlated with 7 variables: mother's education (N=113,  $p=.22$ ), family experience of racist acts (N=107,  $p=.29$ ), hurtful life factor 2 (N=87,  $p=-.34$ ), gender (N=113,  $p=.31$ ), developmental age (N=113,  $p=.40$ ), age (N=105,  $p=.41$ ), and experience of racist acts (N=107,  $p=.23$ ).

*BMagM-Frequency Correlations.* One variable, hurtful life factor 2 (N=87,  $p=.28$ ), was significantly correlated with P-BMagM-Freq. Five variables were

significantly correlated with N-BMagM-Freq: family experience of racist acts (N=107,  $p=.30$ ), gender (N=113,  $p=.19$ ), developmental age (N=113,  $p=.37$ ), age (N=105,  $p=.32$ ), and experience of racist acts (N=107;  $p=.23$ ).

Although there were 11 demographic variables that yielded significant relationships with the BMMQ factors, given the focus of the research only a selection of these variables will be used. The key demographic variables that will be used for the remaining analyses are Age, Gender, Experience of Racist Acts, Varsity Sport Participation, Extracurricular Activity Involvement, TV Viewing Hours, and Magazine Reading Hours. In order to further investigate relationships among study variables analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedures were conducted.

#### *Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)*

One-way ANOVA was used to compare differences among constituencies using the demographic variables of age, gender, and racist acts, to determine if there would be significant differences in BMMQ scores among gender, developmental age, and youth who experience racist acts. Varsity sport participation, extracurricular activity involvement, TV viewing hours, and magazine reading hours were also analyzed to determine if there were significant differences.

*BMMB ANOVAs.* The one-way ANOVA for the P-BMMB factor yielded no statistically significant differences between groups for any of the analyzed variables. The one-way ANOVA  $F(24, 110)=1.77$ ,  $MSE=.35$ ,  $p=.03$ ,  $\eta^2=.33$  for the N-BMMB factor demonstrated statistically significant differences between males and females with males scoring significantly higher than females.

*BMMTV-Freq ANOVAs.* The one-way ANOVA for the P-BMMTV-Freq factor yielded no statistically significant differences between groups for any of the analyzed variables. The one-way ANOVA for the N-BMMTV-Freq factor demonstrated statistically

significant differences between males and females  $F(25, 112)=2.12$ ,  $MSE=.40$ ,  $p=.006$ ,  $\eta^2=.38$ ; age  $F(24, 104)=1.71$ ,  $MSE=.8.38$ ,  $p=.04$   $\eta^2=.34$ ; and the developmental age groups  $F(25, 112)=1.91$ ,  $MSE=.40$ ,  $p=.02$   $\eta^2=.37$ , with males scoring lower than females and older youth scoring higher than younger adolescents, as was expected. Males reported viewing fewer negative images on TV than females, and older youth reported viewing higher amounts of negative images than younger youth.

*BMagM-Freq ANOVAs.* The one-way ANOVA for the PBMagM-Freq factor yielded no statistically significant differences between groups for any of the analyzed variables. The one-way ANOVA  $F(1, 111)=4.25$ ,  $MSE=35.19$ ,  $p=.04$   $\eta^2=.04$  for gender; and racist acts  $F(1,105)=5.73$ ,  $MSE=34.78$ ,  $p=.02$   $\eta^2=.05$  demonstrated statistically significant differences for NBMagM-Freq. Developmental age  $F(1, 111)=17.91$   $MSE=35.19$ ,  $p=.000$   $\eta^2=.14$  demonstrated highly statistically significant differences for NBMagM-Freq. Female youth reported viewing higher amounts of negative Black media messages in magazines; the 18 to 21 youth group identified higher rates of negative magazine images and youth who experienced racist acts also identified negative magazine images at higher rates than those who did not.

#### *Correlation Analysis of Racial Identity to BMMB*

This analysis was conducted to address the following hypotheses: racial identity, regard, and centrality will have a significant relationship with Black media message belief. Three factors from the MIBI-T were used for this analysis. The MIBI-T is a measure of the extent to which race is relevant to the self-concept at a particular point in time or in a particular situation. It consists of four aspects of racial identity: how a person defines themselves in terms of race (Centrality); how a person evaluates their racial group (Regard—which is assessed in terms of both Public and Private Regard); and how they think members of the racial group act (Ideology—Humanist, Oppressed

Minority, Nationalist, and Assimilationist). The Centrality, Public and Private Regard scales are the primary aspects used for the analyses in this study.

Youth were instructed to choose the response that represented their agreement on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*really disagree*) to 5 (*really agree*) with statements representative of each scale. For example, “I have a strong sense of belonging to other Black people” is from the Centrality scale; “Most people think that Blacks are as smart as people of other races” is an example from the Public Regard scale; “I am happy that I am Black” is an example from the Private Regard scale. Exploratory zero order correlations were conducted for each of the factors from the BMMQ scales and the 2 racial identity scales.

*BMMB Correlations.* Private Regard was the only positive and statistically significant factor ( $N=113$ ,  $r=.286$ ,  $p<.01$ ) for P-BMMB. Youth with higher private regard scores were more likely to assert that the positive statement attached to the Black media image was the correct message. Private Regard scores had an inverse relationship and were significantly correlated ( $N=113$ ,  $r=-.224$ ) at the .05 level with N-BMMB. This was an expected finding. It was expected that youth with high private regard scores would not agree that the negative statement accurately represented the Black media image and thus score lower on this subscale. The hypothesis for this analysis predicted there would be significant relationships between media message beliefs and the racial identity scores.

*BMMTV-Freq Correlations.* This analysis was conducted to test the hypothesis that racial identity will have a significant relationship with the frequency of the types of Black media messages identified on TV. There were no significant correlations for P-BMMTV-Freq. N-BMMTV-Freq scores were inversely and significantly ( $n=113$ ,  $p=-.205$ ,  $p<.05$ ) correlated with Public Regard scores. The results of this analysis partially

support the tested hypothesis: Youth with high Public Regard scores reported that the negative stereotype images and messages were not frequently appearing on television.

*BMagM-Freq Correlations.* This analysis was conducted to test the hypothesis that racial identity would have a significant relationship with frequency of Black media messages in magazine. None of the racial identity variables were significantly correlated with P-BMagM-Freq or N-BMagM-Freq scores. Overall, magazine reading was low for this sample, which could explain the lack of significant findings.

It was expected that there would be a significant relationship between Centrality and BMMQ scores for each scale. This hypothesis was not supported--none of the BMMQ factors were significantly correlated with Centrality. Although there were no significant correlations for Centrality, the P-BMMTV-Freq, P-BMagM-Freq and N-BMMB factors were inversely related to Centrality. An examination of TV viewing and magazine reading showed higher Centrality scores were significantly (n=104, p=-.190, p< .05) and inversely correlated with watching TV and inversely correlated (n=104, p=-.077, p< .44) with reading magazines.

#### *Correlation Analysis of Racial Socialization Experience*

To address the hypothesis that youth high in racial socialization will also score high on the factors of the Black media message measure, exploratory zero order correlations were conducted between the factors of the BMMQ and CARES scales. The CARES consists of three measures: *CARES Frequency* asks youth *Have your parents/relatives, friends/peers, teachers/professors, other adults, or the media said to you any of the following statements throughout your lifetime? How often?* *CARES Agreement* asks youth *How much do you agree?* with the statements; *CARES Source* asks *Where did you hear this?* This research study was designed to assess exposure to

racial socialization experience; because of this the five factors for CARES Frequency were tabulated for each youth and will be used in the remaining analyses.

There are five CARES factors that represent the types of racial socialization messages that youth report receiving. The Racial/Ethnic (R/E) Affirmation factor is composed of items that represent messages that positively upholds and support the experiences of Black people. These messages often include a reference to historical cultural experiences, i.e., “To be Black is to be connected to a history that goes back to African royalty.” The R/E Protection factor is composed of items that represent statements that can help youth guard against racially stressful encounters, i.e., “You should speak up when someone says something that is racist.” The R/E Stereotype factor includes items about messages that express negative perspectives (internalized racialism) about Black people, i.e., “Some Black people are just born with good hair.” The R/E Regard for Whiteness factors includes messages about encounters and preferences for whiteness, i.e., “Black children will learn more if they go to a mostly white school.” The R/E Competence Resolution factor includes statements about how youth use particular coping strategies in dealing with differential treatment because they are Black, i.e., “Fitting into school or work means swallowing your anger when you see racism.”

*Black Media Message Belief (BMMB) Correlations.* Correlations with the BMMB factors were examined first to address the hypothesis that Black Media Message Belief (BMMB scores) would have a significant relationship with racial socialization experience (CARES scores). Surprisingly, there were no significant correlations with any of the CARES factors for N-BMMB, although Regard for Whiteness appeared to be approaching significance (N=111,  $r=-.179$ ,  $p < .06$ ). There were significant correlations with P-BMMB for Protection, (N=113,  $r=.262$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and Affirmation, (N=113,  $r=.311$ ,  $p$

< .01). It seems youth with higher Protection and Affirmation scores were more likely to believe positive media messages about Black people.

The hypothesis for this analysis predicted there would be significant relationships between the BMMB and CARES variables. The results partially support this hypothesis. This was a surprise as it was expected there would be a significant relationship between N-BMMB scores and the CARES Stereotype and Regard for Whiteness factors. These two factors did begin to approach significance; therefore it is possible a larger sample size would result in significance for individual CARES factors.

*Black Media Message TV Frequency (BMMTV-Freq) Correlations.* Correlations between the BMMTV-Freq factors and the CARES factors were examined. There were no significant correlations for P-BMMTV-Freq, although Affirmation appeared to be approaching significance. N-BMMTV-Freq was significantly correlated with 4 factors: Protection (N=113,  $r=.327$ ), Stereotype (N=113,  $r=.343$ ), Regard for Whiteness (N=113,  $r=.318$ ) at the .01 level, and Competence (N=113,  $r=.214$ ), which was significant at the .05 level. Youth with high scores for these factors were more likely to report seeing more negative stereotype messages on television.

The hypotheses for this analysis predicted there would be significant relationships between the BMMTV-frequency and CARES variables. The results of the correlation analysis partially supported this hypothesis. Youth with higher scores on these variables were more likely to identify negative messages about Black people when watching TV. The non-significant relationship between racial socialization and P-BMMTV-Freq may be appropriate. It follows that youth with higher racial socialization scores would be likely to report negative media messages, which are prevalent, and unlikely to identify positive messages when watching TV because they are almost non-existent.

*Black Media Message Magazine Frequency (BMagM-Freq) Correlations.* A third set of correlations was performed to test the hypothesis that frequency of Black messages in magazines (BMagM-Freq scores) would have a significant relationship with racial socialization experience (CARES scores). One variable, Affirmation (N=113,  $r=.209$ ,  $p<.05$ ), was significantly correlated with P-BMagM-Freq. N-BMagM-Freq was significantly correlated with 3 factors. Protection (N=113,  $r=.255$ ) and Regard for Whiteness, (N=113,  $r=.256$ ) were significant at the .01 level. Stereotype (N=113,  $r=.215$ ) was significant at the .05 level.

This hypothesis also predicted there would be significant relationships between the BMagM-Freq and CARES variables. There was one variable significantly correlated with P-BMagM-Freq and three significantly correlated with N-BMagM-Freq. The results of these analyses suggest youth with high levels of racial socialization significantly report greater frequency of negative Black media messages in magazines.

#### *Correlation Analysis of Black History Knowledge (BHK) to BMMQ*

To address the hypotheses that youth high in Black history knowledge will be able to identify negative Black media stereotypes, exploratory zero order correlations were conducted between the BMMQ factor scores and Black history knowledge scores. The Black History Knowledge Questionnaire (BHK) is a 20-item multiple-choice measure that tests youth's Black history knowledge. Part one of the measure instructs youth to select the best answer for each item. In part two, for each question, youth are asked to identify the first place they learned about the topic. The correct answers for part one of the measure are tallied to create the BHK score.

There was a statistically significant (N=113,  $r=.199$ ,  $p<.04$ ) correlation of BHK scores with the NBMMTV-Freq scores. As expected youth with higher BHK scores reported seeing negative Black stereotypes on TV more frequently. The hypothesis that



youth high in Black history knowledge would be able to identify negative stereotype messages was supported. It is likely the NBMagMF-Freq factors would also have been significant if there was a larger sample or youth reported reading more magazines.

#### *Correlation Analysis of Self-Esteem to BMMQ*

Exploratory zero order correlations were conducted between the Black Media Messages Questionnaire (BMMQ) factor scores and self-esteem scores to address the hypotheses that there would be a relationship between these variables. The Rosenberg Self Esteem (RSE) scale was used to measure self-esteem. This is a 10 item self-report measure with a total possible score of 30. There were no statistically significant relationships between self-esteem scores and any of the BMMQ factors. However, esteem scores were inversely related to five of the factors. The P-BMMB factor was the only factor positively correlated with self-esteem; youth with higher self-esteem scores were more likely to believe positive stereotype messages about Black people.

A review of the esteem scores was performed. Esteem scores ranged from 13-30,  $m=24.88$ . Self-esteem scores for this sample were relatively high as supported by prior self-esteem research with Black adolescents (Grantham & Ford, 2003; Teasley & Lee, 2006; Young-Hyman, Schlundt, Herman-Wenderoth, & Bozylinski, 2003). More than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the sample had scores above 22. In order to determine if in fact a relationship between esteem and media messages does exist self esteem scores were grouped into three categories; *low esteem* scores ranged from 13-18, *average scores* ranged from 19-25 and *high scores* ranged from 26-30. This esteem variable will be used for the remaining models investigating self-esteem.

#### *Correlation Analysis of Body Image*

Exploratory zero order correlations were conducted between the BMMQ factor scores and body image scores to address the hypotheses that there would be a

relationship between these variables. Body image was measured using the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 (SATAQ-3). SATAQ3 is a 30 item 4 factor self report measure of body image. Attraction Ideal, Pressures, Unrealistic Ideal Image and Ideal Athlete Body are the four factors for this scale. Refer to chapter 3 for a detailed description of each factor.

There were no statistically significant relationships with body image. Only P-BMMB was positively correlated with all four of the body image factors. PBMMTV-Freq, NBMMTV-Freq and N-BMMB were all negatively correlated with the Attraction Ideal, Pressures, Unrealistic Ideal Image and Ideal Athlete Body factors. PBMag-Freq and NBMag-Freq were negatively correlated with Attraction Ideal, Unrealistic Ideal Image and Ideal Athlete Body. The hypothesis for this analysis was not supported, but the direction of the relationships between SATAQ-3 and BMMQ scores suggests lower body image scores are associated with media exposure. To further investigate this relationship, body images scores were correlated with TV viewing and magazines reading hours scores.

TV viewing hours was positively and significantly correlated with Information (N=104,  $r=.210$ ,  $p<.03$ ), Unrealistic Ideal Image (N=104,  $r=.204$ ,  $p<.04$ ) and Pressures (N=104,  $r=.263$ ,  $p<.007$ ); Pressures was significant at the .01 level. There were no significant correlations between body image scores and magazine reading.

#### *Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)*

This study also sought to investigate what relationships exist between exposure to images of Blacks in the media and (a) body image and (b) self-esteem scores of African-American adolescents. Neither of these variables correlated with the BMMBQ factors when entered into a model that include all four body image factors and self-esteem. In

order to further investigate relationships among study variables analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedures were conducted.

ANOVA was used to compare differences among demographic groups based on age, gender, racist acts, GPA, athletic involvement, TV viewing hours and magazine reading hours with BMMBQ, CARES, MIBI, SATAQ3, BHK, & RSE scores. These analyses were conducted to determine what relationships exist among these variables. The age variable was based on age groups 14- to 17 and 18- to 21-years-old. There was no significant difference in responses by age for the P-BMMB, PBMMTV-Freq, PBMagM-Freq, NBMagM-Freq or the N-BMMB factors. However, NBMMTV-Freq ( $F= 1.91, p=.015$ ) was significant. Older youth 18 to 21 reported higher frequency of negative stereotypical messages on TV than youth ages 14 to 17. Conversely, although the differences were insignificant, youth 14 to 17 reported seeing higher frequency levels of positive Black media messages on TV and in magazines, but older youth held a stronger belief in positive Black media messages.

ANOVAs also resulted in significant gender differences for all negative stereotype factors. Results were NBMagM-Freq ( $F= 4.25, p=.04$ ); NBMMTV- Freq( $F= 11.6, p=.001$ ); N-BMMB ( $F=5.66, p=.02$ ). Females reported higher rates of exposure to negative stereotypes media images of Blacks on television and in magazines. Males reported significantly higher rates of endorsement for media images of Black people that represent negative stereotype messages. Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5 in appendix E demonstrate mean scores for these findings.

ANOVAs were run with the CARES, MIBI-T, SATAQ3, BHK, RSE, Racist Acts, TV Viewing and Magazine Reading as independent variables and the BMMBQ factors as dependent variables. Youth who reported lower frequencies of magazine reading had significantly higher means on rates of endorsement of media images that represent

negative stereotypes ( $F=2.87$ ,  $p=.04$ ), than those who report higher frequencies of magazine reading. Those who experienced racist acts reported significantly higher rates of exposure to Black media images on TV ( $F=5.58$ ,  $p=.02$ ) and in magazines ( $F=5.73$ ,  $p=.02$ ) that represent negative stereotypes about Black people, then those who did not. ANOVAs for Centrality, Public Regard and Private Regard resulted in two significant relationships; Public Regard and NBMSTV-Freq ( $F=1.93$ ,  $p=.04$ ) and Centrality and N-BMMB ( $F=2.12$ ,  $p=.03$ ). Next Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) with the BMMBQ factors and 3 key demographic variables; age, gender and racist acts were conducted to determine what relationships exist among these variables.

#### *Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA)*

The first model included the 6 BMMQ factors as dependent variables and the 3 key demographic variables Gender, TV Viewing Hours and Magazine Viewing Hours. The result was a significant interaction for Gender/TV Viewing Hours (Wilks  $\lambda=.758$ ,  $F(12,162)=1.98$ ,  $p<.02$ ,  $F=3.33$ ,  $p=.006$ ). The Gender/TV Viewing Hours interaction resulted in a significant between subject effect for N-BMMB scores, ( $F=3.12$ ,  $p=.05$ ); this interaction had an effect by showing that males endorsed negative media images more often compared to females (See Figure 6) . There were no significant between subject effects for the Magazine Viewing Hours/TV Viewing Hours variables.

A second MANOVA model was conducted to test the hypothesis that racial/ethnic socialization, Black history knowledge (BHK) and self-esteem scores will mediate the influence of exposure to images of Blacks in the media on racial identity and body image. The hypothesis for this model was not supported; the combination of these variables had no significant effect on racial identity or body image scores. There are multiple racial/ethnic socialization factors that influence different elements in addition to self-esteem and BHK variables; it is probably that the sample size hindered the discovery of

any significant interactions. The next step was to remove Black history knowledge and enter only the racial/ethnic socialization variables, first as separate factors (Protection, Affirmation, Stereotyping, Racialism, and Coping/Resolution), then as higher order factors (Stereotype Racialism and Buffering Proactive R/ES). In the first separate factor MANOVA, one significant finding was revealed. The MANOVA showed an overall significant finding for Coping Resolution Socialization (CRS) with a Wilks lambda=.749,  $F(6,53)=2.96$ ,  $p < .014$ . Students who were high in Coping Resolution Socialization scored lower in their endorsement of negative Black media messages  $F(1, 102) = 3.92$ ,  $p < .05$ , (see Figure 7).

Using higher order R/ES factors, A significant two-way interaction effect was found within the MANOVA, Wilks lambda=.82,  $F(6,89)=2.00$ ,  $p < .07$ , between gender and level of Stereotypical Racialism Socialization (SRS),  $F(1, 102) = 5.39$ ,  $p < .02$  (See Figure 8 ). Gender differences in the endorsement of negative Black media messages are evident among youth who have received high levels of stereotypical racialism R/ES. Males in the high SRS group are significantly more likely than girls in that group to report endorsing negative Black media messages. This evidence broadens the earlier gender difference finding on endorsement of negative media messages by males. That is, receiving more SRS helps to explain why some males have higher endorsement of negative message scores.

Next exploratory analyses were conducted by separating the identity variables (body image, racial identity and self-esteem) from the racial/ethnic socialization variables to determine what interactions exist and whether these scores have an effect on BMMQ scores.

*Identity variables-body image, self-esteem and racial identity.* The body image and self-esteem scores were included as independent variables in a MANOVA model

with the BMMQ scores as dependent variables. There were no significant findings. Self-Esteem was removed and the body image variables were included as the only independent variables and one significant finding was revealed. A significant three-way interaction effect was found within the MANOVA, Wilks lambda = .862,  $F(6,83)=2.22$ ,  $p < .05$ , between gender, media pressures, and media as an attraction information source on positive Black media messages (SRS),  $F(1,102) = 3.43$ ,  $p < .06$ . Gender differences in the endorsement of positive Black media messages are evident among male youth who have report feeling highly pressured to accept media definitions of appearance but low in reliance on Media as a source of attractiveness. Males in the high media pressured but low media reliant group are significantly more likely than girls or boys in any other group to report endorsing positive Black media messages (See Figure 9).

The racial identity and self-esteem scores were entered into the next set of analyses; there were no significant main effects on the BMMQ scores.

#### *Cluster Analysis*

In conducting a cluster analysis, the sample was analyzed using a K-means cluster analytic strategy to investigate the presence of meaningful identity clusters. The three racial identity factors of Centrality, Private Regard, and Public Regard from the MIBI-T (Scottham et al., 2008) were used to construct the four clusters. A second cluster strategy using the racial/ethnic socialization factors was abandoned after those factors were not found to be correlated with any of the Black media messages identification and internalization variables. As such, the theoretical thrust for racial identity replaces the frame proposed by racial socialization, that is, as a mediator or lens through which Black media messages and their endorsement and identification in the media are promoted.

A four-cluster solution was found to be the most meaningful compared to the three-cluster or five-cluster solutions given the small sample size. The four-cluster

solution equally distinguished the groups and led to fairly equal distribution of participants across the four clusters. The four clusters were identified as: Racial Centrists, Racial Pragmatists, Racial Moderates, and Racial Minimalists. Racial Pragmatists were participants who scored high in all of the racial identity factors of Centrality, Private Regard, and Public Regard. The high Public Regard mean score uniquely identified this group. Racial Centrists scored moderately high on Centrality and Private Regard factors, but extremely low on the Public Regard factor. Racial Minimalists were identified as scoring low on all three factors, while Racial Moderates scored low on Centrality and Public Regard factors and relatively high on the Private Regard factor. Figure 10 in appendix E shows the mean scores of the racial identity factors for each cluster.

Interpretation of these clusters is not easy, but for the sake of clarity, it is proposed that Racial Pragmatists are individuals who view the world with a perspective of “being all things to all people” and thus endorse a belief in Blackness as central to identity without a distrust that the public views Black people in a negative light. The Racial Centrists distrust the public’s view of Black people and are likely to be more perceptive of negative interpretations of Black life. Racial Minimalists are least likely to see race as a salient factor in their worldview and reasoning, while Racial Moderates are individuals who embrace an ideal notion of Blackness with little questioning of that ideal; they are more likely to place high value on the promotion of that ideal. The validity of the clusters was assessed by performing significance tests that “compare the clusters on variables not used to generate the cluster solution” (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984); in this case, the variables were Black media messages, internalization, and Black history knowledge variables. Table 5.12 in appendix D list the racial identity raw mean scores

for each cluster and figure 11 in appendix E is a graph of the results of the significance testing.

The graph shows that Racial Centrists are most likely to score higher than other racial identity groups in Black history knowledge and frequency of witnessing negative television images, while Racial Moderates are more likely to score higher than other identity clusters in endorsement of media images as reliable sources of attraction and emulation. Specifically, Racial Centrists scored significantly higher than Racial Minimalists in Black history knowledge ( $F=2.82, p<.05$ ). Racial Centrists saw more negative Black images on TV than Racial Moderates ( $F=3.73, p<.01$ ). Racial Moderates scored significantly higher than Racial Centrists in the endorsement of unrealistic ideal media images ( $F=3.58, p<.05$ ). Racial Moderates scored significantly higher than Racial Minimalists in endorsing ideal athletic body images in the media, ( $F=2.69, p<.05$ ). Racial Moderates scored significantly higher than Racial Centrists in identifying media as a reliable source of information ( $F=3.10, p<.05$ ).

There were no other differences in demographic, family income, television watching or magazine reading hours, extracurricular activities, racial/ethnic socialization, or racism experience factors among the racial identity clusters. To further illuminate these clusters, there were differences with respect to racial ideology as defined by the MIBI-T Sellers Model.

*Racial Identity Ideology.* The four ideology factors of the model include Humanist, Oppressed Minority, Assimilationist, and Nationalist stances. In figure 4, there are significant differences between the racial identity clusters on all of the ideology stances except Humanist, which was not displayed in the figure for clarity's sake. From this figure, Racial Pragmatists show relatively high scores on all three ideology stances; Racial Centrists show Nationalist ideology scores as their most endorsed position; Racial



Minimalists show an extremely high Assimilationist score that is disparate from the other ideological stances; and Racial Moderates show relatively low endorsement of all three ideology stances. Specifically, Racial Pragmatists scored significantly higher than Racial Minimalists on Oppressed Minority ideology attitudes ( $F=3.13, p<.05$ ). Racial Centrists scored significantly higher than Racial Minimalists and Racial Moderates ( $F=5.71, p<.001$ ) on Nationalist ideology attitudes. Racial Minimalists scored significantly higher than Racial Moderates on Assimilationist ideology attitudes ( $F=4.01, p<.01$ ). Figure 12 in appendix E is a graph of the youth Black ideology by racial identity cluster results.

## CHAPTER 6

### Discussion

The main research question for this study was, “What are the relationships among degree of exposure to images of Blacks in the media, racial/ethnic socialization, and racial identity for 14 to 21 year old Black adolescents?” This study also sought to investigate what relationships exist among exposure to images of Blacks in the media and: (a) body image, (b) self-esteem, and (c) Black history knowledge scores of Black adolescents. To address this question, this study focused on TV and print media images because TV remains the highest-ranking medium of use for African American youth.

This study applied the concepts of racial identity and racial/ethnic socialization (R/ES) to the research on exposure to Black media images to assess how Black young people interpret associated messages. Black characters who reflect negative stereotype images of Black people constantly appear on prime-time television and shows targeted toward Black audiences. Black youth who are high viewers of media are exposed to a high volume of images that often project negative stereotype messages about Black people.

The concern that Black American youth may accept negative stereotype TV images of Black people as valid, resulting in a negative impact on identity and self-esteem, was the basis of this research study. Previous research with adults and youth has examined the relationship between media images of Blacks and racial identity (Allen, 1998; Allen & Bielby, 1979; Allen & Thornton, 1992; Berry, 1998; Gerson, 1966; Gordon, 2008; Lee & Browne, 1981; Ward, 2004). Youth-oriented research has established a connection among self-esteem, body image, and media (Gordon, 2008; Ward, 2004). Racial socialization studies with youth have traditionally focused on message transfer between people, not between media and people. Existing studies fall short of exploring

relationships that may exist between Black racial identity and R/E socialization with exposure to Black media images for Black adolescent youth. Unfortunately, research that examines racial identity and R/E socialization as influencing media exposure, body image, and self-esteem are also scant.

This study's purpose was to determine if racial socialization and Black history knowledge influence the interpretation of Black media images, and to identify the relationships among these images, the racial identity, body image, and self-esteem of Black adolescents.

For Blacks, racism is a significant cultural factor influencing identity exploration. The racial/ethnic socialization youth experience serves as the reference for how youth interpret messages about Black people and helps them to identify messages as positive or negative. Many prime-time TV shows do not include Black characters (Jefferson, 1970; Nama, 2003; Watkins, 2005). Thus, Black children, youth, and adults watch Black-oriented half-hour sitcoms that tend to be racially segregated, but feature an all-Black or majority Black cast (Jefferson, 1970; Watkins, 2005). Although the representation of Black TV images evolved to reflect sociohistoric moments in time, negative stereotypes persist (Nama, 2003). How Black youth interpret images of Black people promulgated in the media as part of their racial identity and whether racial/ethnic socialization influences their perspectives on media representation of Blacks has not adequately been explored.

Research illustrates that Black youth have an affinity for TV shows that feature Black characters; research with Black samples that focuses on media designed for Black audiences or incorporates context variables demonstrates a qualitative difference in outcomes when judged against comparative studies. Unfortunately, few studies with Black youth actually incorporate racial socialization into the design and analysis.

In this study, I expected youth to be able to identify preexisting media messages about Black people during focus group discussions. Preceding the examination of survey data, I expected interpretation and endorsement of Black media images to be mediated by racial socialization, Black history knowledge, and self-esteem. Further, I expected youth racial identity and body image to be positively correlated with media exposure and racial socialization scores. In addition, I predicted that youth with high racial socialization scores would have high racial identity, Black history knowledge, body image, and self-esteem scores. I assumed that these youth would be able to readily identify images that represent stereotypical messages, but that they would not endorse these messages. Conversely, I expected youth with low racial socialization and Black history scores to have low racial identity, Black history, body image, and self-esteem scores. These youth were expected to identify and endorse negative stereotype media messages. The results of this study support a considerable number of these assumptions. Some of the assumed relationships were not significant, but begin to approach significance. Racial identity and Public and Private Regard for Black people emerged as prevalent variables to consider when conducting research on body image and self-esteem with Black youth. Surprisingly, Centrality and Private Regard were significantly correlated with media and body image variables. Nuanced relationships patterns emerged from this research project. Both the details and limitations of this study are discussed in this chapter.

### *Important Findings*

Focus groups. Both Bogle (1980, 2001a, 2001b) and Jackson (2006) chronicle and define media profiles of Black people that reinforce and reinscribe negative messages. Over the course of time, terminologies and perhaps images have evolved; however, the definitions associated with these terms have changed little. Focus group

discussions revolved around the messages associated with media images. To be fair, youth identified positive and negative media messages. In some incidents, youth were reluctant to verbalize their reactions. In the case of BMMQ item 8, one young woman stated, “When I look at this picture the first thing that comes to mind is ‘Mmmph, Black men know how to have sex.’ ”

In the all-male session, BMMQ item 11 of Serena Williams initiated a detailed discussion. These young men acknowledged her athletic ability but proclaimed this image was not about tennis. Nor did they believe that the bodies of White female tennis stars have been as objectified as Williams’s body has been. “This image is not about tennis. Where is the ball? If you look at other pictures of tennis players the ball is in the picture. There is more focus on the court...” During an all-female group, before the question was completed, one young woman blurted out “Big butt, that is what that picture says to me.” Her commentary sparked a discussion about the objectification of Black women and whether Williams invited this type of attention because of her tennis outfits. Others in the group pondered whether the treatment would be the same if Williams were White and if she were built differently. It seems the creators of media images have no genuine interest in producing positive media images. Although this generation of youth is living in a more culturally diverse society than prior generations and has access to multiple media platforms that feature Black people, they perceive that persistent negative messages about Black people still exist and influence youth perspectives of Black people.

Personally, the discussions evoked by three advertisements were of particular interest to me. The advertisements were always presented last, before administering the survey, and seemed to spark the most emotionally charged discussions. The advertisements featured both images and taglines. One ad for Band-Aid brand bandages

presented a Black couple seated front to back in an embrace. The man's arms were wrapped around the woman's waist, with her arms enfolding on top of his. Both of them were smiling, with the man's gaze directed toward the woman. Initially youth acknowledged the presentation of an intimate romantic presentation of a Black couple, indicating these images are uncommon in the media. Shortly thereafter the discussion moved toward the tagline: "After all, you should be the one being noticed not the Band-Aid. Do you know there is actually a Band-Aid that blends with your skin?"

The *Nissan Black Experience* ad featured Japanese people in a barber shop in Japan. One patron was having his hair braided by a dreadlocked barber wearing an oversized football jersey and baggy jeans and talking on the phone. There were a woman and two men sitting on a side bench. The woman looking at a cell phone appears engrossed in conversation with one of two men browsing through a magazine. Like the barber, all of them are dressed in urban-inspired fashion made popular by Black youth. The woman's hair is styled such that it resembles an Afro. The very small tagline of this ad is in the lower right corner of the page and states: "The Black Experience is everywhere." The Nissan logo next to the tagline is followed by the word "respect."

The third ad featured a Black woman who appears to be in her mid-twenties holding a diapered White baby with bright blue eyes. The woman is naked, wearing only a watch. The tagline reads: "It's not about the time in your life...but the life in our time."

In each case initially the comments revolved around the image. Once the taglines were read the discussions shifted. There was no consensus as it related to the images; however, there were some common responses for each. The emotional dissonance participants experienced when viewing these images showed in their shifting in their seats, facial expressions, vigorous and sometimes slow back-and-forth "no" head nodding, raised voices, and expressions of disbelief and anger. *The Black Experience* ad

was most problematic as youth grappled with who decides what the Black experience is, and whether there is just one Black experience. In one instance, a participant Googled the ad during the discussion to confirm that it was a real ad and not something I had manipulated. These reactions reflect the potential impact media images have on the psyche of young people and warrant further investigation. These ads are located in appendix B.

*Demographic variables.* One's gender, age, and personal experience of racist acts were three variables that were important in this research. With regard to gender there were significant differences in identifying media messages as positive or negative for females versus males. Younger youth identified more positive media images than older youth. This could be a reflection of TV viewing habits; younger youth's media diet may be inclusive of TV shows targeting preteens and younger adolescents. These shows make more attempts to appeal to the cognitive processes of children and youth. Research supports the idea that Black youth watch TV for entertainment (Berry, 1998; Browne Graves, 1982; Watkins, 2005); it could also be also be that since younger youth have less exposure to negative racial experiences than older youth they are less sensitive to these messages when presented in media.

Males were less likely to identify negative media stereotypes, but more likely to endorse them than females. Gendered media stereotypes of Black women are very often sexualized (Balaji, 2008). Puberty and the early maturation of Black girls are probable influences on how females perceive Black media images, particularly those associated with body image. The gender socialization experience and messages that men receive about women are likely to influence their belief in stereotypical media messages about women and/or sexual behaviors and attitudes (Epstein & Ward, 2008; Ward,

Merriwether, & Caruthers, 2006). This is an area of research that should be explored in future media and gender studies with Black youth.

*Racial identity.* One dimension of racial identity was associated with Black media images. Positive media images were negatively correlated with Private Regard. Initially, this finding appeared surprising; however in reality it is logical. Students were asked to indicate how often they see images that reflect the selected messages on TV. Overall students reported lower frequencies of viewing television images that projected positive messages. It is possible youth with higher Private Regard scores scrutinize media images and would be less inclined to ascribe positive messages to media images. It was expected that youth scoring high in Private Regard would be able to identify stereotypes, but not endorse them. Negative stereotype belief was positively correlated with Private Regard. This was a surprising and somewhat disturbing finding that leads me to wonder if youth high in Private Regard are internalizing negative messages about Black people.

In contrast, youth who are high in Public Regard believe that the general public positively views Black people as a racial group. As such, they are less likely to identify the images of Black people in the public media as negative, even if they might be. In a sense, racial identity is like a pair of glasses that tends to highlight or play down some aspects in the media context. High Public Regard students report experiencing less racial discrimination and are less likely to see being Black as a central part of their identity (Arrington & Stevenson, 2006, 2007).

*Body image.* Body image is very much influenced by socially accepted norms. Mainstream definitions of beauty rarely consider or include Black women (Patton, 2006). However, because this study is about media images of Black people, I expected there would be a relationship between media images and body image, but when all four body image variables were entered into a correlation matrix with the six media variables,



none of the relationships were significant. This result could be an effect of cultural preference—viewing Black women who may share similar physical features to the youth or someone they know, and an acceptance of larger body types in the Black community. Alleyne’s 2004 study suggests Black women and girls’ tolerance for so-called large-size women may have evolved from West African standards of beauty. Black adults and adolescence use terms such as *phat*, *big-boned*, *healthy*, *thick*, and *brick house* to refer to ideal physiques for Black women (Alleyne & LaPoint, 2004). Socially tolerant ideals about obesity and shapely women in the Black community may explain the findings of this study. This may also explain why 36% of respondents selected the “Black women are proud of their bodies” message associated with item 15, which is an image depicting an overweight Black woman in a bright yellow swimsuit lying on the beach beside four slender White women wearing bikinis. Additional research with Black female youth about body ideals and body image within the Black community will help researchers to better understand how and whether Black media exposure relates to their body image ideals.

A comprehensive body image agenda that investigates the influence of media on body image for Black adolescents, particularly girls, would consider the following: that the matriarch in Black sitcoms is usually played by overweight or obese Black women, that TV shows targeting Black audiences often portray characters eating or preparing (unhealthy) foods that are traditional within the Black community, and that research demonstrates that a higher number of commercials advertising unhealthy food choices are aired during shows targeting Black audiences (Bertrand, 2002). Studies demonstrate that Black girls in the United States and abroad have higher body image and self-esteem scores regardless of their BMI index (Flynn & Fitzgibbon, 1996; Ge, Elder, Regnerus, & Cox, 2001 ; Mciza, et al., 2005). Alleyne (2004) may be right to suggest cultural

preferences influence body image ideals for Black girls. However, given the health complications associated with obesity and the higher diagnosis of diseases associated with lifestyle and diet within Black communities (Dietz, 2004), a body image and self-esteem research intervention agenda will need to consider cultural preferences.

For the most part research interventions operate on the implicit assumption that being overweight is unfavorable, they are less likely to have an impact on health and lifestyle choice for Black girls who do not share this perspective. Further, Black media images that reinforce unhealthy eating and marketing strategies that use Black actors to advertise fast food and advertise poor food selections during peak viewing for Black audiences likely contribute to the eating habits of Black youth (Bertrand, 2002; Jacobs Henderson, & Baldasty, 2003). Research interventions for Black youth that are designed to encourage healthy lifestyle choices should consider the influence of Black media and how to influence behavior and attitude change with Black youth without totally negating cultural strengths and traditions.

*Racial socialization.* When CARES R/E socialization factors were entered into ANOVA models with the BMMQ factors, none of the racial socialization variables were found to have a significant relationship. It was expected that youth with higher R/E socialization scores would identify significantly more positive messages about Black people when watching TV; however, as demonstrated, this hypothesis was not supported. It may be that youth with higher R/E socialization scores are unlikely to identify positive messages about Black people when watching TV if in fact those positive images and messages are not prevalent on TV. Youth who reported receiving R/E Affirmation, R/E Protection, R/E Stereotype, and R/E Regard for Whiteness racial/ethnic socialization are trained to see and be alert to the presence of negative stereotypes on TV, which are in fact more prevalent. These youth are most likely to see

the negative images as being more frequent—because they are—and are not likely to report the positive messages on TV—because they aren't there.

While exploratory regression analyses were not reported, CARES factors were individually very close to being related but approaching significance ( $p < .07$ ,  $.08$ ,  $.13$ , etc.) with the BMMQ and SATAQ-3 factors in these models. This suggests the results were affected by size of the sample. Despite the lack of significant findings for CARES variables, I believe the entire adolescent development process for Black youth is shaped by their R/E socialization experience, which in turn influences their perception of the world and their identity. Similarly, Stevenson argues that racial identity is a mediating influence on identity development for Black adolescents, but that R/E experiences influence racial identity and that both are influences but do not mediate development in the same way (Stevenson, 2010). A future study with a larger sample would provide an opportunity to revisit the R/E socialization relationship with media exposure.

*Black history.* Theoretically, Black history knowledge should be closely associated with racial socialization and racial identity. Black history is an element of racial socialization. Black history knowledge can serve as a form of racial socialization, serving as an asset by providing youth with positive historical and contemporary ethnic and racial examples and resources about Black people. Black history was a significant variable, correlating with both of these variables as well as self-esteem. Private Regard and self-esteem were found to be significant with Black history in multiple analyses. The findings suggests that the more one is aware of Black history, the more likely one will have a high Private Regard for Black people in spite of messages that present Black people negatively.

*Self-esteem.* The RSE measure was incorporated into this study because it is a commonly accepted instrument for assessing self-esteem. However, like prior research,

my study demonstrated that Black youth score high on this measure. Alone, the RSE offered little insight into Black adolescent self-esteem and media exposure. As noted, Private Regard and self-esteem were closely related. Limiting the definition of global esteem to how one is perceived by others provides very little insight into the esteem of Black youth. The results of this study demonstrate that researchers who continue to investigate the esteem of Black youth using this methodology will continue to misinterpret the high self-esteem scores of Black adolescents and miss opportunities to develop intervention and/or treatment models that are inclusive of and appropriately address the developmental challenges of Black youth.

*Racial identity clusters.* The cluster analyses were one of the most revealing analyses of this study. They present four profiles of the youth in this study with different perspectives on racial identity, which in turn influenced how each group scored on frequency of viewing negative media images, body image, and Black history knowledge.

*A novel finding.* The Moderates are an intriguing cluster. Both Centrist and Moderates have fairly high Private Regard scores: 13.85 and 13.29. However, the cluster analysis demonstrates that Moderates report viewing significantly lower numbers of negative stereotype images than Centrists. The difference in Centrality and Public Regard scores between the two groups is a plausible explanation for the difference. Centrists score higher in Centrality and Public Regard than Moderates: They distrust the public's view of Black people and are likely to be more perceptive of negative interpretations of Black life.

The most interesting point about this group is the difference in scores between Centrality and Private Regard. For the Moderates race Centrality does not appear to be essential to their self-concept even though their Private Regard scores are relatively high. Although these variables have different definitions, they have traditionally been treated

as proxies for one another; previous racial identity research has not shown a difference in outcomes for these variables.

Moderates are individuals who embrace an ideal notion of Blackness with little questioning of that ideal and are more likely to place high value on the promotion of that ideal. As such, the analysis demonstrated exposure to media is likely to influence their endorsement of attraction and unrealistic body image. They seem to have an idealized view of the world and their racial identity. Given their endorsement of unrealistic media images as it relates to body image and attractiveness, Moderates probably do not identify negative stereotype Black media messages as negative although they are exposed to them when watching TV.

The results for Racial Pragmatists and Centrist provide evidence that racial identity moderates the influence of media on Black adolescent identity. In fact, racial identity and R/E socialization likely shape the entire adolescent development process for Black youth, which in turn influences their perception of the world and their identity. But as prior research demonstrates, not all parents employ the same R/E socialization; thus you have Moderates and Minimalists for whom racial identity is less important. The fact that there were no significant differences for groups by socio-economic variables demonstrates that the types of R/E socialization youth experience is not necessarily shaped by income level.

*Racial identity ideology.* Pragmatists scored highest on all three ideology factors, an expected finding. When the diversity of R/E socialization messages and experiences is considered, the scores of Pragmatists are appropriate because racial socialization messages celebrate the accomplishments and contributions of Blacks but also recognize the challenges and struggles associated with being Black in America. Some messages are shared to help youth manage shifting behavior through different environments; in

essence youth may have to assimilate in some environments. However the Pragmatist's is not likely to compromise his or her racial identity in these contexts. Like the Pragmatists, Centrists' scores were higher than Minimalists or Moderates. Yet, as expected, Centrists' Assimilationist scores were significantly lower than the Pragmatist cluster. Centrists appear to reject any messages that suggest they may have to compromise their racial identity.

Significantly higher Assimilationist scores for the Minimalist cluster were no surprise. These youth do not appear to see race as essential to who they are. They are more likely interested in mainstream ideals than ideals shaped by racial identity or R/E socialization experiences. Minimalists are most likely aware of race and the challenges associated with being Black; as such, they reject race as a primary identity. Compared to Moderates, who are aware of and accept their racial identity but have an idealized worldview, Minimalists are much more interested in assimilating into society.

#### *Theoretical Paradigms: Media Research and Black Adolescents*

Cultivation theory is understood to cultivate the dominant tendencies of a culture's beliefs, ideologies, and worldviews. Theoretically, the United States is governed by a singular set of beliefs and perspectives. Realistically, national ideologies of fair, just, and equitable treatment of all citizens do not fully translate into how institutions (industry) function and how people interact with one another. The media industry is an integral element of American society wherein racial, cultural, and gender biases persist in the media products produced. Television images of Black people are frequently controlled and/or created by non-Black entities that present stereotypical characterizations (Allen & Thornton, 1992).

In *Stereotypes in the Media: So What?* Gorham suggests racial stereotypes in the media are important contributors to racial myths, which are sustained via repeated

exposure. As a result these myths inform how individuals process subsequent information about the group or individual being stereotyped (Gorham, 1999). My critique of cultivation theory is that it does not explicitly incorporate the perspective or intentions of the people responsible for creating the images. Instead, cultivation theory implies that television media is designed for entertainment. Thus researchers approach the effects of media exposure as incidental to the utility of viewing TV and using other media for entertainment.

*Ecological media research.* In 2000, Berry wrote *Multicultural Media Portrayals and the Changing Demographic Landscape: The Psychosocial Impact of Television Representations on the Adolescent of Color*, which summarized media research with adolescents and critiqued common research platforms for the failure to consider how media influences work to manipulate adolescent development within the context of youth's familial and community environment(s). He suggested researchers take an "ecological media research approach." This approach uses mixed methods to study the cognitive and emotional effects of new media forms within a context of the culture of the youth, not apart from the important roots of the home and family (Berry, 2000). Similar to PVEST, which allows for contextual analysis of behavior, this approach recognizes that the researcher must appreciate the intercultural variability found in minority groups so that the predictor variables and other parts of the design do not rely on preconceived and faulty views about youth of color (Berry, 2000). From my perspective, the five ecological media research questions Berry suggests for consideration when designing research models conflict with the implicit principles of cultivation theory.

*Education Entertainment Theory (EET)*. I suggest researchers consider Education Entertainment Theory (EET) as a conceptual framework. EET<sup>24</sup> proposes that repeated exposure to a well-crafted media message affects attitude and behavioral change. Attitude and behavioral changes are elements of racial identity and racial socialization experience. Researchers who use EET intentionally create culturally driven media products, TV shows, radio shows, magazines, etc. that are designed to influence attitude and behavior. These mechanisms are mostly used for public health campaigns. Well-known campaigns against smoking, alcoholic use during pregnancy, and HIV/AIDS have proven successful at influencing behavior change and attitude. Both an asset and weakness, EET is a conglomeration of marketing, psychological, and social theories, both qualitative and quantitative, that have proven effective particularly with repeated exposure. However, this paradigm has stimulated two major critiques of EET.

The first critique is that the combination of multiple disciplines makes it difficult for researchers to isolate, quantify, and capture the effects of projects that are designed using this theory. The second critique is aimed at the longitudinal design of EET studies, which typically rely on progressive increased exposure via message saturation through multiple media outlets. These studies occur over time, relying on repeated exposure to the media product(s) to initiate discourse and influence attitude and behavior among those who have been exposed to the campaigns. Opponents of EET argue that this design does not account for external factors that influence attitude and behavior change. They argue that significant or sustained attitude and behavior changes may not be the result of campaign exposure; historical moments in time, community level change, relationships, and developmental changes may be as influential as the media campaigns.

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<sup>24</sup> Theories mapping the underlying psychological processes and effects of entertainment-education programs are borrowed and adapted from traditional persuasion theories and models of health belief changes.



I acknowledge the shortcomings of EET, but reference the documented success of the EET campaigns mentioned above as evidence that sustained EET-driven initiatives have been proven to change behavior and influence attitudes. I believe the persistent portrayals of Black people as stereotypically negative are archetypologies in the media and that these typologies are an intentional extension of the historic and sociocultural role racism plays in American society, media images are designed to reinforce negative perceptions of Black people.

An EET theoretical framework would explicitly acknowledge the intent of the media producers. By doing so, researchers would have an opportunity to measure the effectiveness of the media for meeting the producer's goals through the development of an integrative research design. In turn, this would allow researchers to address Berry's five questions: (1) To what extent are the hate messages, images, and values available on the Internet having a negative effect on the youth of the racial and religious groups being targeted or identified, as well as on the cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors of the non-minority youth who must grow, develop, and function in an increasingly multicultural society? (2) What will be the educational, social, economic/career, and psychological/emotional impact on those youth who will have limited access to the new media; what of the lack of equity associated with the new technologies? (3) What are the historical, economic, political, and personal worldviews and belief systems that guide the decision-making processes inside the media industry that result in the lack of multicultural images and stories and continued stereotypes in the media? (4) Can schema theory help explain how youth of color and White Americans process, learn, and comprehend ethnic content? (5) What is the potential of multiethnic programs, games, and other new media to produce characters who will be able to enhance self-esteem,

influence achievement motivation, reduce stereotypes, and function as positive cross-cultural role models for all adolescents? (Berry, 2000)

*PVEST.* These five questions can be addressed within the PVEST framework. For example, a researcher could use PVEST to frame question 2, defining and identifying the variables to be measured, determining which should be protective or risk factors or supports and challenges to select assessment strategies and measurements for a media research study with Black adolescents that provides answers to this inquiry. Berry's questions are inclusive of newer media technologies and can be applied to traditional mediums such as television, magazines, and radio. Essentially, combining the theoretical strengths of EET and PVEST to conduct ecological media research would provide us with clearer, more insightful answers about how exposure to negative media influences the identity processes of Black adolescents.

#### *Research Implications*

The findings of this study suggest endorsement of negative stereotype images on TV and to a lesser extent in magazines are impacted by the racial identity and racial socialization of Black adolescents. Age and gender are also key indicators of whether youth identify negative stereotype messages and whether they endorse them. Correlations between racial socialization and racial identity suggest there is a direct relationship between the messages received about being Black and how youth identify as Black. As noted earlier, body image and self-esteem studies rarely provide insight into the Black media images as influential on the body image and self-esteem of Black youth. This finding could be used to conduct pilot studies with Black youth about Black media images and body image to formulate a Black body image measure that could be incorporated into future studies.

### *Limitations*

One of the limitations of this study is the design of the BMMQ. Certainly the influence of sociohistoric factors on the story lines and characters that appear on TV shows is a critique of creating an instrument that can be used to analyze media stereotypes. I assume the implicit argument against creating the instrument is that characters and TV shows will lose their context and relevance over time because the story lines were written to reflect the current events and social norms during the show's original airing. This critique suggests characters featured on current/real-time TV shows may not retain their meaning(s) with future generations introduced to the characters or images during a different time period. However, analyses demonstrate the persistence of negative Black media content in spite of industry advances and the introduction of positive Black media images (Bogle, 2001a, 2001b; Coltrane & Messineo, 2000; Jackson, 2006; Nama, 2003; Watkins, 2005; Woodard & Mastin, 2005). As noted, advanced technology preserves discontinued shows for viewing by current and future generations. Up-to-date shows cloak traditional stereotypes in contemporary characters by using modern colloquial language, clothing, gadgets, and in some case surrounding Black characters with multicultural casts. As such, the media racial socialization of negative Black stereotypes persists across generations since older shows are retained, old stereotypical characters are not modified despite contemporary contexts and frames, and no counter socialization strategies are presented in contemporary shows to debate the negative portrayals of these stereotypes.

As noted, standard factor guidelines could not be applied to the first scale of the measure. This may invoke a critique about the ability of the measure to validly capture and codify the attitudes and beliefs of participants. The BMMQ design limited the level of statistical analyses performed for this study, however, clear patterns were discovered

in the data. An updated and revised version of the BMMQ will allow for advanced analyses of relationships among study variables.

Another element that some might consider a limitation is the use of still images. A variety of images were used in this study, including pictures of characters from movies and sitcoms, historical figures and pop icons. Images carry meaning; the interpretation of the images may be context specific. It is likely that viewing the still images activated schema that were used to interpret the messages within the context of a particular TV show, video, etc. Given the focus on insidious negative stereotype media messages and the difficulty of creating a quantitative measure of context, the BMMQ does not incorporate a measure of context. In addition, the emphasis and limitation of cultivation theory is repeated media exposure as a mechanism for influencing behavior, not context.

One more limitation of this study is that 64% of the survey sample was female. Only one of the focus groups was all male, and most of the coed participants were female. The results of this study demonstrate that gender is a significant variable for media interpretation. Existing research provides evidence that Black parents socialize male and female children differently (Hill, 2001, 2002). Considering many of the youth studies referenced for this research were conducted with all-female or majority female samples (Duke, 1999; Gordon, 2008; O'Connor, et al., 2000; Ward, 2004; Ward & Harrison, 2005), inclusion of more male participants may have netted additional findings that could contribute to our understanding of gender differences in how media exposure relates to Black adolescent identity processes.

#### *Future Directions*

If provided the opportunity, there are several changes I would make in a future study. I would conduct open-ended focus groups with youth that focus exclusively on media images. I would oversample males for the entire study and secure a male research

assistant to conduct the all-male focus groups. I imagine a male facilitator for the male focus groups would provide additional insight into their perspectives about media images of Black women and the associated messages. The data collected from these groups would be coded and compared with current focus group data as a mechanism for revising the BMMQ.

Next, I would recruit and work with a group of youth, males and females, to review current images being used for the BMMQ, to select new images, and to identify and revise the messages associated with the images so that the first scale of the BMMQ could be factored following standard guidelines. Consideration would be given to facilitating this segment of the study as a class or part of an extended-day youth program to give this process appropriate time and attention. Most likely, this process would increase the number of items and message options. There were two open-ended questions on the BMMQ that asked youth to list up to five magazines and up to five TV shows they read and watch that are designed for Black audiences. These options would be reviewed and used to create multiple-choice questions to learn about the popularity of TV shows, magazines, and character preferences among Black youth. Participants would then be recruited to pilot the revised BMMQ. Afterward, exploratory factor analysis would be conducted with the data, and the results would be used to make changes to the measure. Finally, participants would be recruited to complete the same set of measures used in this study in order to compare the results for continuity of themes and patterns.

Within the coming year, focus group data and open-ended responses to the survey will be further analyzed to examine youth perspectives about Black media images and messages. This data will be incorporated into an article and submitted for publication. The correlations between racial socialization and racial identity suggest there is a direct relationship between the messages received about being Black and how

youth identify as Black. Although data were collected about racial socialization message frequency and sources, analyses of these elements were not included in this study. Investigation of these elements, how they relate to racial identity, and media analyses will be explored.

This was an exploratory study; the results will be incorporated into applications to fund additional studies on this topic. Ideally, the findings of this study will serve as a foundation for future research on media influences, racial socialization, and racial identity for Black youth, as well as provide a contemporary analysis of how exposure to images of Black people in the media influences the identity development of Black adolescents. Publications from this research will help to establish a framework for measuring the impact of exposure to media images of Black people on the developmental processes of Black youth.

APPENDIX A: FOCUS GROUP PROCEDURE AND PROTOCOL

*Dissertation Focus Group Procedure*

I. Set up 1.5 hrs prior to focus group

Set up food and sign-in station for participants

Supply name tags for participants

Set-up projector, screen, and computer to project images; display a sample image on the screen.

Set chairs in a semi circle so that everyone has equal viewing so that everyone can see the projected images.

Set up cross-angled video-cameras to capture focus group, test cameras for recording

Set up audio recorder and test for recording in the center of the chairs

Collect consent/assent forms and confirm all participants have completed forms

Direct youth to circle as they come in

II. Welcome 15 minutes total

Start recording

Welcome 5 minutes

Re-inform participants about the purpose of the focus group, the length of the focus group and that the focus group is being video-and audio-taped.

Insure everyone has signed in and has a signed consent/assent form

Introductions 10 minutes

1. Introduce FG facilitating team

2. Ask young people to introduce themselves

Let participants know if at anytime they would like to withdraw from the



group they may do so with no penalties for withdrawal, however, only participants in the full FG will receive an incentive.

Before focus group gets started ask participants to complete a brief demographic survey. Inform participants that after the survey they will be asked a series of questions out loud that are related to media images.

Before we get started with the verbal questions, I will give additional instructions.

Pass out survey and writing instruments

Collect the completed surveys

1. Check surveys to insure all questions are completed
2. Count surveys to be sure you have one for each person participating in the focus group

Let participants know the focus group will take approximately 2 hours to complete. Explain that the first 60 minutes will be a discussion about images viewed on a projector screen. In the second hour participants will be asked to complete a survey about media images and associated messages.

1. Ask if there are any questions.
2. Let youth know you are about to give instructions and after the instructions are given, the focus group will begin.

### III. Instructions

Give verbal instructions.

I will ask a series of questions that any member of the group is welcome to respond to. With some of the questions you will be asked to look at an image that will be projected on the screen in front of us. Look at the image and then respond

to the question. I will remind you when you should look at the image on the screen.

Before answering your first question please state your name, the name of the school or organization you are representing, and your age. After answering your first question, you'll only need to say your name before answering.

Although I am asking you to tell me identifying details like your name and the school or organization you represent, this information will not be shared with the public. Your personal details will be kept confidential. If something you say were singled out in the research, a fictitious name and location would be used.

If you don't hear or understand the questions I ask, just let me know and I will repeat the question for you.

If you have a question or additional comment beyond the question I have asked, you are welcome to share it with the group.

Are there any questions so far?

Can everyone see the image projected on the screen clearly?

Check the recording equipment again and start the questioning; see the script. Check video and audio recording after every two questions

Let participants know if at anytime they would like to withdraw from the group they may do so with no penalties for withdrawal, however, only those participants who complete the entire FG will receive an incentive.

#### IV. Questionnaire Administration

Distribute instrument and use script to provide directions.

#### V. Wrap-up

Ask if there are any last comments, suggestions or questions.

Distribute incentives

Thank participants

VI. Break-down

Organize and file paper documents

Collect any pens/pencils

Break down projector station

Gather trash/take out trash

Stop recording ONLY after ALL focus group participants have left the room

Break down video and audio equipment. Reorganize room to pre-focus group layout

Verbal “thank you” to host(s)

Send thank you e-mail the same day and a written thank you to host(s) the following day

Return equipment to audio-visual lab

Focus Group Supplies

- RA or GA if possible
- Projector
- Screen
- Laptop
- Remote control to change images
- Batteries for remote and audio recorder
- Extension cord and surge strip
- Tape to tape down cords (tripping hazard)
- Video tapes
- 2 video cameras and an iPod
- 1 audio recorder
- Microphone
- Nametags
- Pens/pencils
- 3x5 cards
- BMMQ instrument
- High-resolution color hardcopies of images (in case of technology malfunction)
- Hard copies of questions
- Refreshments
- Paper products for refreshments
- Sign-in sheet
- Consent/assent forms
- Project description
- Business cards
- Incentives (if available)
- Brief demographic survey
- Black Media Messages Questionnaire (BMMQ)

### *Focus Group Script*

TV, movies, commercials, Internet, video games, movies, books, magazines, news- papers, and outdoor advertisements are all examples of media. When we look at images in the media, they communicate messages to us. Images in the media can tell us something about the people we see. Today I am going to ask you questions about your media viewing habits. Next we are going to look at still images—pictures that were taken from popular TV shows or advertisements that feature Black people. Finally I will ask you to complete a questionnaire that asks you about media images, the messages you perceive are communicated from the messages and how often you believe the messages are communicated to you through media. First we will start with questions.

### *Questions*

1. When choosing which TV shows or magazines you will watch, do you look for Black people to be featured as lead characters? Why or why not?
2. When choosing which magazines you will read, do you look for Black people to be featured on the cover or in the magazine? Why or why not?
3. What Black character(s) attracts you to viewing specific shows?
4. What message do you believe the character(s) present about Black people?
5. Besides TV and magazines, what other forms of media do you use to view images of Blacks?

Thank you for answering those questions. Let's look at the images that will appear on the screen. When you look at these images I want you to tell me what message you believe is being communicated about Black people based on the image you see. You may or may not watch the show or have seen the advertisements we'll take a look at today; that is not important. What I would like

you to do is take a good look at the images and tell the group and me what message you believe is being communicated about Black people.

I would also like you to write it down on the paper next to the image and list the types of media you are using when you see this message being communicated. So if you've been watching TV, a movie, videos, surfing the web, or flipping through a magazine and you believe you've seen other images that reflect the same message let me know by writing down the media you were using when you saw this image below the picture and the message on your paper.

We are almost done; you've been very helpful so far. The last part of this focus group is to complete the questionnaire that is being distributed. Please wait until everyone has a copy of the survey and the instructions have been explained before you begin. The rules for completing it are similar to the rules we used when viewing the pictures.

Look at the images. There are three statements besides the images; please select the statement you perceive is the message being communicated about Black people. If your response is not among the three listed, use the blank space to write in your response. Then use the bar presented to mark the percentage of time you believe this message is communicated when you are watching TV or reading through a magazine. This is not a test and there is no right or wrong answer. By answering the questionnaire you help us learn more about the messages young people believe are associated with Black media images.

Are there any questions? Please let us know if you have any questions while working by raising your hands. When you are finished turn your paper over and we will know you have finished and come to collect your form. This questionnaire should take you 15 to 20 minutes.

APPENDIX B: FOCUS GROUP ADVERTISEMENT IMAGES

*Focus Group Image 1.*

Harriet Tubman



*Focus Group Image 2.*

India.Irie





*Focus Group Image 3.*

LeBron James Chalk Shoe Ad



*Focus Group Image 4.*

Martin Lawrence Delivery Man



*Focus Group Image 5.*

J.J. from Good Times



Focus Group Image 6.

Band- Aid Brand Bandages Advertisement

After all, you should be the one being noticed  
not your bandage.

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PERFECT BLEND™  
CLEAR BANDAGES  
MEDIUM  
Johnson & Johnson

**BAND-AID**  
PERFECT BLEND™  
CLEAR BANDAGES  
DEEP  
Johnson & Johnson

Did you know there's a bandage  
that actually blends with your skin?

New, BAND-AID® Brand PERFECT BLEND™ CLEAR BANDAGES are available in 3 different shades — light, medium and deep. They're very discreet and they give you long-lasting protection. So if you're ever worried about your bandage sticking out, remember this is the one that blends in: BAND-AID® Brand PERFECT BLEND.™

Johnson & Johnson

Focus Group Image 7.

*Lord & Taylor Life in Our Time, Michael Kors Advertisement*





Focus Group Image 8.

*Nissan, The Black Experience is everywhere Advertisement*



## APPENDIX C: MEASURES

Youth Version-Cultural And Racial Experiences of Socialization (Youth-CARES)

Demographics

Could you please answer the following questions about you and your background.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Mother's Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Father's Name: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Please identify your racial/ethnic background.

- Black/African American, Black/Hispanic, White, Black/African, Biracial, Hispanic, Black/Caribbean, Multiracial, Other

- Black/African American, Black/Hispanic, White, Black/African, Biracial, Hispanic, Black/Caribbean, Multiracial, Other/Don't Know

- Black/African American, Black/Hispanic, White, Black/African, Biracial, Hispanic, Black/Caribbean, Multiracial, Other/Don't Know

2. What is your gender?

- Male, Female

3. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_

4. I am

- a high school student, a college/university student, raising a teenager.

5. What school do you attend? \_\_\_\_\_

6. What is the highest level of education that your parents/guardians COMPLETED?

Mother/Guardian's Education?

- Middle School, High School, Vocational/Technical School, Community College/Associates Degree, College/Bachelors Degree, Advanced Degree (ex. MD, MA, JD)

Father/Guardian's Education

- Middle School, High School, Vocational/Technical School, Community College/Associate's Degree, College/Bachelors Degree, Advanced Degree (ex. MD, MA, JD)

7. What is your parents' marital status?

- Never Married, Never married but living together, Married, Separated, Divorced, Widowed, Other



**8. Estimate your family's annual income.**

- \$0 - \$15,000     
  \$15,001 - \$25,000     
  \$25,001 - \$50,000     
  \$50,001 - \$75,000  
 \$75,001 - \$100,000     
  \$100,001 - \$125,000     
  \$125,001 - \$200,000     
  \$200,001 - above

**What is the race/ethnicity of the people you are around the most? Estimate the percentage of each racial/ethnic group. Mark "0" if a particular race is not included. The total must equal 100.**

**9. Please estimate what percentage of your neighbors are (must total 100)**

\_\_\_\_\_ Black/African American     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Black/Caribbean     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Black/African  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Asian/Pacific Islander     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Hispanic     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Other     
 \_\_\_\_\_ White

**10. Please estimate what percentage of the students at your school are (must total 100)**

\_\_\_\_\_ Black/African American     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Black/Caribbean     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Black/African  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Asian/Pacific Islander     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Hispanic     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Other     
 \_\_\_\_\_ White

**11. Please estimate what percentage of the teachers at your school are (must total 100)**

\_\_\_\_\_ Black/African American     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Black/Caribbean     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Black/African  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Asian/Pacific Islander     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Hispanic     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Other     
 \_\_\_\_\_ White

**12. Please estimate what percentage of the people you hang out with the most are (must total 100)**

\_\_\_\_\_ Black/African American     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Black/Caribbean     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Black/African  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Asian/Pacific Islander     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Hispanic     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Other     
 \_\_\_\_\_ White

**13. Please estimate what percentage of the people you have been attracted to romantically are (must total 100)**

\_\_\_\_\_ Black/African American     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Black/Caribbean     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Black/African  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Asian/Pacific Islander     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Hispanic     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Other  
 \_\_\_\_\_ I have not been romantically interested in anyone (mark 100)

**14. Please estimate what percentage of the people you have dated are (must total 100)**

\_\_\_\_\_ Black/African American     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Black/Caribbean     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Black/African  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Asian/Pacific Islander     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Hispanic     
 \_\_\_\_\_ Other  
 \_\_\_\_\_ I have not been dated anyone (mark 100)

**15. Have you had any experiences of racist acts against you?**

- No     
  Yes

**16. If yes, where did this incident occur? Check all that apply.**

- My neighborhood     
  My school     
  With family or at home  
 Public places (mall, supermarket, park)     
  Work

**17. Has your family or any members of your family had any experiences of racist acts against them?**

- Don't Know     
 No     
 Yes

**18. How much do your parents talk to you about racism and discrimination against Black people?**

- Not at all     
 A little     
 Somewhat     
 A lot     
 All of the time

**19. How safe do you feel living on your block?**

- Not at all safe       A little safe       Somewhat safe       Safe       Very safe

**20. Which varsity sports do you play? (Check all that apply)**

- I do not play any varsity sports.       Baseball       Basketball       Field Hockey
- Football       Lacrosse       Soccer       Softball
- Swimming       Tennis       Track & Field       Volleyball
- Water Polo       Other

**21. I participate in the following extracurricular activities. (Check all that apply)**

- I do not participate in extracurricular activities.       Band       Chess Club       Choir
- Cultural Clubs (ex. Black Student Union, Latino Student Association)       Debate Team       Drama       Intramural Sports
- Political organizations       Student Government       Other

**22. Based on a 4.0 scale, what is your cumulative grade point average?**

- Lower than 2.00 (Mostly D's)       2.00 - 2.49 (Mostly C's, a few D's)       2.50 - 2.74 (Mostly C's)
- 2.75 - 2.99 (Mostly B's & a few C's)       3.00 - 3.24 (Mostly B's)       3.25 - 3.49 (Mostly B's, a few A's)
- 3.50 - 3.74 (A's & B's)       3.75 - 3.99 (Mostly A's)       4.00 or Higher (All A's)

**23. Including this semester, how many Advanced Placement (AP) courses have you taken?**

- 1       2       3       4       5 or more

**24. By the time you graduate, how many Advanced Placement (AP) courses will you have taken?**

- 1       2       3       4       5 or more

**25. What is the highest level of education you expect to attain?**

- High School Diploma       Vocational Certificate       Some College
- Community College/Associate of Arts (AA)       College/University Degree       Graduate or Professional Degree

**26. If you could do anything you wanted with your life, what would you most want to do and be?**

- |  |  |  |                                      |
|--|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Actor                   | <input type="checkbox"/> Astronaut           | <input type="checkbox"/> Athlete       | <input type="checkbox"/> Be Accepted |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Be Important            | <input type="checkbox"/> Business Executive  | <input type="checkbox"/> Carpenter     | <input type="checkbox"/> Celebrity   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chef                    | <input type="checkbox"/> Computer Technician | <input type="checkbox"/> Cosmetologist | <input type="checkbox"/> Counselor   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Doctor                  | <input type="checkbox"/> Electrician         | <input type="checkbox"/> Engineer      | <input type="checkbox"/> Famous      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Firefighter             | <input type="checkbox"/> Happy               | <input type="checkbox"/> Help Others   | <input type="checkbox"/> Journalist  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Law Enforcement Officer | <input type="checkbox"/> Lawyer              | <input type="checkbox"/> Married       | <input type="checkbox"/> Mechanic    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Model                   | <input type="checkbox"/> Parent              | <input type="checkbox"/> Photographer  | <input type="checkbox"/> Pilot       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Politician              | <input type="checkbox"/> Religious Leader    | <input type="checkbox"/> Rich          | <input type="checkbox"/> Singer      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Soldier                 | <input type="checkbox"/> Teacher             | <input type="checkbox"/> I don't know  | <input type="checkbox"/> Other       |
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

**26. What will you *actually* do with your life?**

- |  |  |  |                                      |
|--|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Actor                   | <input type="checkbox"/> Astronaut           | <input type="checkbox"/> Athlete       | <input type="checkbox"/> Be Accepted |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Be Important            | <input type="checkbox"/> Business Executive  | <input type="checkbox"/> Carpenter     | <input type="checkbox"/> Celebrity   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chef                    | <input type="checkbox"/> Computer Technician | <input type="checkbox"/> Cosmetologist | <input type="checkbox"/> Counselor   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Doctor                  | <input type="checkbox"/> Electrician         | <input type="checkbox"/> Engineer      | <input type="checkbox"/> Famous      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Firefighter             | <input type="checkbox"/> Happy               | <input type="checkbox"/> Help Others   | <input type="checkbox"/> Journalist  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Law Enforcement Officer | <input type="checkbox"/> Lawyer              | <input type="checkbox"/> Married       | <input type="checkbox"/> Mechanic    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Model                   | <input type="checkbox"/> Parent              | <input type="checkbox"/> Photographer  | <input type="checkbox"/> Pilot       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Politician              | <input type="checkbox"/> Religious Leader    | <input type="checkbox"/> Rich          | <input type="checkbox"/> Singer      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Soldier                 | <input type="checkbox"/> Teacher             | <input type="checkbox"/> I don't know  | <input type="checkbox"/> Other       |

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**27. What factors in your life will help you the most in doing what you want to do?**

#1 Most Helpful (Check only one)

- |   |                                      |  |  |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Being a Minority | <input type="checkbox"/> Hard Work   | <input type="checkbox"/> Intelligence              | <input type="checkbox"/> Me                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My Community     | <input type="checkbox"/> My Family   | <input type="checkbox"/> My Gender                 | <input type="checkbox"/> My Health             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My Income        | <input type="checkbox"/> My Looks    | <input type="checkbox"/> My Religion/ Spirituality | <input type="checkbox"/> My Sexual Orientation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My Talent        | <input type="checkbox"/> My Teachers | <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing                   |  |

# 2 Very Helpful (Check only one)

- |   |                                      |  |  |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Being a Minority | <input type="checkbox"/> Hard Work   | <input type="checkbox"/> Intelligence              | <input type="checkbox"/> Me                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My Community     | <input type="checkbox"/> My Family   | <input type="checkbox"/> My Gender                 | <input type="checkbox"/> My Health             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My Income        | <input type="checkbox"/> My Looks    | <input type="checkbox"/> My Religion/ Spirituality | <input type="checkbox"/> My Sexual Orientation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My Talent        | <input type="checkbox"/> My Teachers | <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing                   |  |

**28. What factors in your life will hurt you the most in doing what you want to do?**

#1 Most Hurtful (Check only one)

- |   |                                      |  |  |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Being a Minority | <input type="checkbox"/> Hard Work   | <input type="checkbox"/> Intelligence              | <input type="checkbox"/> Me                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My Community     | <input type="checkbox"/> My Family   | <input type="checkbox"/> My Gender                 | <input type="checkbox"/> My Health             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My Income        | <input type="checkbox"/> My Looks    | <input type="checkbox"/> My Religion/ Spirituality | <input type="checkbox"/> My Sexual Orientation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My Talent        | <input type="checkbox"/> My Teachers | <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing                   |  |

#2 Most Hurtful (Check only one)

- |   |                                    |  |  |
|---|------------------------------------|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Being a Minority | <input type="checkbox"/> Hard Work | <input type="checkbox"/> Intelligence              | <input type="checkbox"/> Me                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My Community     | <input type="checkbox"/> My Family | <input type="checkbox"/> My Gender                 | <input type="checkbox"/> My Health             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> My Income        | <input type="checkbox"/> My Looks  | <input type="checkbox"/> My Religion/ Spirituality | <input type="checkbox"/> My Sexual Orientation |

Youth Version-Cultural And Racial Experiences of Socialization (Youth-CARES)

Have your parents/relatives, friends/peers, teachers/professors, other adults or the media said to you any of the following statements throughout your lifetime?

Circle the appropriate number or letter.

	How often?			How much do you agree?				Where did you hear this? (Circle all that apply)											
	Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mother/Guardian	Father/Guardian	Grandparent	Sibling	Teacher/Professor	Other Adult	Friend/Peer	Media (TV, movies, Internet, Books, etc.)	No one told me this			
1.	You should be proud to be Black.			1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
2.	You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world.			1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
3.	When Black people make money, they try to forget they are Black.			1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
4.	Schools should be required to teach all children about Black history.			1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
5.	You can't trust Black people who act too friendly with White people.			1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
6.	It's important to remember the experience of Black slavery.			1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
7.	"Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday."			1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
8.	Sometimes you have to look and act more like White people to get ahead in America.			1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
9.	Living in an all Black neighborhood is no way to show that you are successful.			1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N

		How often?			How much do you agree?				Where did you hear this? (Circle all that apply)								
		Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mother/Guardian	Father/Guardian	Grandparent	Sibling	Teacher/Professor	Other Adult	Friend/Peer	Media (TV, Movies, Internet, Books, etc.)	No one told me this
10.	Since the world has become so multicultural, it's wrong to only focus on Black issues.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
11.	Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
12.	Teachers can help Black children grow by showing signs of Black culture in the classroom.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
13.	Black children will learn more if they go to a mostly white school.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
14.	You really can't trust most White people.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
15.	Fitting into school or work means swallowing your anger when you see racism.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
16.	Poor Black people are always looking for a hand out.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
17.	Going to a Black school will help Black children feel better about themselves.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
18.	You have to watch what you say in front of White people.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
19.	A belief in God can help a person deal with tough life struggles.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
20.	Knowing your African heritage is important for the survival of Black people.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
21.	Children need signs of Black art and music in their home to feel good about themselves.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
22.	You have to work twice as hard as whites in order to get ahead in this world.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
23.	Sometimes you have to correct White people when they make racist statements about Black people.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
24.	Spiritual battles that people fight are more important than	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N

		How often?			How much do you agree?				Where did you hear this? (Circle all that apply)								
		Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mother/Guardian	Father/Guardian	Grandparent	Sibling	Teacher/Professor	Other Adult	Friend/Peer	Media (TV, Movies, Internet, Books, etc.)	No one told me this
	the physical battles.																
25.	To be Black is to be connected to a history that goes back to African royalty.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
26.	It is important to go to Black festivals and African American History Museums.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
27.	You can learn a lot from being around important White people.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
28.	Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in this world.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
29.	Racism is not as bad today as it used to be.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
30.	You should just ignore people that make racist comments.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
31.	Life is easier for light-skinned Black people than it is for dark-skinned Black people.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
32.	"Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it."	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
33.	You should learn more about Black history so that you can prevent people from treating you unfairly.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
34.	Black people have to work together in order to get ahead	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
35.	Whites have more opportunities than Blacks.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
36.	You should speak up when someone says something that is racist.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
37.	Some Black people are just born with good hair.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
38.	Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
39.	Black slavery has affected how Black people live today.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
40.	Black people are their own worst enemy.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N

		How often?			How much do you agree?				Where did you hear this? (Circle all that apply)								
		Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mother/Guardian	Father/Guardian	Grandparent	Sibling	Teacher/Professor	Other Adult	Friend/Peer	Media (TV, Movies, Internet, Books, etc.)	No one told me this
41.	Black youth are harassed by police just because they are Black.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
42.	Black people are just not as smart as White people in Math and Science.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
43.	More jobs would be open to African Americans if employers were not racist.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
44.	America built its wealth off the backs of slaves.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
45.	Sports are the only way for Black kids to get out of the hood.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
46.	Sometimes you have to make yourself less threatening to make White people around you comfortable.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
47.	Light skinned Blacks think they are better than dark-skinned Black people.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
48.	Black men just want sex.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
49.	African and Caribbean people think they are better than Black Americans.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
50.	Black women keep the family strong.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
51.	Good Black men are the backbone of a strong family.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
52.	Black women just want money.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N
53.	Africans and Caribbean people get along with Black Americans.	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	M	F	G	S	T	O	P	C	N

Write down the number of the top 5 messages that were the most stressful, most difficult for you to hear?

#1 Most Stressful Message to Hear: \_\_\_\_\_ #2 \_\_\_\_\_ #3 \_\_\_\_\_ #4 \_\_\_\_\_ #5 \_\_\_\_\_

Were there any messages that someone told you or that you think are important that were not listed above? Where did you hear this?

Message #1: \_\_\_\_\_

Where did you hear this? (Mark all that apply):  Mother/Guardian  Father/Guardian  Grandparent  Sibling  
 Teacher/Professor  Other Adult  Friend/Peer  Media (TV, Movies, Internet, Books, etc...)  No one told me this

Were there any messages that someone told you that were not listed above? Who told you this?

Message #2: \_\_\_\_\_

Where did you hear this? (Mark all that apply):  Mother/Guardian  Father/Guardian  Grandparent  Sibling  
 Teacher/Professor  Other Adult  Friend/Peer  Media (TV, Movies, Internet, Books, etc...)  No one told me this

Were there any messages that someone told you that were not listed above? Who told you this?

Message #3: \_\_\_\_\_

Where did you hear this? (Mark all that apply):  Mother/Guardian  Father/Guardian  Grandparent  Sibling  
 Teacher/Professor  Other Adult  Friend/Peer  Media (TV, Movies, Internet, Books, etc...)  No one told me this

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



## Black History Knowledge Survey

**THIS SURVEY ASKS ABOUT YOUR BLACK HISTORY KNOWLEDGE. FOR PART ONE CIRCLE THE BEST ANSWER TO THE QUESTION. FOR PART TWO, CHECK THE FIRST SOURCE FROM WHICH YOU LEARNED THIS INFORMATION. IF YOU ARE UNCERTAIN OF THE ANSWER, CHOOSE WHAT YOU BELIEVE COULD BE THE BEST ANSWER.**

1. What is the landmark Brown vs. Board of Education case about?

- Special education for students
- Same gender schools
- Desegregating schools
- Segregating schools

**1b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
- School, during history class
- School, during black history month
- Reading a book
- Surfing the internet
- Watching TV
- Never heard it before

\_\_\_\_\_

2. What is the Underground Railroad?

- A national underground rail system
- The first railroad company in the United States
- A group of people and places who escorted slaves north to freedom
- A group of caves in the south that Black slaves lived in until after the Civil War

**2b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
- School, during history class
- School, during black history month
- Reading a book
- Surfing the internet
- Watching TV
- Never heard it before

3. Who was the first African American woman to run for President of the United States?

- Coretta Scott King
- Angela Davis
- Mary McCloud Bethune
- Shirley Chisholm

**3b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
- School, during history class
- School, during black history month
- Reading a book
- Surfing the internet
- Watching TV
- Never heard it before

\_\_\_\_\_

4. Who refused to give up her seat on the bus and is known as the Mother of the Civil Right Movement?

- Rosa Parks
- Ella Baker
- Ida B. Wells
- Fannie Lou Hamer

**4b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
- School, during history class
- School, during black history month
- Reading a book
- Surfing the internet
- Watching TV
- Never heard it before

\_\_\_\_\_

5. What amendment to the constitution granted American blacks the right to vote?

- 5<sup>th</sup>
- 13<sup>th</sup>
- 14<sup>th</sup>
- 15<sup>th</sup>

**5b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
- School, during history class
- School, during black history month
- Reading a book
- Surfing the internet
- Watching TV
- Never heard it before

\_\_\_\_\_

6. Shortly after slavery ended many freed slaves became

- Homeowners
- Teachers
- Business owners
- Black smiths

**6b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
- School, during history class
- School, during black history month
- Reading a book
- Surfing the internet
- Watching TV
- Never heard it before

\_\_\_\_\_

7. Who invented the science for blood transfusions?

- Ben Carson
- Vivien Thomas
- Thomas Alva Edison
- Charles Drew

**7b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
- School, during history class
- School, during black history month
- Reading a book
- Surfing the internet
- Watching TV
- Never heard it before

\_\_\_\_\_

8. Who was the founder of Tuskegee University?
- Sadie T. Alexander
  - W.E. Dubois
  - Booker T. Washington
  - Ralph Ellison

**8b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
  - School, during history class
  - School, during black history month
  - Reading a book
  - Surfing the internet
  - Watching TV
  - Never heard it before
- 

9. Which attorney led the Brown vs. Board of Education Case and later became a Supreme Court Justice?
- Ronald White
  - James Coleman
  - Thurgood Marshall
  - Ronald McNair

**9b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
  - School, during history class
  - School, during black history month
  - Reading a book
  - Surfing the internet
  - Watching TV
  - Never heard it before
- 

10. What year was slavery abolished?
- 1806
  - 1865
  - 1860
  - 1866

**10b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
  - School, during history class
  - School, during black history month
  - Reading a book
  - From surfing the internet
  - Watching TV
  - Never heard it before
- 

11. Which of these men is famous for leading a slave revolt?
- Kwame Nkrumah
  - Nelson Mandela
  - Frederick Douglas
  - Nat Turner

**11b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
  - School, during history class
  - School, during black history month
  - Reading a book
  - Surfing the internet
  - Watching TV
  - Never heard it before
-

12. What is the title of the black national anthem?

- Lift Every Voice and Sing
- I'm Black and I Am Proud
- We Who Believe in Freedom
- I Just Can't Give Up Now

**12b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
- School, during history class
- School, during black history month
- Reading a book
- Surfing the internet
- Watching TV
- Never heard it before
- \_\_\_\_\_

13. Buffalo soldiers were

- Black Civil War Soldiers
- Black marines who fought in the Vietnam war
- Black WWII Veterans
- Black WWI Veterans
- Black soldiers who helped settle the western United States

**13b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
- School, during history class
- School, during black history month
- Reading a book
- Surfing the internet
- Watching TV
- Never heard it before
- \_\_\_\_\_

14. What is the name of the first high school to be integrated in Little Rock Arkansas?

- George Washington
- Middleton High School
- Central High School
- Ben Franklin High School

**14b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
- School, during history class
- School, during black history month
- Reading a book
- Surfing the internet
- Watching TV
- Never heard it before
- \_\_\_\_\_

15. Which speech is Martin Luther King Jr. most known for?

- I Am Somebody
- No Justice No Peace
- I Have a Dream
- Drum Major Instinct

**15b. Where did you first learn this?**

- Home, from my parents or family members
- School, during history class
- School, during black history month
- Reading a book
- Surfing the internet
- Watching TV
- Never heard it before
- \_\_\_\_\_

16. What does the acronym “NAACP” stand for?
- National Association of African Colored People
  - Negroes African Americans and Colored People
  - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
  - National Association of Academic and College Preparation

**16b. Where did you first learn this?**

- \_\_\_ Home, from my parents or family members
- \_\_\_ School, during history class
- \_\_\_ School, during black history month
- \_\_\_ Reading a book
- \_\_\_ Surfing the internet
- \_\_\_ Watching TV
- \_\_\_ Never heard it before
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_

17. What is Jim Crow?
- A Southern Society of Birdwatchers
  - An unofficial effort to enforce segregation through intimidation and brutality
  - A policy to restrict Black women from taking slave jobs from Black men
  - A hip-hop group from the South

**17b. Where did you first learn this?**

- \_\_\_ Home, from my parents or family members
- \_\_\_ School, during history class
- \_\_\_ School, during black history month
- \_\_\_ Reading a book
- \_\_\_ Surfing the internet
- \_\_\_ Watching TV
- \_\_\_ Never heard it before
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_

18. Which Black Civil Right Organization was famous for bearing arms and mobilizing communities?

- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
- Southern Christian Leadership Council
- Rainbow PUSH Coalition
- Nation of Islam
- Black Panthers

**18b. Where did you first learn this?**

- \_\_\_ Home, from my parents or family members
- \_\_\_ School, during history class
- \_\_\_ School, during black history month
- \_\_\_ Reading a book
- \_\_\_ Surfing the Internet
- \_\_\_ Watching TV
- \_\_\_ Never heard it before
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_

19. Emmett Till was
- A black boy from the north who was murdered in Mississippi for speaking to a white woman
  - One of the four black children killed in the 16<sup>th</sup> Street Baptist Church Bombing
  - A cousin of National Football League star Emmett Smith
  - A famous Civil Rights Activist who was murdered while encouraging southern blacks to vote

**19b. Where did you first learn this?**

- \_\_\_ Home, from my parents or family members
- \_\_\_ School, during history class
- \_\_\_ School, during black history month
- \_\_\_ Reading a book
- \_\_\_ Surfing the internet
- \_\_\_ Watching TV
- \_\_\_ Never heard it before
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_

20. Carter G. Woodson founded
- Lincoln University
  - Grambling State
  - Jet Magazine
  - Black History Week

**20b. Where did you first learn this?**

- \_\_\_ Home, from my parents or family members
- \_\_\_ School, during history class
- \_\_\_ School, during black history month
- \_\_\_ Reading a book
- \_\_\_ Surfing the internet
- \_\_\_ Watching TV
- \_\_\_ Never heard it before
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_

## Black Media Messages Questionnaire

**TAKE A LOOK AT THE IMAGES FOR QUESTIONS 1-20. WHAT DO THEY SAY ABOUT BLACK PEOPLE? THERE ARE FOUR QUESTIONS FOR EACH PICTURE; ANSWER ALL FOUR QUESTIONS FOR EACH PICTURE.**

- QUESTION A ASKS YOU TO SELECT THE MESSAGE YOU BELIEVE IS BEST REPRESENTED BY THE IMAGE.
- QUESTION B ASKS HOW MUCH YOU AGREE WITH THE MESSAGE REPRESENTED.
- QUESTION C ASKS HOW OFTEN YOU SEE THE MESSAGE PRESENTED ON TV.
- QUESTION D ASKS HOW OFTEN YOU SEE THE MESSAGE PRESENTED IN MAGAZINES.



1.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black women are happy
- b. Black women are fashionable
- c. Black women are independent
- d. Black women take care of white people.

B. How much do you agree with this message?  
Circle your answer.

Strongly Agree      Agree      Disagree      Strongly Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)



2.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black men are fashionable
- b. Black men don't smile
- c. Black men are serious
- d. Black men don't wear ties

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly  
Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly  
Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)





3.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

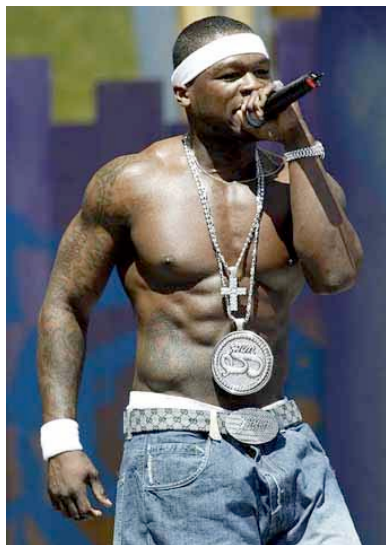
- a. Black women 'don't play'
- b. Black women are angry
- c. Black women are fashionable
- d. Black women are wasteful

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly Agree                  Agree                  Disagree                  Strongly Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)



4. C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black men are well built
- b. Black men must show their bodies to make money
- c. Black men are hustlers
- d. Black men are successful

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly  
Agree

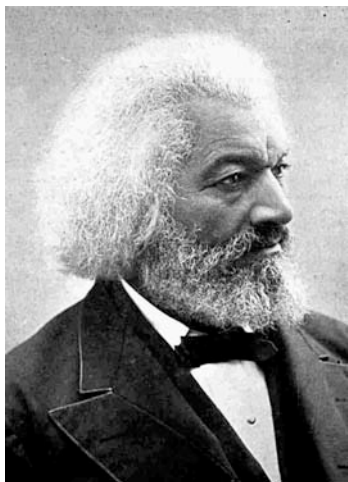
Agree

Disagree

Strongly  
Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)



5.

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black men are intellectuals
- b. Black men need have knotty/nappy hair
- c. Black men are strong
- d. Black men are role models

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly  
Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly  
Disagree

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

- 1. Never
- 2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
- 3. A Few Times (3-4)
- 4. Lots of Times (4-6)
- 5. All of the time (7 or more times)

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

- 1. Never
- 2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
- 3. A Few Times (3-4)
- 4. Lots of Times (4-6)
- 5. All of the time (7 or more times)



6.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black women are well built
- b. Black women must show their bodies to make money
- c. Black women are good for sex and easily accessible
- d. Black women are successful

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly  
Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly  
Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)



7. C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?
1. Never
  2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
  3. A Few Times (3-4)
  4. Lots of Times (4-6)
  5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black men are always on time
- b. Black men are kings
- c. Black men are a joke, foolish
- d. Black men are successful

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly  
Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly  
Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)



- 8.
- C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?
1. Never
  2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
  3. A Few Times (3-4)
  4. Lots of Times (4-6)
  5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black men are well built
- b. Black men must show their body to make money
- c. Black men are in charge
- d. Black men are successful

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly Agree      Agree      Disagree      Strongly Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)



9.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black women are great athletes
- b. Black women are feminine
- c. Black women are fashionable
- d. Black women are strong

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly  
Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly  
Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)





10.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black men prefer white women
- b. Black men have to a white women to be successful
- c. Black men have arrived
- d. Black men can do it all

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly Agree      Agree      Disagree      Strongly Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)





11.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black women are great athletes
- b. Black women are feminine
- c. Black women are fashionable
- d. Black women are sexual objects

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly  
Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly  
Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

12.



C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. It is easy to buy a Black woman
- b. Black women must show their bodies to get attention
- c. Black women are always ready for sex
- d. Black women are beautiful

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly Agree                  Agree                  Disagree                  Strongly Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)



13.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- Black men are workhorses
- Black men are angry
- Black men are immature
- Black men are selfish

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly Agree      Agree      Disagree      Strongly Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)



14.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black women are lazy and useless
- b. Black women are fat
- c. Black women have no style or class
- d. Black women are angry

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly Agree                  Agree                  Disagree                  Strongly Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

15.



C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black women are proud of their bodies
- b. Black women are fat
- c. Black women have no style or class
- d. Black women are trying to be White

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly Agree                  Agree                  Disagree                  Strongly Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)



16.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black women are beautiful
- b. Black women must be fair skinned to be beautiful
- c. Black women are fashionable
- d. Black women are confident

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly  
Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly  
Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)



17.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black women are proud of their bodies
- b. Black women don't like how they look
- c. Black women have no style or class
- d. Black women are trying to be white

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly  
Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly  
Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)





18.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black love is beautiful
- b. Black couples are strong
- c. Black love is powerful
- d. Black couples have traditional family values

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly Agree                  Agree                  Disagree                  Strongly Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)





19.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black women are loud
- b. Black women are feminine
- c. Black women are fashionable
- d. Black women have knotty, nappy hair

B. How much do you agree with this message? Circle your answer.

Strongly  
Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly  
Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)



20.

C. When viewing TV (cable, Dish TV, movies, sitcoms, dramas) how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

A. Select the statement you believe best represents the message presented by this image. If you do not see the message you believe it represents, write in the message you believe is being presented.

- a. Black women have to fight for their rights
- b. Black people have a historical legacy to be appreciated
- c. Black women have lots of hair
- d. Black people have to fight for their rights

B. How much do you agree with this message?

Strongly  
Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly  
Disagree

D. When flipping through magazines how often do you see images that present this message?

1. Never
2. Hardly Ever (1-2)
3. A Few Times (3-4)
4. Lots of Times (4-6)
5. All of the time (7 or more times)

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ASK YOU TO WRITE A RESPONSE.

24. On average how many hours of TV do you watch a week? Place an X mark next to your answer. If you do not see an answer that reflects your viewing write in an answer.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1-3hrs
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4-6hrs
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5 or more

25. On average how often do you flip through or read a magazine per week? Place an X mark next to your answer. . If you do not see an answer that reflects your viewing write in an answer.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1-3hrs
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4-6hrs
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5 or more

26. List the TV shows you watch geared towards Black viewers.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

27. List the magazines you read or flip through geared towards Black readers.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

28. What is your primary Zip code (your home address)? \_\_\_\_\_

29. What grade/year in school are you? \_\_\_\_\_

30. If you are in college, what is your major? \_\_\_\_\_

31. Do you follow a specific religion/faith? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No

If yes, what religion do you follow? \_\_\_\_\_

32. How often do you attend worship services?

- \_\_\_\_\_ Once a week
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1-2 times a week
- \_\_\_\_\_ Only on or near major religious/spiritual holidays
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2-3 times a week
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4 or more times a week

*Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Teen (MIBI-T)*

	Really Disagree	Kind of Disagree	Neutral	Kind of Agree	Really Agree
1. I feel close to other Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel good about Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I have a strong sense of belonging to other Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
4. If I were to describe myself, one of the first things I would say is that I'm Black.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I am happy that I am Black.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I am proud to be Black.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Most people think Blacks are as smart as people of other races.	1	2	3	4	5
8. People think that Blacks are as good as people from other races.	1	2	3	4	5
9. People from other races think that Blacks have made important contributions,	1	2	3	4	5
10. Black parents should surround their children with Black art and Black books.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from Black businesses.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Blacks should support Black entertainment by going to Black movies and watching Black TV shows.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Being an individual is more important than identifying yourself as Black.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Blacks should think of themselves as individuals, not as Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Black people should not consider race when deciding what movies to go see.	1	2	3	4	5
16. It is important that Blacks go to White schools so that they can learn how to act around whites.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Blacks should act more like Whites to be successful in this society.	1	2	3	4	5
18. People of all minority groups should stick together and fight discrimination.	1	2	3	4	5
19. There are other people who experience discrimination similar to Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5

20. Blacks should spend less time focusing on how we differ from other minority groups and more time focusing on how we are similar to people from other minority groups.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I think it is important for Blacks not to act Black around White people.	1	2	3	4	5

SATAQ-3 Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Survey

1. TV programs are an important source of information about fashion and “being attractive.”	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
2. I’ve felt pressure from TV or magazines to lose weight.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
3. I would like my body to look like the people who are on TV.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
4. I compare my body to the bodies of TV and movie stars.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
5. TV commercials are an important source of information about fashion and “being attractive.”	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
6. I’ve felt pressure from TV or magazines to look muscular.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
7. I would like my body to look like the models who appear in magazines.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
8. I compare my appearance to the appearance of TV and movie stars.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
9. Music videos on TV are an important source of information about fashion and “being attractive.”	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
10. I’ve felt pressure from TV and magazines to be muscular.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
11. I would like my body to look like the people who are in the movies.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
12. I compare my body to the bodies of people who appear in magazines.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
13. Magazine articles are an important source of information about fashion and “being attractive.”	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
14. I’ve felt pressure from TV or magazines to have a perfect body.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
15. I compare my appearance to the appearance of people in magazines.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
16. Magazine advertisements are an important source of information about fashion and “being attractive.”	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree

17 I've felt pressure from TV or magazines to diet.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
18 I wish I looked as athletic as people in magazines.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
19 I compare my body to that of people in "good shape."	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
20 Pictures in magazines are an important source of information about fashion and "being attractive."	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
21 I've felt pressure from TV or magazines to exercise.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
22 I wish I looked as athletic as sports stars.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
23 I compare my body to that of people who are athletic.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
24 Movies are an important source of information about fashion and "being attractive."	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
25 I've felt pressure from TV or magazines to change my appearance.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
26 I try to look like the people on TV.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
27 Movie stars are an important source of information about fashion and "being attractive."	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
28 Famous people are an important source of information about fashion and "being attractive."	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
29 I try to look like sports athletes.	Definitely Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Definitely Disagree
30.					

### Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale (RSE)

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	SA	A	D	SD
2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	SA	A	D	SD
3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.**	SA	A	D	SD
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.	SA	A	D	SD
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.**	SA	A	D	SD
6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.	SA	A	D	SD
7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	SA	A	D	SD
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.**	SA	A	D	SD
9. I certainly feel useless at times.**	SA	A	D	SD
10. At times I think I am no good at all.**	SA	A	D	SD

Reverse score\*\*



APPENDIX D: TABLES

Table 3.1

*Frequency Statistics for Gender, Age, and Academic Variables*

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Female	72	63.7
Male	41	36.3
<b>Race/Ethnicity</b>		
Black/African American	72	63.7%
Black/Hispanic	4	3.5%
Black/African	5	5.5%
Biracial	3	2.7%
Black/Caribbean	10	8.8%
Multiracial	8	7.1%
Other	11	9.7%
<b>Age</b>		
13	2	1.8%
14	13	11.5%
15	10	8.8%
16	16	14.2%
17	11	9.7%
18	18	15.9%
19	16	14.2%
20	9	8%
21	18	15.9%
<b>Developmental Age</b>		
14-17	50	44.2%
18-21	63	55.8%
<b>School Level</b>		
Middle School	4	3.5%
High School	55	48.7%
College	52	46%
Other	2	1.8%
<b>GPA</b>		
4.00 of higher (All A's)	1	.9%
3.75-3.99 (Mostly A's)	4	3.5%
3.5-3.49 (A's and B's)	27	23.9%
3.25-3.49% (Mostly B's and a few A's)	24	21.2%
3.00-3.24 (Mostly B's)	28	24.8%
2.75-2.99 (Mostly B's and a few C's)	22	19.5%
2.5-2.74 (Mostly C's)	5	4.4%
2.00-2.49 (Mostly C's and a few D's)	2	1.8%

Table 3.2

*Frequency Statistics for Personal Experience of Racist Acts, Non Academic Activities, TV Viewing Hours, Magazine Reading Hours and Household Income*

	Frequency	Percentage
Personal Experience of Racist Acts	67	63%
Varsity Sports Involvement	45	43%
Extracurricular Activity Involvement	87	81.3%
Weekly TV Viewing Hours		
1-3hrs	27	22%
4-6hrs	55	45%
7hrs or more hrs	31	25%
Weekly Magazine Reading Hours		
1-3hrs	83	75%
4-6hrs	16	13%
7hrs or more hrs	4	3%
None	1	.08%
Household Income		
\$0-15,000	12	10.6%
\$15,001-25,000	12	10.6%
\$25,001-50,000	27	23.9%
\$50,001-75,000	27	23.9%
\$75,001-100,000	17	15%
\$100,001-125,000	9	8%
\$125,001-200,000	6	5.3%
\$200,001-up	3	2.7%

Table 3.3

*Frequency Statistics for Parent Ethnicity, Education, and Marital Status*

Mother's Race/Ethnicity	Frequency	Percentage
Black/African American	70	61.9%
Black/Hispanic	1	.9%
Black/African	10	8.8%
Biracial	5	4.4%
Hispanic	3	2.7%
Black/Caribbean	8	7.1%
Multiracial	4	3.5%
Other/Don't Know	12	10.6%
Father's Race/Ethnicity		
Black/African American	70	61.9%
Black/Hispanic	2	1.8%
Black/African	10	8.8%
Biracial	4	3.5%
Hispanic	2	1.8%
Black/Caribbean	10	8.8%
Multiracial	3	2.7%
Other/Don't Know	6	10.6%
Mother's Education	Frequency	Percentage
High School Diploma	38	33.6%
Vocational/Technical School	8	7%
Community College/Associate's Degree	28	24.8%
College/Bachelors Degree	28	24.8%
Advanced Degree (ex. MD. MA, JD)	11	9.7%
Father's Education		
Middle School	5	4.4%
High School Diploma	53	46.9%
Vocational/Technical School	17	15%
Community College/Associate's Degree	6	5.3%
College/Bachelors Degree	20	17.7%
Advanced Degree (ex. MD. MA, JD)	12	10.6%
Parent's Marital Status		
Never Married	30	26.5%
Never Married Living Together	2	1.8%
Married	38	33.6%
Separated	11	9.7%
Divorced	26	23%
Widowed	5	4.4%
Other	1	.9%

Table 4.1

*Focus Groups Composition*

Focus Group #	Gender	Age	Participants
1	All Male	14-17	7
2	All Female	18-21	9
3	All Female	18-21	6
4	All Female	14-17	8
5	Coed	18-21	5
6	Coed	14-17	15
7	Coed	14-17	13

Table 5.1

*Black Media Message Scale Statements Item 1-10*

<p>Item 1.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Black women are happy</li> <li>b. Black women are fashionable</li> <li>c. Black women are independent</li> <li>d. Black women take care of White people</li> </ul>	<p>Item 2.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Black men are fashionable</li> <li>b. Black men don't smile</li> <li>c. Black men are serious</li> <li>d. Black men don't wear ties</li> </ul>	<p>Item 3.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Black women "don't play"</li> <li>b. Black women are angry</li> <li>c. Black women are fashionable</li> <li>d. Black women are wasteful</li> </ul>
<p>Item 4.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Black men are well built</li> <li>b. Black men must show their bodies to make money</li> <li>c. Black men are hustlers</li> <li>d. Black men are successful</li> </ul>	<p>Item 5.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Black men are intellectuals</li> <li>b. Black men need to have knotty, nappy hair</li> <li>c. Black men are strong</li> <li>d. Black men are role models</li> </ul>	<p>Item 6.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Black women are well built</li> <li>b. Black women must show their bodies to make money</li> <li>c. Black women are good for sex and easily accessible</li> <li>d. Black women are successful</li> </ul>
<p>Item 7.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Black men are always on time</li> <li>b. Black men are kings</li> <li>c. Black men are a joke, foolish</li> <li>d. Black men are successful</li> </ul>	<p>Item 8.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Black men are well built</li> <li>b. Black men must show their body to make money</li> <li>c. Black men are in charge</li> <li>d. Black men are successful</li> </ul>	<p>Item 9.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Black women are great athletes</li> <li>b. Black women are feminine</li> <li>c. Black women are fashionable</li> <li>d. Black women are strong</li> </ul>
<p>Item 10.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Black men prefer White women</li> <li>b. Black men have to have a White woman to be successful</li> <li>c. Black men have arrived</li> <li>d. Black men can do it all</li> </ul>	<p>Item 11.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Black women are great athletes</li> <li>b. Black women are feminine</li> <li>c. Black women are fashionable</li> <li>d. Black women are sexual objects</li> </ul>	<p>Item 12.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. It is easy to buy a Black woman</li> <li>b. Black women must show their bodies to get attention</li> <li>c. Black women are always ready for sex</li> <li>d. Black women are beautiful</li> </ul>

Table 5.2

*Black Media Message Scale Statements Item 13-20*

<p>Item 13.          Black men are workhorses          Black men are angry          Black men are immature          Black men are selfish</p>	<p>Item 14.          a. Black women are lazy and useless          b. Black women are fat          c. Black women have no style or class          d. Black women are angry</p>	<p>Item 15.          a. Black women are proud of their bodies          b. Black women are fat          c. Black women have no style or class          d. Black women are trying to be White</p>
<p>Item 16.          a. Black women are beautiful          b. Black women must be fair skinned to be beautiful          c. Black women are fashionable          d. Black women are confident</p>	<p>Item 17.          a. Black women are proud of their bodies          b. Black women don't like how they look          c. Black women have no style or class          d. Black women are trying to be White</p>	<p>Item 18.          a. Black love is beautiful          b. Black couples are strong          c. Black love is powerful          d. Black couples have traditional family values          d. Black women have knotty, nappy hair</p>
<p>Item 19.          a. Black women are loud          b. Black women are feminine          c. Black women are fashionable          d. Black women have knotty, nappy hair</p>	<p>Item 20.          a. Black women have to fight for their rights          b. Black people have a historical legacy to be appreciated          c. Black women have lots of hair          d. Black people have to fight for their rights</p>	

Table 5.3

*BMMQ Black Media Message Frequencies Items 1-6*







<p>1. </p>	<p>Black women are happy <b>42%</b> Black women are fashionable <b>4%</b> Black women are independent <b>17%</b> Black women take care of White people <b>33%</b></p>	<p>2. </p>	<p>Black men are fashionable <b>64%</b> Black men don't smile <b>10%</b> Black men are serious <b>23%</b> Black men don't wear ties <b>4%</b></p>	<p>3. </p>	<p>Black women "don't play" <b>55%</b> Black women are angry <b>41%</b> Black women are fashionable <b>2%</b> Black women are wasteful <b>3%</b></p>
<p>4. </p>	<p>Black men are well built <b>22%</b> Black men must show their bodies to make money <b>16%</b> Black men are hustlers <b>47%</b> Black men are successful <b>15%</b></p>	<p>5. </p>	<p>Black men are intellectuals <b>47%</b> Black men have knotty, nappy hair <b>5%</b> Black men are strong <b>12%</b> Black men are role models <b>35%</b></p>	<p>6. </p>	<p>Black women are well built <b>6%</b> Black women must show their bodies to make money <b>38%</b> Black women are good for sex and easily accessible <b>37%</b> Black women are successful <b>19%</b></p>



Table 5.4

*BMMQ Black Media Message Frequencies Items 7-12*



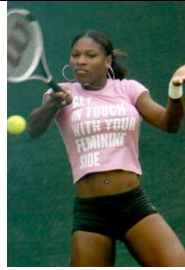



<p>7.</p> 	<p>Black men are always on time <b>3%</b> Black men are kings <b>0%</b> Black men are a joke, foolish <b>91%</b> Black men are successful <b>6%</b></p>	<p>8.</p> 	<p>Black men are well built <b>44%</b> Black men must show their bodies to make money <b>20%</b> Black men are in charge <b>28%</b> Black men are successful <b>8%</b></p>	<p>9.</p> 	<p>Black women are great athletes <b>66%</b> Black women are feminine <b>3%</b> Black women are fashionable <b>.9%</b> Black women are strong <b>30%</b></p>
<p>10.</p> 	<p>Black men prefer White women <b>30%</b> Black men have to have a White woman to be successful <b>35%</b> Black men have arrived <b>7%</b> Black men can do it all <b>28%</b></p>	<p>11.</p> 	<p>Black women are great athletes <b>50%</b> Black women are feminine <b>5%</b> Black women are fashionable <b>3%</b> Black women are sexual objects <b>43%</b></p>	<p>12.</p> 	<p>It is easy to buy a Black woman <b>6%</b> Black women must show their bodies to get attention <b>47%</b> Black women are always ready for sex <b>30%</b> Black women are beautiful <b>16%</b></p>

Table 5.5

*BMMQ Black Media Message Frequencies Items 13-18*

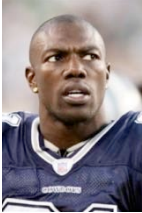





<p>13.</p> 	<p>Black men are workhorses <b>17%</b> Black men are angry <b>54%</b> Black men are immature <b>12%</b> Black men are selfish <b>17%</b></p>	<p>14.</p> 	<p>Black women are lazy and useless <b>42%</b> Black women are fat <b>16%</b> Black women have no style or class <b>10%</b> Black women are angry <b>32%</b></p>	<p>15.</p> 	<p>Black women are proud of their bodies <b>36%</b> Black women are fat <b>44%</b> Black women have no style or class <b>11%</b> Black women are trying to be White <b>9%</b></p>
<p>16.</p> 	<p>Black women are beautiful <b>58%</b> Black women must be fair skinned to be beautiful <b>27%</b> Black women are fashionable <b>4%</b> Black women are confident <b>12%</b></p>	<p>17.</p> 	<p>Black women are proud of their bodies <b>42%</b> Black women don't like how they look <b>18%</b> Black women have no style of class <b>26%</b> Black women are trying to be White <b>14%</b></p>	<p>18.</p> 	<p>Black love is beautiful <b>42%</b> Black couples are strong <b>23%</b> Black love is powerful <b>30%</b> Black couples have strong traditional family values <b>5%</b></p>

Table 5.6

*BMMQ Black Media Message Frequencies Item 19-20*



<p>19.</p> 	<p>Black women are loud  <b>5%</b>          Black women are feminine  <b>24%</b>          Black women are fashionable  <b>43%</b>          Black women have knotty, nappy hair  <b>28%</b></p>	<p>20.</p> 	<p>Black women have to fight for their rights  <b>34%</b>          Black people have a historical legacy to be appreciated  <b>35%</b>          Black women have lots of hair  <b>20%</b>          Black people have to fight for their rights  <b>11%</b></p>		
--	--	--	--	--	--

Table 5.7

*BMMQ Recoded Frequencies & Chi Square Items 1-5*


1. 		Agree	Disagree	Chi Square
	Positive Message	<b>70</b> <b>65%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Negative Message	<b>0</b>	<b>37</b> <b>35%</b>	
2. 		Agree	Disagree	Chi Square
	Positive Message	<b>91</b> <b>82%</b>	<b>5</b> <b>5%</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Negative Message	<b>8</b> <b>7%</b>	<b>7</b> <b>6%</b>	
3. 		Agree	Disagree	Chi Square
	Positive Message	<b>57%</b> <b>64</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Negative Message	<b>0</b>	<b>43%</b> <b>49</b>	
4. 		Agree	Disagree	
	Positive Message	<b>32</b> <b>29%</b>	<b>8</b> <b>7%</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Negative Message	<b>41</b> <b>37%</b>	<b>29</b> <b>26%</b>	
5. 		Agree	Disagree	
	Positive Message	<b>103</b> <b>91%</b>	<b>4</b> <b>4%</b>	<b>.002</b>
	Negative Message	<b>4</b> <b>4%</b>	<b>2</b> <b>2%</b>	

Table 5.8

*BMMQ Recoded Frequencies & Chi Square Items 6-11*






6.			Agree	Disagree	Chi Square <b>.000</b>
		Positive Message	<b>27</b> <b>24%</b>	<b>1</b> <b>1%</b>	
		Negative Message	<b>24</b> <b>22%</b>	<b>59</b> <b>53%</b>	
7.			Agree	Disagree	Chi Square <b>.000</b>
		Positive Message	<b>9</b> <b>8%</b>	<b>1</b> <b>1%</b>	
		Negative Message	<b>23</b> <b>21%</b>	<b>78</b> <b>70%</b>	
8.			Agree	Disagree	Chi Square <b>.000</b>
		Positive Message	<b>82</b> <b>73%</b>	<b>9</b> <b>8%</b>	
		Negative Message	<b>11</b> <b>10%</b>	<b>11</b> <b>10%</b>	
10.			Agree	Disagree	Chi Square <b>.000</b>
		Positive Message	<b>31</b> <b>28%</b>	<b>8</b> <b>7%</b>	
		Negative Message	<b>31</b> <b>28%</b>	<b>42</b> <b>38%</b>	
11.			Agree	Disagree	Chi Square <b>.000</b>
		Positive Message	<b>61</b> <b>54.5%</b>	<b>3</b> <b>3%</b>	
		Negative Message	<b>7</b> <b>6%</b>	<b>41</b> <b>37%</b>	

Table 5.9

*BMMQ Recoded Frequencies & Chi Square Items 12-16*






12.			Agree	Disagree	Chi Square
		Positive Message	<b>15</b> <b>13%</b>	<b>3</b> <b>3%</b>	<b>.000</b>
		Negative Message	<b>25</b> <b>22%</b>	<b>69</b> <b>62%</b>	
13.			Agree	Disagree	Chi Square
		Positive Message	<b>14</b> <b>30%</b>	<b>5</b> <b>8%</b>	<b>.004</b>
		Negative Message	<b>33</b> <b>72%</b>	<b>58</b> <b>92%</b>	
14.			Agree	Disagree	Chi Square
		Negative Message	<b>31</b> <b>28%</b>	<b>81</b> <b>72%</b>	<b>N/a</b>
15.			Agree	Disagree	Chi Square
		Positive Message	<b>34</b> <b>31%</b>	<b>6</b> <b>6%</b>	<b>.000</b>
		Negative Message	<b>20</b> <b>18%</b>	<b>49</b> <b>45%</b>	
16.			Agree	Disagree	Chi Square
		Positive Message	<b>78</b> <b>69%</b>	<b>4</b> <b>4%</b>	<b>.000</b>
		Negative Message	<b>9</b> <b>8%</b>	<b>22</b> <b>20%</b>	



Table 5.10

*BMMQ Recoded Frequencies & Chi Square Items 17-20*





17.			Agree	Disagree	Chi Square
		Positive Message	<b>38</b> <b>35%</b>	<b>8</b> <b>7%</b>	<b>.000</b>
	Negative Message	<b>16</b> <b>15%</b>	<b>48</b> <b>44%</b>		
18.			Agree	Disagree	Chi Square
		Positive Message	<b>100%</b>		<b>N/a</b>
19.		Positive Message	<b>70</b> <b>93%</b>	<b>5</b> <b>7%</b>	Chi Square
		Negative Message	<b>8</b> <b>22%</b>	<b>29</b> <b>78%</b>	<b>.000</b>
20.		Positive Message	<b>Agree</b> <b>98</b> <b>87%</b>	<b>Disagree</b> <b>15</b> <b>13%</b>	Chi Square
					<b>N/a</b>

Table 5.11

*Black Media Messages Questionnaire (BMMQ) Scales*

Black Media Message Belief Scale (BMMB)		Reliability
Positive Media Message Belief (P-BMMB)		3 items; $\alpha=.77$ ,
Items 16, 18, 20		M=10.17, SD=1.79
Negative Media Message Belief (N-BMMB)		9 items; $\alpha=.84$ ,
Items 3,4,6,7,10,12,13,14,15		M=21.74, SD=5.55
Black Media Messages TV Frequency Scale (BMMTV-Freq)		
Positive Black Media Messages TV Frequency		7 items; $\alpha=.65$ ,
(P-BMMTV-Freq) Items 2,5,8,9,16,18,20		M=22.75, SD=3.75
Negative Black Media Messages TV Frequency		9 items; $\alpha=.83$ ,
(N-BMMTV-Freq) Items 3,4,6,7,10,12,13,14,15		M=32.50, SD=5.79
Black Media Messages Magazine Frequency (BMagM-Freq)		
Positive Black Media Messages Magazine Frequency		7 items; $\alpha=.70$ ,
(P-BMagM-Freq) Items 2, 5, 8, 9, 16, 18, 20		M=22.75, SD=3.75
Negative Black Media Messages Magazine Frequency		9 items; $\alpha=.81$ ,
(N-BMagM-Freq) Items 3,4,6,7,10,12,13,14,15		M=29.99 SD=5.93



Table 5.12

*Mean Raw Scores for Racial Identity Clusters*

<b>Cluster</b>				
	<b>Racial Pragmatist</b>	<b>Racial Centrist</b>	<b>Racial Minimalist</b>	<b>Racial Moderate</b>
<b>Centrality</b>	13.04	12.30	8.94	9.39
<b>Private Regard</b>	14.20	13.85	9.19	13.29
<b>Public Regard</b>	11.24	5.50	9.19	9.97

## APPENDIX E FIGURES

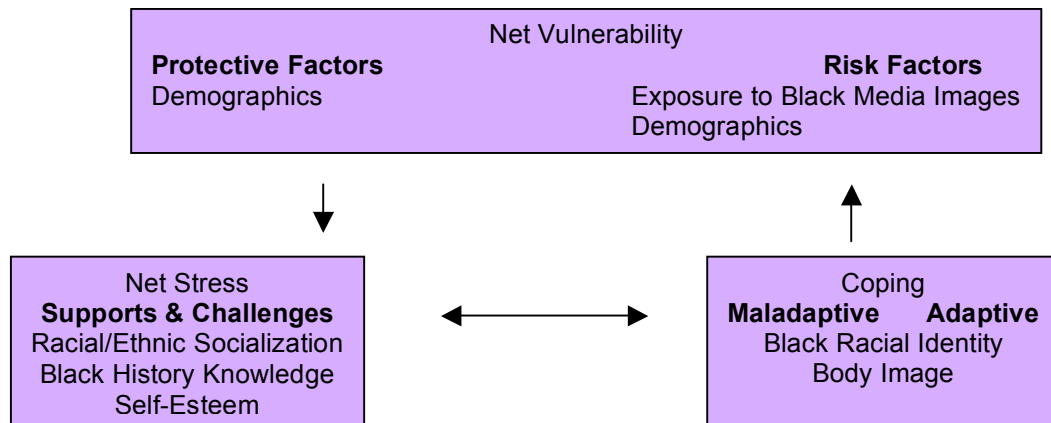
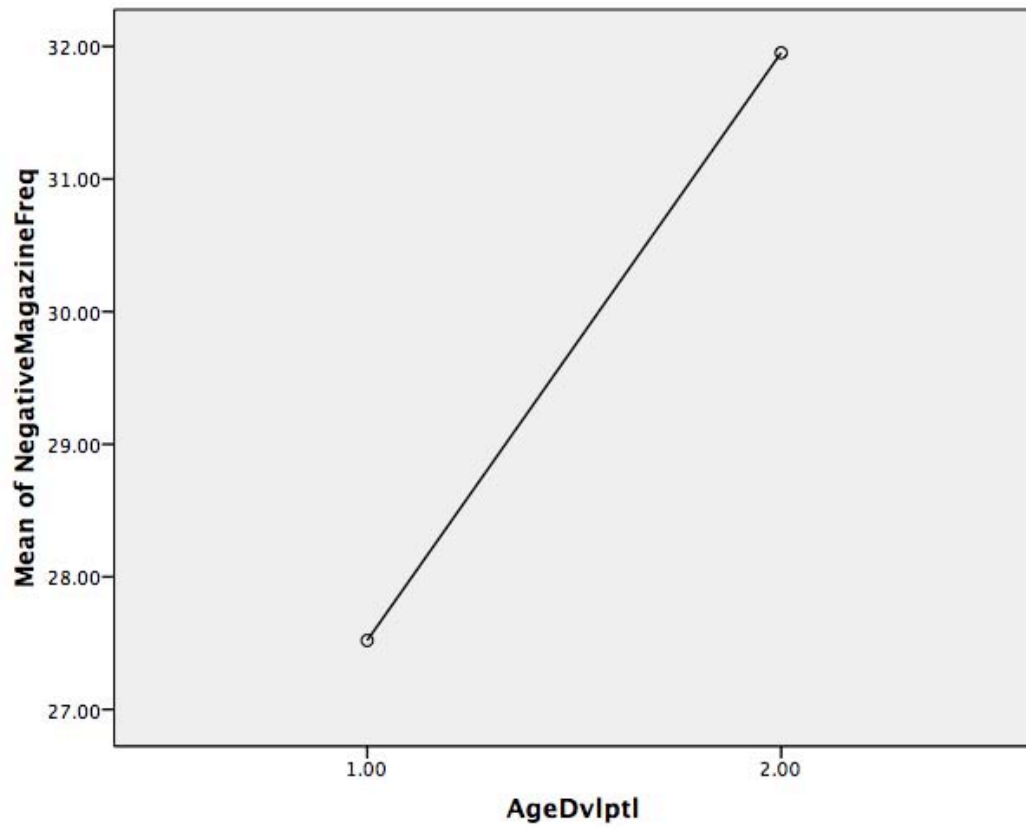


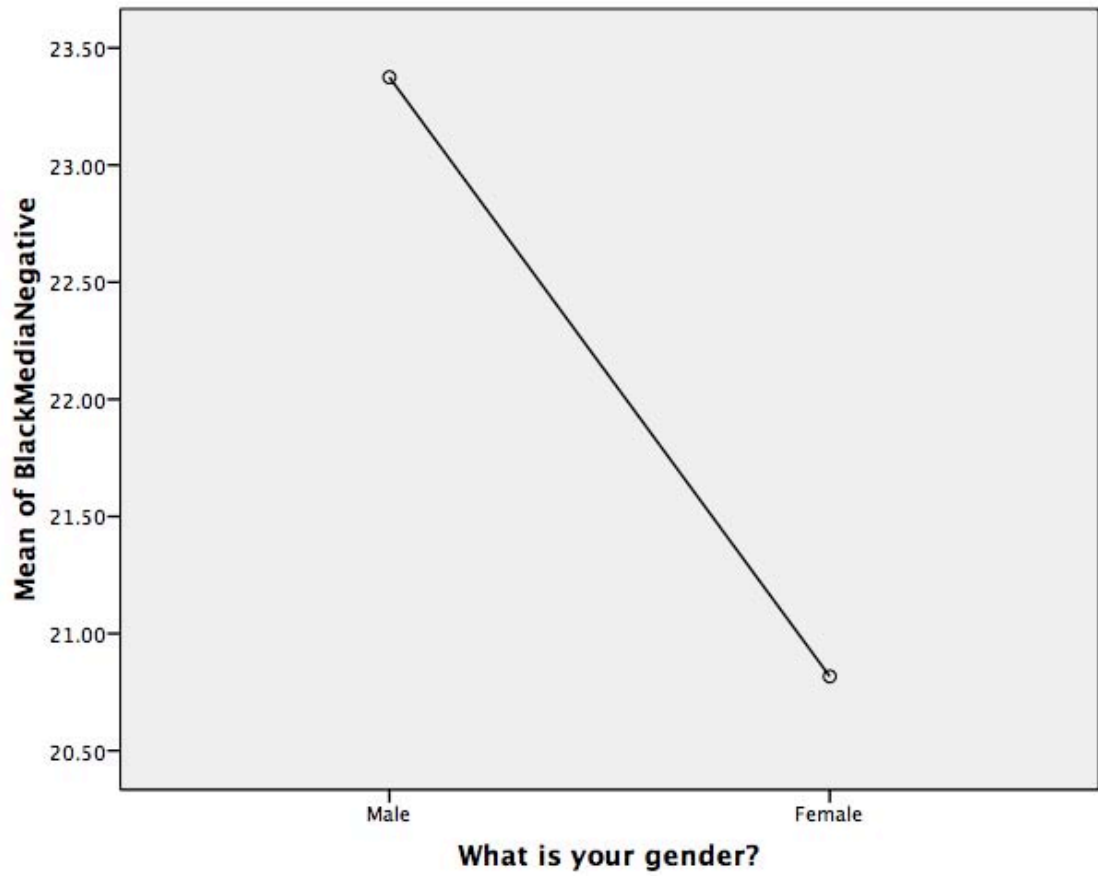
Figure 1. PVEST framework for research design



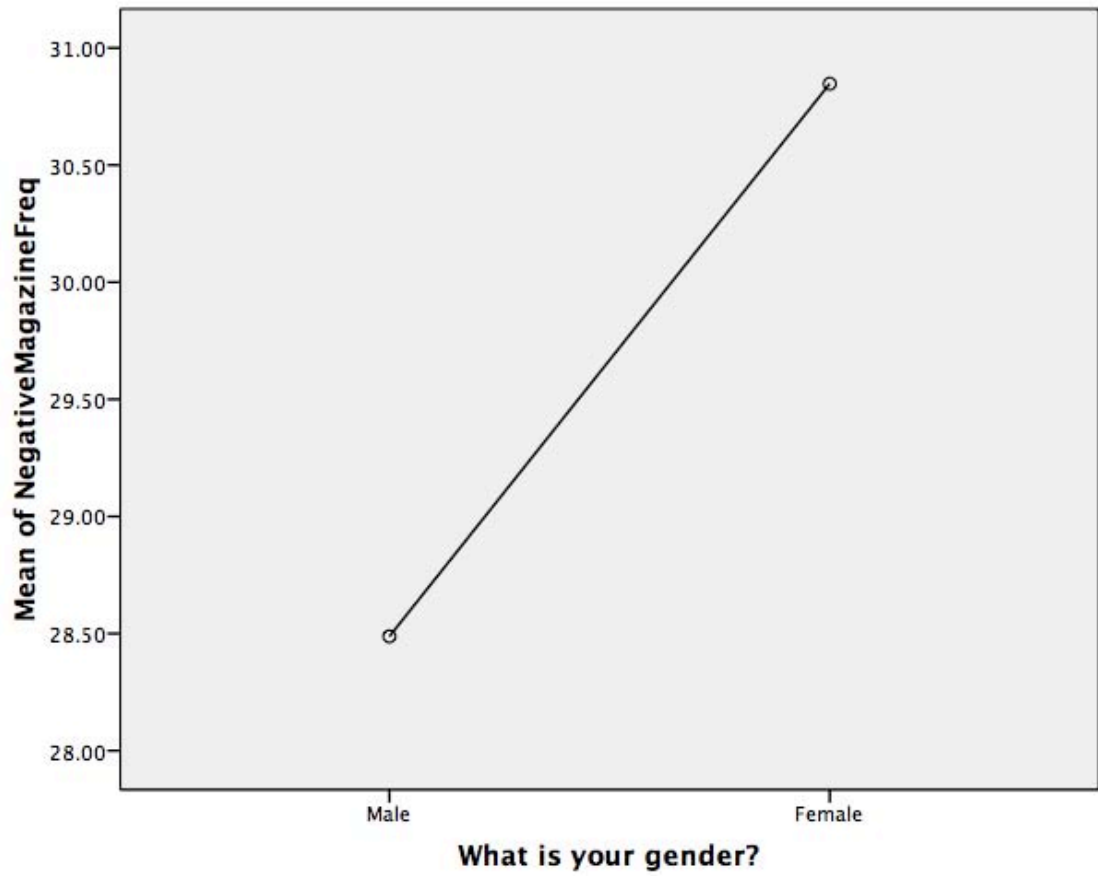
**1.00 = 14- to 17-year-old youth**

**2.00 = 18 to 21 year old youth**

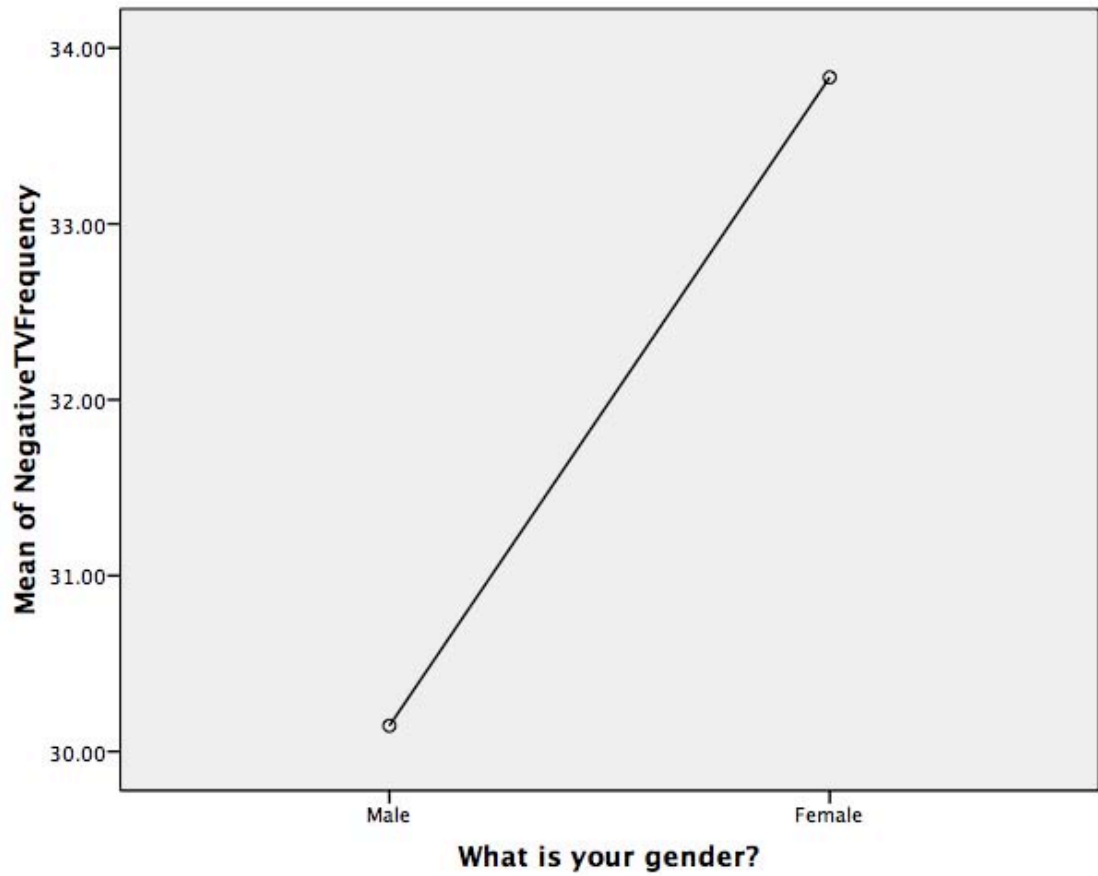
*Figure 2.* ANOVA mean scores for developmental age differences in frequency of viewing negative stereotype Black images in magazines



*Figure 3.* ANOVA mean scores for gender differences in endorsement of negative stereotype Black images in magazines



*Figure 4.* ANOVA Mean scores for gender differences in frequency of viewing negative stereotype Black images in magazines



*Figure 5.* ANOVA Mean scores for gender differences in frequency of viewing negative stereotype Black images on television

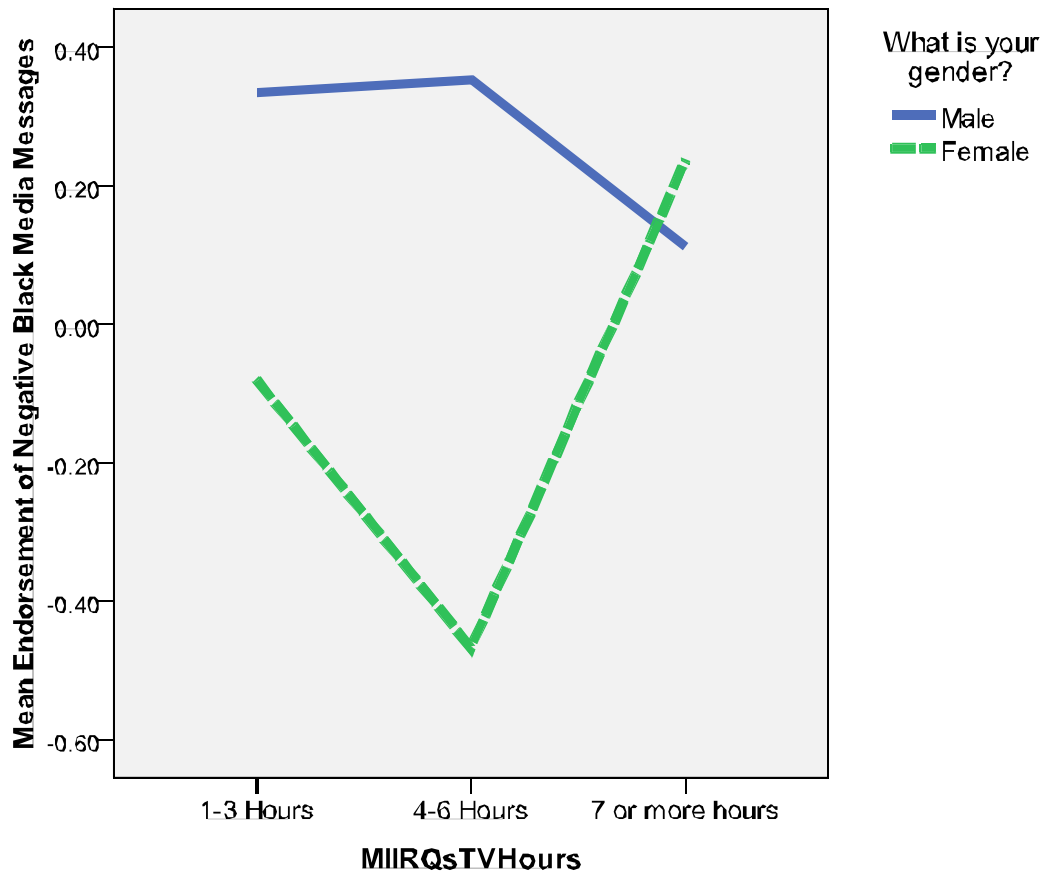
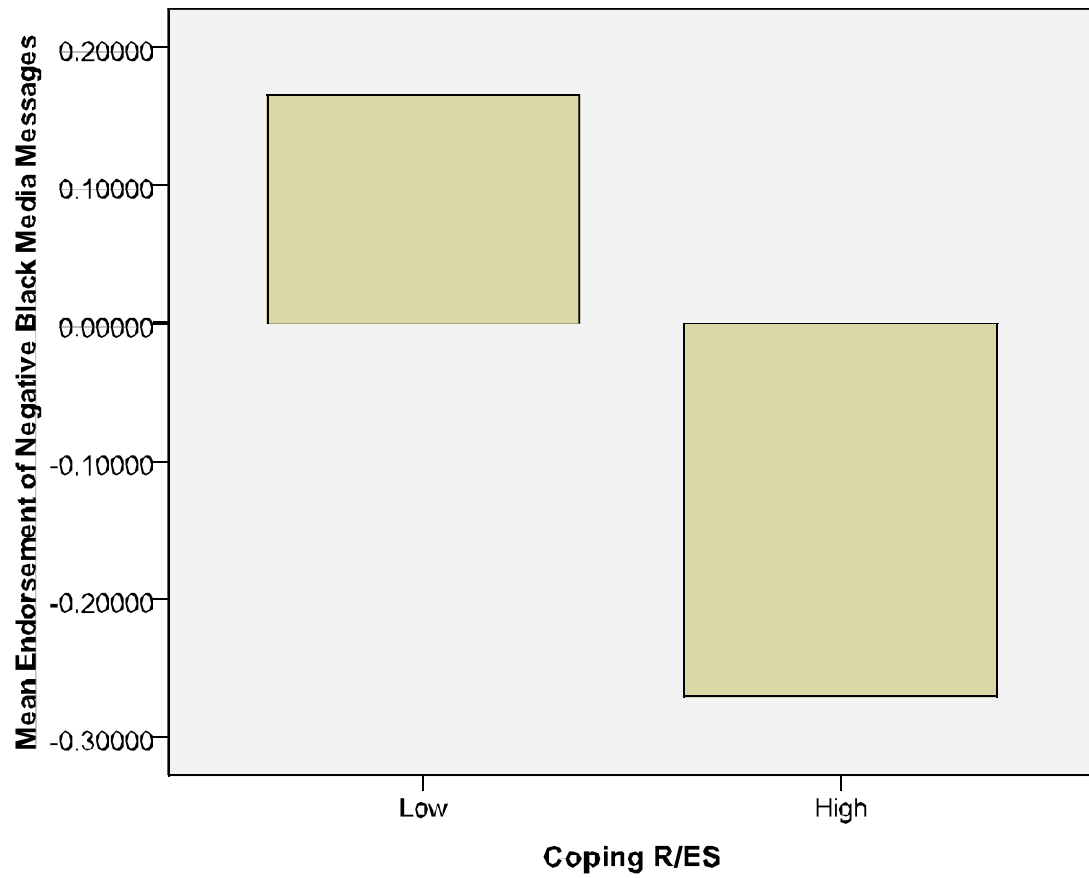


Figure 6. Gender differences in means scores for endorsement of negative stereotype media messages by amount of TV viewing hours





*Figure 7.* Differences in means scores for endorsement of negative stereotype media messages by Coping R/E socialization levels.

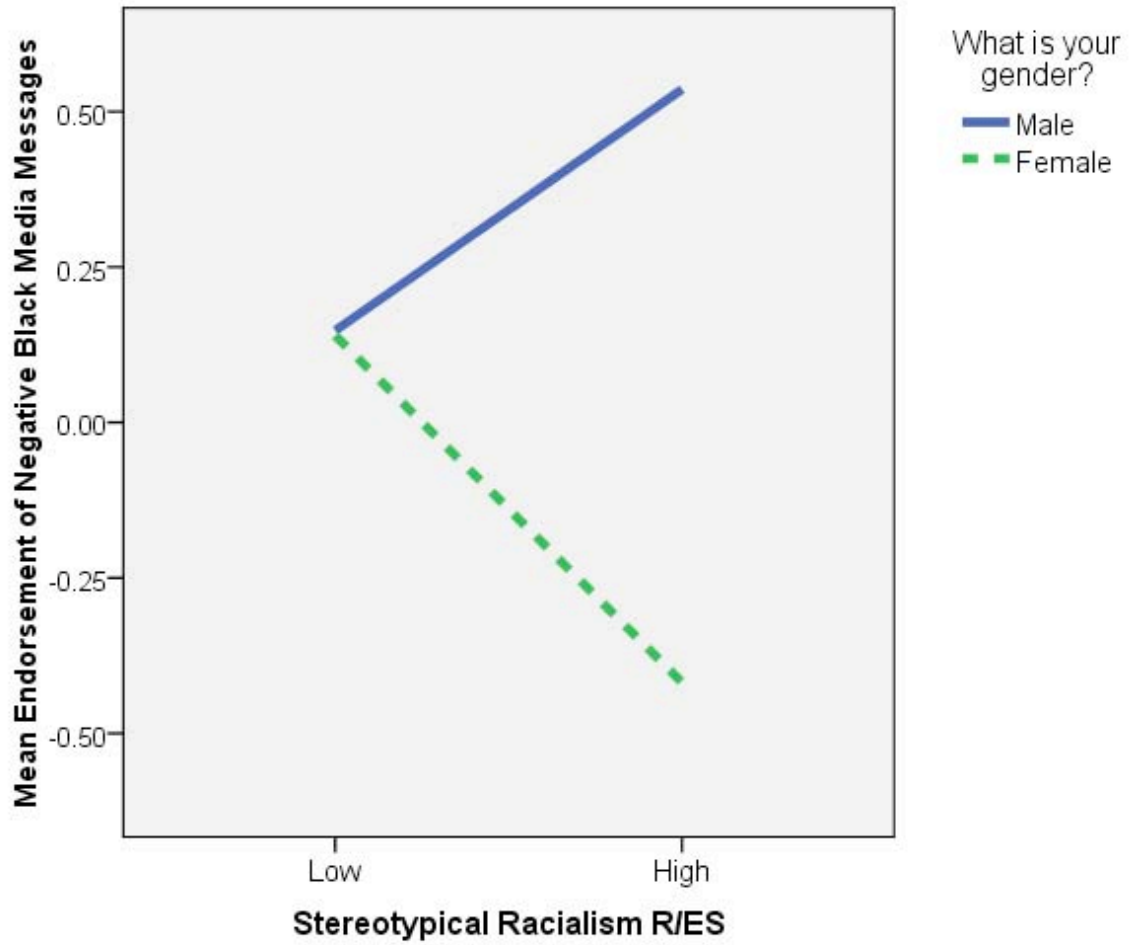


Figure 8. MANOVA result for gender differences in levels of Stereotypical R/E socialization for endorsement of negative stereotype media messages.

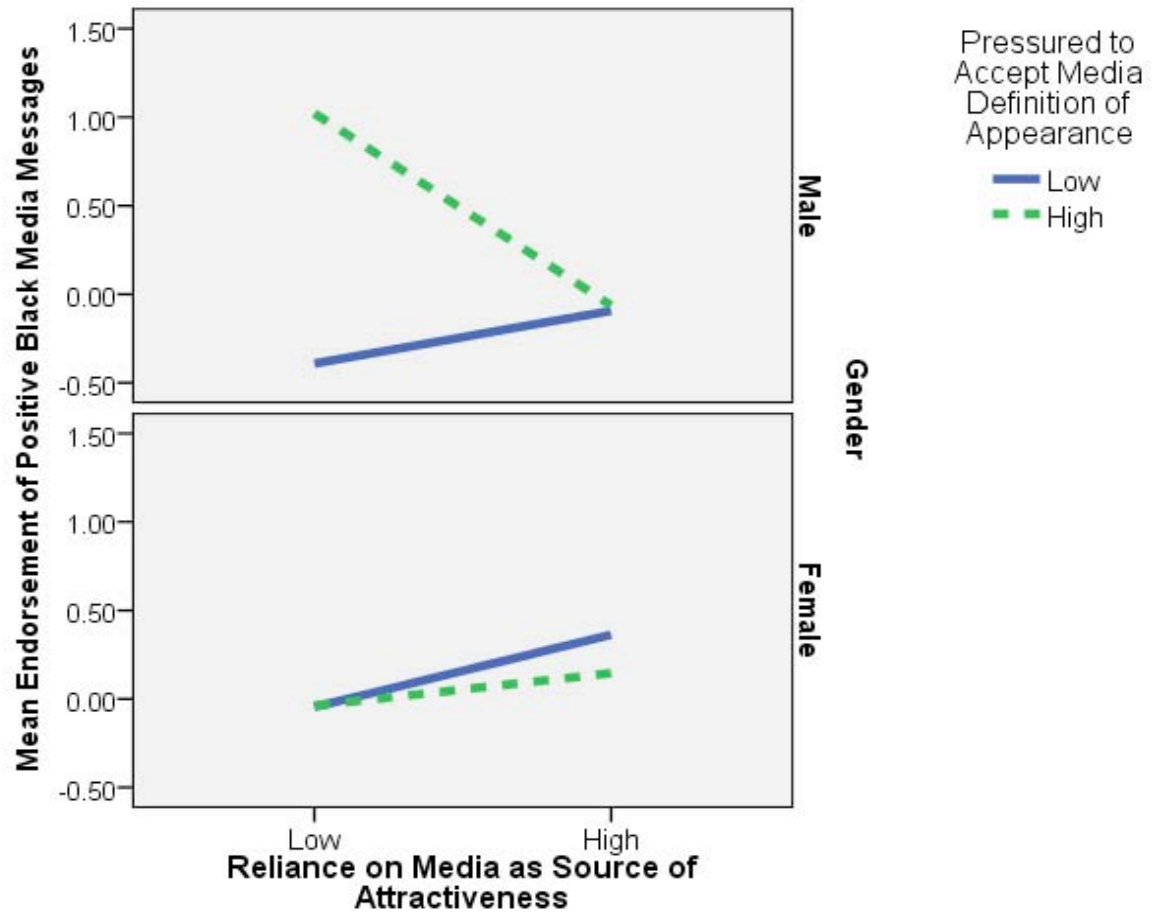
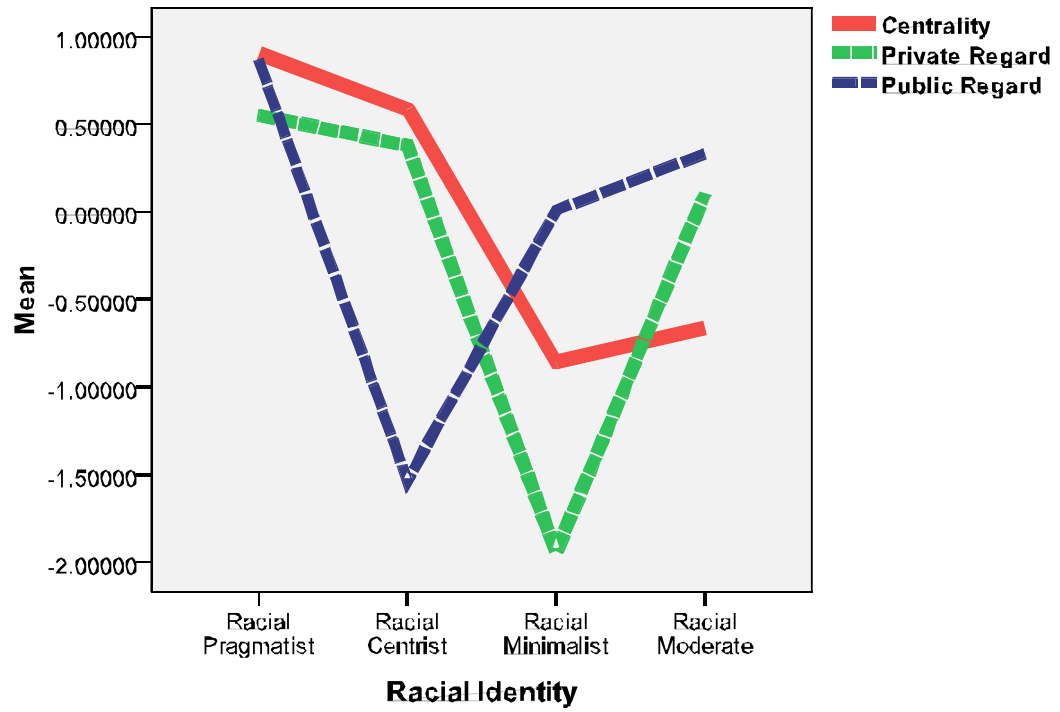


Figure 9. MANOVA result for gender differences in pressure to accept media definitions of appearance

**Level of Racial Identity Factors for each Racial Identity Cluster**



*Figure 10.* Level of racial identity factors for each racial identity cluster

Youth Reactions to Black Media Messages by Racial Identity Cluster

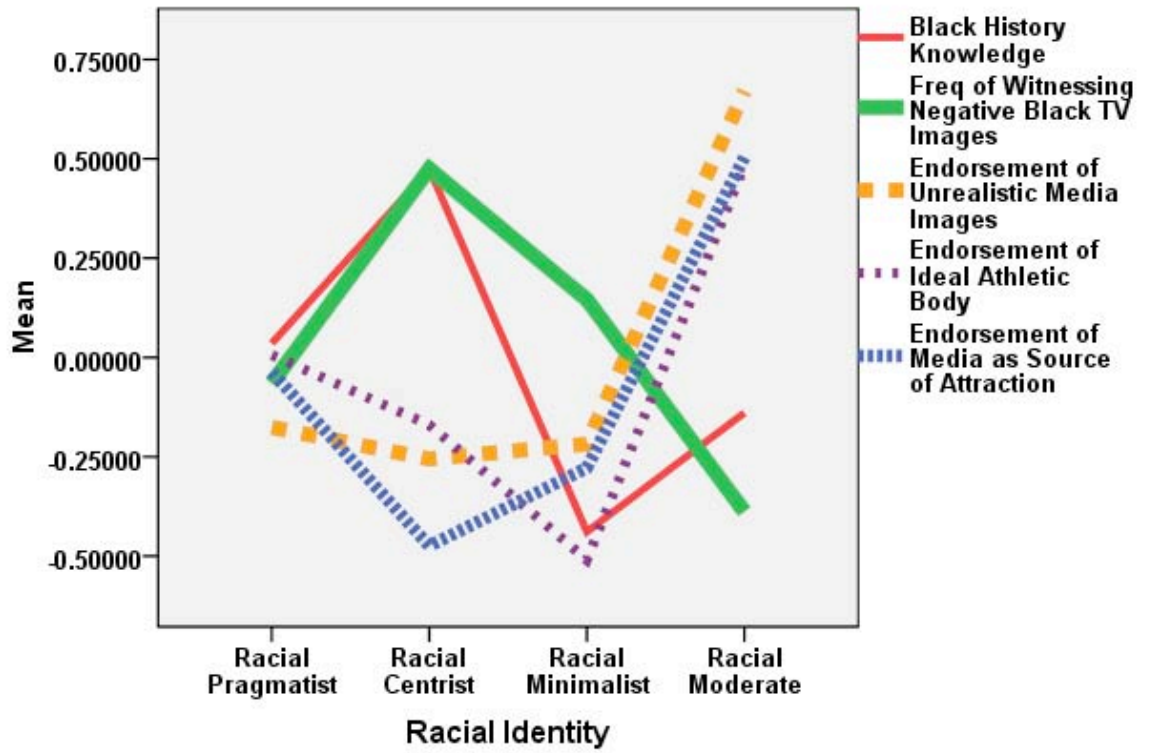


Figure 11. Youth reactions to Black media messages by racial identity cluster

### Youth Black Ideology by Racial Identity Cluster

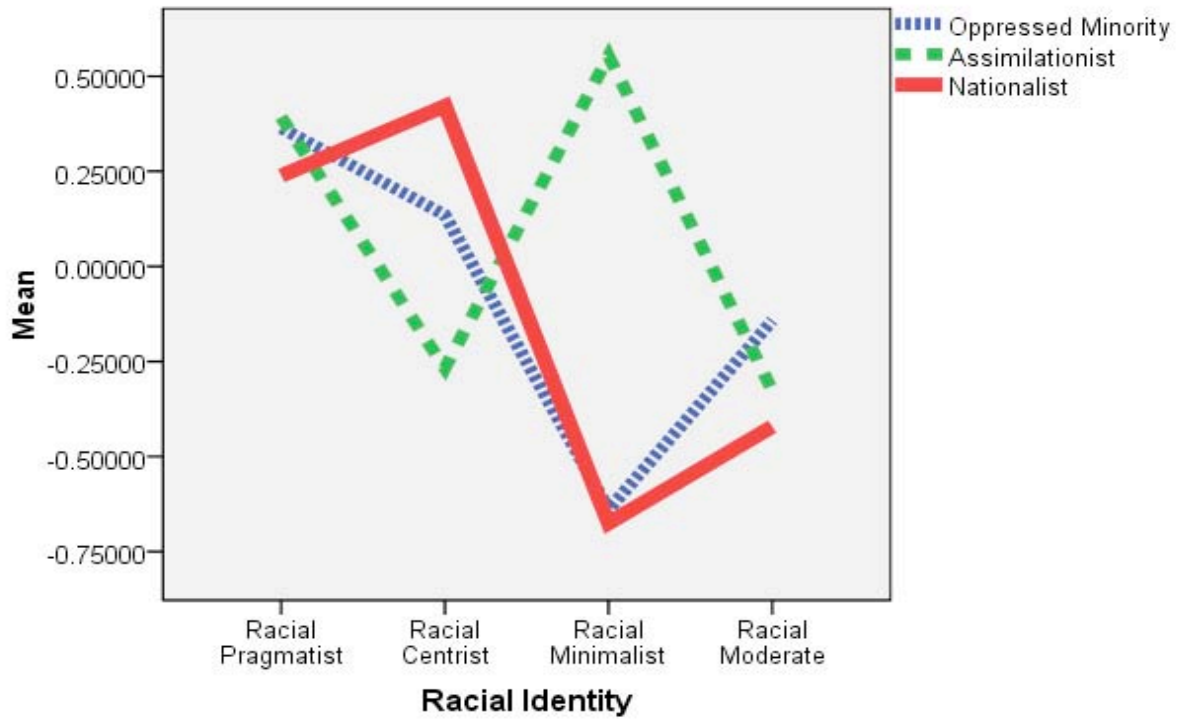


Figure 12. Youth Black ideology by racial identity cluster

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