36-24-36: The Effect of Listening to Rap Lyrics that Promote the Curvy Ideal on Black Women's Body Image Dissatisfaction

by

April D. Scott

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Approved by

Annette Kluck, Chair, Professor of Leadership and Counselor Education
Randolph Pipes, Professor Emeritus of Counseling Psychology
Evelyn Hunter, Assistant Professor of Counseling Psychology

Abstract

Body image dissatisfaction (BID) has been linked to a number of concerns such as low self-esteem, disordered eating, anxiety and depression. Mainstream media has been identified as one of the biggest culprits in the transmission of unrealistic body ideals to women because these media sources frequently promote a thin, slim body type, known as the thin-ideal; however, this body type is not always perceived as desirable among Black men and women. This study investigated the effect of exposing Black women to rap lyrics that promote the curvy ideal on their level of body image dissatisfaction. In order to examine the links between the variables of interest, a sample size of 96 Black women between the ages of 18 and 34 completed a demographic questionnaire and a state-based body image rating scale before exposure to audio of three rap songs with high levels of curvy ideal content or audio of neutral rap songs that did not reference body ideals. After exposure, participants completed the same state-based measure of body image dissatisfaction as was completed pre-exposure to song lyrics, a trait-based measure of body image dissatisfaction and a figure rating scale. A between-subjects design was used to compare the mean scores from both groups to detect a change in scores. From the analyses, pre-exposure BID scores explained variance in post-exposure BID and a significant interaction was found between ethnic identity and exposure to curvy ideal song lyrics but only for the state-based measure, the Visual Analog Scale (VAS). This effect was only detected for participants who passed the attention checks. As ethnic identity increased so did levels of BID for those in the curvy ideal song group. These findings suggest that ethnic identity may act as a risk factor for Black women when they are exposed to ideals consistent with Black culture and that more research is needed on variables that influence BID and the factors, if any, that buffer Black women from the dangerous effects of exposure to unrealistic, but culturally relevant, body ideals.

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First, I thank God for guiding and anchoring me throughout this journey. During this pursuit, I was often reminded of the message in 2 Corinthians 4:16-17: Therefore we do not lose heart. Though outwardly we are wasting away, yet inwardly we are being renewed day by day. For our light and momentary troubles are achieving for us an eternal glory that far outweighs them all. These words have been a beacon of hope in the most overwhelming moments of this project.

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The Effect of Rap Lyrics on Body Image Dissatisfaction among Black Women

Statement of the Problem

Body image dissatisfaction, defined as "displeasure with one's weight and shape," (Bearman, Martinez, Stice, & Presnell, 2006, p. 1) has been associated with problems such as low self-esteem, disordered eating, and depression (Zeigler-Hill & Noser, 2015). Brennan, Lalonde, and Bain (2010) posited that body image exists on a continuum with no body image concerns on one end and extreme disturbance on the other. Body image dissatisfaction related to size has been attributed to repeated exposure to the thin-ideal most often found in media outlets such as magazines, television, and film (Altabe & Thompson, 1996; Cusumano & Thompson, 1997; Hefner et al., 2014; Tiggemann, 2003). Body image dissatisfaction can begin as early as seven years old and has been shown to exist across race and body type; however, research has shown that these differences are not replicated across all ethnicities (Grabe, Ward, & Hyde, 2008). Many studies suggest that Black women do not report the same levels of body image dissatisfaction as White women (Jefferson & Stake, 2009; Overstreet, Quinn, & Agocha, 2010; Zhang, Dixon, & Conrad, 2009). Black women report dieting less, having higher-body related self-esteem, and they are less-likely to be susceptible to influence when exposed to the thin-ideal in media (Jefferson & Stake, 2009; Sanderson, Lupinski, & Moch, 2013). However, Caldwell, Brownell, & Wilfley (1997) found that when socioeconomic status (SES), marital status, and Body Mass Index (BMI) were controlled for no significant differences in body satisfaction existed.

Upon closer examination of the differences in body satisfaction among Black and White women, some studies suggest that the literature may have overstated the differences in body

satisfaction across race and ethnicities (M. B. Caldwell et al., 1997; Grabe & Hyde, 2006). Grabe and Hyde (2006) conducted a meta-analysis of 98 studies that focused on body image dissatisfaction among White, Asian American, Hispanic, and Black women and found that the differences in body image dissatisfaction were present but relatively small between White and Black woman and even non-existent between White and Hispanic or Asian American women (Grabe & Hyde, 2006). Caldwell, Brownell, and Wilfley (1996) surveyed 7,383 women who were described as "dieters," of whom 138 were Black and 7,200 were White and asked them to complete the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale and report their BMI. Results indicated that there was no statistically significant difference in body image dissatisfaction between Black and White participants. The authors of these studies suggested that ethnic differences in body image dissatisfaction have been overstated and may have led to Black and other non-White women being overlooked or ignored in conversations about body image dissatisfaction and/or eating disorders and it also denotes the need for more nuanced exploration of differences in body image dissatisfaction (Grabe & Hyde, 2006).

A large portion of existing research on body image focuses on aspirations of White women to achieve the thin-ideal, and those studies that do include Black women as participants often asked them to compare themselves to a Eurocentric standard of beauty (Capodilupo, 2015; Overstreet et al., 2010). The thin-ideal is the belief system commonly adopted in Western society regarding the model body type for women and the extent to which one buys into the idea that thin is more attractive. However, this body ideal is not as commonly endorsed in Black and Latino cultures as these cultures have historically endorsed fuller figures, often referred to as the curvy-ideal (Overstreet et al., 2010).

Previous research that posited Black women were more satisfied with their bodies often failed to use Black women as the comparison group in their studies thereby limiting the interpretability of their results. Many studies used measures that were normed using White women or shown visual images of White women and asked to compare themselves to the images. Researchers have noted the importance of using measures that have been standardized on a population that matches the group using the measure as it lends itself to better reliability and validity (Fernandez, Malcarne, Wilfley, & McQuaid, 2006).

Extant research examining body image concerns among women often uses measures developed on samples predominantly comprised of White women; however, Kashubeck-West et al. (2013) argued that researchers need to validate commonly-used body image assessments with ethnically diverse populations. For this reason, Kashubeck-West et al. (2013) measured the validity of three popular body image measures, Multidimensional Body-Self Relations Questionnaire–Appearance Scales (MBSRQ-AS), the Sociocultural Attitudes Toward Appearance Questionnaire (SATAQ-3), and the body image dissatisfaction scale of the Eating Disorder Inventory–3 (EDI-3), among Black women to evaluate their reliability and validity across ethnicity and race. They found acceptable reliability across all three scales but noted some differences in correlation between Appearance Orientation and Appearance Evaluation and Body Area Satisfaction subscales of the MBSRQ-AS suggesting a difference in the way Black women evaluate and focus on their appearance. The authors also noted a difference between Appearance Evaluation scores and the Information subscale of the SATAQ-3 which measures the extent that participants receive information about their appearance from the media. The authors also conducted confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) to measure the factor structure of the MSBRQ-AS, SATAQ-3, and EDI-3 and found that none of the measures demonstrated a good fit. These

findings call into question the validity of previous research that used these popular scales on populations of Black women without addressing the cultural differences in how Black women may respond to the items.

This lack of culturally-specific ideals in prior research is a gap in the literature and to fully understand the experiences and body image concerns of Black women requires more empirical research on Black women's body image dissatisfaction that use Black women as the standard of comparison.

Media and Body Image Dissatisfaction

As previously stated, the media has been identified as one of the most prominent vehicles that promote unrealistic body images. Research has found a link between exposure to images and song lyrics that promote unhealthy body ideals and body image dissatisfaction, depression, and low self-esteem (Benton & Karazsia, 2015; Grabe et al., 2008; Yamamiya, Cash, Melnyk, Posavac, & Posavac, 2005). In a report on American consumers, Short (2013) estimated that Americans will consume 15.5 hours of media per day in 2015. By these estimations, approximately 66% of the average American's day is subject to media influence thus it is useful to know the mechanisms that enable women to endorse (or not endorse) the beliefs perpetuated in mainstream media (Short, 2013). Research has shown that visual and auditory stimuli yields different effects on the consumer thus it is important to examine the effect of audio stimuli on women's esteem (Cobb & Boettcher, 2007). Research on the effect of music lyrics and composition reveals that it can affect the listener's mood, esteem, and even acceptance of violence (Cundiff, 2013; Messner, Jipson, Becker, & Byers, 2007).

As previously described, most research on Black women and body image dissatisfaction suggest that Black women are more satisfied with their bodies than White women. Other

research suggests that Black women are less susceptible to the thin-ideal prevalent in mass media. These studies suggest that Black women have a healthy, positive body image (Sanderson et al., 2013). However, many of these studies would expose Black women participants to images of White women, then ask the participants to rate their body satisfaction after exposure to the image to assess for any effect. Results frequently did not show an effect; thus, it was posited that Black women were generally happier with their bodies and less susceptible to media influence. Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory helps explain these findings as he noted that people will only compare themselves to people who are similar to them. Therefore, showing Black women pictures of women who are not similar to them may reduce the likelihood of social comparison occurring. Critically, it may be the case that the measurements (as described above) and the experimental methods (like exposure content) were not sufficiently validated for use with Black women; that is, the exposure schemas used in research may not have been culturally relevant in the same way that they were when used with White women.

Supporting Theoretical Framework

Numerous theoretical models have been proposed to explain the prevalence of body image dissatisfaction, namely sociocultural theory, social comparison theory, cultivation theory, and, self-discrepancy theory. These theories evaluate how social pressures, comparison, and internalized media messages contribute to the development of poor body image.

Sociocultural Theory

Sociocultural theory is one of the "most empirically supported" theories used to explain the influence of media on body image dissatisfaction (Cusumano & Thompson, 1997; Polivy & Herman, 2004; Thompson, Heinberg, Altabe, & Tantleff-Dunn, 1999). Sociocultural theory posits that identity, self-concept, and behavior are shaped by our social interactions, such as

media images, and cultural factors such as family values and "societal pressures" (Polivy & Herman, 2004). According to sociocultural theory the messages received via the media are also echoed in messages conveyed from those around us, and these messages ultimately influence our cognitive processes and self-perception (Morrison, Kalin, & Morrison, 2004; Thompson et al., 1999). Sociocultural theory is widely used to explain how media images influence our current body ideals. In one study on the presence of gender differences in body image dissatisfaction, researchers hypothesized that women would report higher levels of body image dissatisfaction than men. Their hypotheses were supported and women also reported higher internalization of sociocultural appearance standards than men in the study (Brennan, Lalonde, & Bain, 2010).

Sociocultural theory also helps explain the internalization of messages associated with trends in popular media regarding the depiction of the ideal female figure. In a seminal study conducted by Garner, Garfinkel, Schwartz, & Thompson (1980), the authors examined the bust, hips, and weight of Playboy magazine centerfolds over a 20-year period (1959-1978) and found that the average weight of centerfolds was upwards of 20% lower than what was considered normal at the time. Results also showed that the centerfolds' weight, and hips and breast measurements decreased as their height continued to increase further continuing the trend towards slimmer models. Similar results that reflected a thinner body ideal were found when the authors examined six popular women's magazines (Harper's Bazaar, Vogue, McCalls, Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal, and Woman's Day) during the same 20-year period, as evidenced by an increased number of diet articles being printed in the magazines. They also examined the weight of Miss America Pageant winners throughout the same time period and found a significant decrease in weight of contestants ranging from 2-4 pounds. An additional finding showed that pageant winners weighed less than other contestants. Interestingly, this same

trend towards thinness was not reflected in weights of the general population. Researchers then were interested in seeing if the trend toward thinness in models and pageant contestant was a reflection of the population for the same time period. They examined the average weight of women from 1959-1979 and found that average weight for women under the age of 30-years old increased by approximately 6 pounds over the 20-year period. Furthermore, the study examined the amount of diet articles in the aforementioned magazines and found a significant increase from the first decade—when there were approximately 17 articles—to the second decade—when approximately 30 diet articles were published (Garner, Garfinkel, Schwarz, & Thompson, 1980).

As the models and pageant contestants became thinner throughout the two decades, women began to become larger. Although all of the pageant winners during this era were White women these trends continued even with the inclusion of Black pageant winners in 1983 (Willett, 2016). The results of this study not only highlight the disconnect between the "ideal" body type promoted in popular culture in the U.S. and women's actual body type, and the beginning of the trend towards thinness as the ideal size, but how cultural attitudes (i.e. thinness as valuable) can be internalized by the individual consuming those messages.

Social comparison theory

Social comparison theory may help explain the mixed research on body image dissatisfaction in women. Social comparison theorists assert that people self-evaluate by comparing themselves to others, especially to those whom they feel are similar to them (Festinger, 1954). This theory can account for many of the findings in the research studies that found no effect between media exposure and Black women's body image ratings. According to social comparison theory, Black women are less likely to be influenced by exposure to images of White women that promote the thin-ideal because Black women do not identify with White

women, thus they do not compare themselves to the images when completing body image self-ratings. Additionally, Black women are more likely to endorse the curvy-ideal, which is considered the more desirable body type in Black culture (Overstreet et al., 2010; Sabik, Cole, & Ward, 2010; Sanderson et al., 2013)

Cultivation Theory

Whereas many theories focus on the effect of one's beliefs and expectations on body image dissatisfaction, cultivation theorists consider how the consumption of media can shape the consumer's ideas about their reality. Cultivation theory is a competing theory to social comparison theory in explaining how media exposure influences body image dissatisfaction. Cultivation theory was first introduced by George Gerbner in the 1960's to assess if exposure to violence on television had an effect on viewers' attitudes (Potter, 2014). Gerbner theorized that repeated exposure to television would eventually shape the viewer's belief systems to reflect the world they viewed on television (Zhang, Dixon, & Conrad, 2010). Gerbner believed that mass media allowed consumers to buy into a "common culture" purely shaped by whatever ideals, images, and beliefs were being transmitted via television. (Potter, 2014). Gerbner initially intended for cultivation theory to be applied to media on a macro level, focusing on how consumers view and ultimately adapted the message, how institutions shaped that message rather than how consumers interpreted the message. Despite his intentions, researchers expanded cultivation theory to exploring the short-term effects of media messages as well as focusing on how consumers interpreted the messages (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010; Potter, 2014). Cultivation theory was originally used to study the effects of television on consumers, however, researchers have cited cultivation theory to explain the effects of misogynistic rap music lyrics on

participants acceptance of violence towards women (Cundiff, 2013) suggesting that cultivation theory extends to other mediums outside of television.

Self-Discrepancy Theory

Another theory, self-discrepancy theory, provides a mechanism for understanding how comparisons lead to negative affect. According to self-discrepancy theory, the experience of negative affect following comparisons is a consequence of not achieving the desired standard of beauty. The self-discrepancy theory postulates that people feel discomfort when there is a conflict between their actual selves and their ideal selves or what others expect of them (Higgins, 1987). Higgins (1987) claimed that failure to close the gap between ideal self and actual self leads to feelings such as disappointment and depression. Higgins' model provides a framework for understanding the mental health implications of possessing a negative body image, or believing one's actual body does not align with what one expects it to be.

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Purpose of the Study

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One criticism of body image scholarship is the scarcity of studies that use a sample predominately comprised of Black women and general lack of exposure studies that use a criterion body type more commonly found in Black culture. The purpose of this study was to address that gap in the literature/research. Specifically, this study examined the effect of exposing Black women to rap lyrics that promote the curvy ideal on their level of body image dissatisfaction. This study expanded upon existing research that examined the influence of exposure to thin- and curvy-ideal images found in predominately Black media outlets by focusing on rap music lyrics which has historical significance in Black culture (Overstreet et al., 2010; Zhang et al., 2009, 2010). This study also challenged the commonly-held belief that ethnic identity acts as a protective factor against body image dissatisfaction for Black women, by

exploring the notion that ethnic identity for Black women may actually increase their risk for experiencing higher levels of body dissatisfaction when exposed to body ideals commonly promoted in Black culture, such as the curvy ideal (Capodilupo, 2015; Chithambo, Huey, Chithambo, & Huey, 2013; Greenwood & Cin, 2012).

Definitions

The following are definitions of key terms that will be used in this study.

1. Curvy ideal: The curvy ideal references a body type that emphasizes large breasts, small waist, wide hips, and large buttocks. It is important to note that a curvy ideal is not the opposite of thin-ideal nor does it necessarily describe a healthier, more inclusive body type as it still promotes an unrealistic body type for women.

2. Black woman/women: Black woman/women refers to a woman or women who have origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa and/or considers themselves as a part of the African diaspora.

3. Rap/Hip-hop: Although some historians make a distinction between rap and hip-hop, for the purposes of this study both terms refer to the genre of music birthed in Black communities during the 70s characterized by words spoken over a recurring beat pattern.

Research Hypotheses

This study extends current literature by 1) using a sample completely comprised of adult Black women, 2) examining the influence of a media form with roots in Black culture, and 3) evaluating body ideals in Black women that may deviate from what is considered the normative thin-ideal. This study will examine the following hypotheses:

1. Participants with higher levels of ethnic identity will place more emphasis on the importance of body parts consistent with the curvy ideal (breast, waist, hips, and butt) as measured by the Curvy Body Ideals Questionnaire (CIQ) and Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI).

2. Participants exposed to curvy ideal rap lyrics will report an increase in body image dissatisfaction.

    a. Participants exposed to curvy ideal rap lyrics will report higher levels of body image dissatisfaction on the Curvy Ideal Silhouette Scale (CIS) than participants exposed to neutral/non-curvy rap lyrics.

    b. Participants exposed to curvy ideal lyrics will report higher levels of body image dissatisfaction on the Visual Analogue Scale (VAS) after curvy-ideal exposure when compared to participants exposed to neutral/non-curvy rap lyrics.

3. Ethnic identity, as measured by the centrality and private regard scales on the MIBI, will moderate the effect of exposure to the rap songs that contain curvy ideal lyrics on body image dissatisfaction measured by the VAS.

4. Ethnic identity will moderate the effect of exposure to curvy ideal rap lyrics on the participants' endorsement of the curvy body type as ideal measured by the CIS.

Previous research findings suggest that exposure to media can influence the development and duration of body image dissatisfaction, however, there is a dearth of research that examines the effect of music lyrics, specifically rap or hip-hop music on women's body image dissatisfaction (Cundiff, 2013; Thompson & Heinberg, 1999; Zhang et al., 2010). Despite a predominate culture of thinness present in the United States, research shows that Black women are more accepting of larger sizes both on themselves and on figure rating scales (Chithambo et

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al., 2013; Greenwood & Cin, 2012; Overstreet et al., 2010; Patt, Lane, Finney, Yanek, & Becker, 2002). Researchers have suggested that ethnic identity can act as a buffer against the influence of media on body image dissatisfaction (Grabe & Hyde, 2006; Zhang et al., 2009).

Most body image dissatisfaction research has focused on White women and the related drive for thinness while ignoring Black women and the value of the curvier bodies present in Black culture. Additionally, one of the criticisms of existing body image dissatisfaction research using Black women participants is that researchers often do not expose Black women to media and other stimuli that is representative of Black culture, such as Black models, which may lead to false generalizations about the findings. In an effort to address this gap in the literature, this study will focus on rap lyrics because rap is a music genre with deep roots in Black culture (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2003; Boyer & Graham, 2016; Cundiff, 2013; J. Morgan, 2000). Research suggests that music can influence mood, attitude, and behaviors in the listener (Croom, 2015; Cundiff, 2013; Messner et al., 2007). Furthermore, exposure to lyrics that suggest an ideal that is not representative of the listener, but with whom the listener identifies, may lead to body image dissatisfaction according to social comparison and cultivations theories. It is reasonable to expect that those exposed to lyrics containing the curvy ideal will report higher levels of body image dissatisfaction than participants who listen to the neutral rap song.

Although Black women tend to report higher levels of satisfaction with their appearance when compared to White women, they tend to express some dissatisfaction with specific body parts such as waist, buttocks, and hips (Bledman, 2011; Harrison, 2003; Overstreet et al., 2010; Sanderson et al., 2013). Thus, it is likely that participants in this study will demonstrate similar results.

II. Literature Review

Thin-ideal in Mass Media

Despite the average weight of women increasing throughout the years, images of women in the popular media continue to become thinner (Garner et al., 1980). The media has been a long-time culprit of promoting the notion that thin bodies are more attractive and desirable and therefore the ideal body type for women (Cusumano & Thompson, 1997; Dittmar, 2009; Overstreet et al., 2010; Polivy & Herman, 2004). Several studies, including content analyses, have shown the pervasiveness of thin-ideal in print, television, and film media (Dittmar, Halliwell, & Stirling, 2009; Polivy & Herman, 2004) and how repeated exposure to this thin-ideal is associated with low self-esteem, eating disorders, extreme dieting, and body image dissatisfaction (Cusumano & Thompson, 1997; Dittmar et al., 2009; Grabe et al., 2008, 2008).

Dittmar et al. (2009) used a sample of 81 women and exposed some of the participants to advertisements that contained thin models in revealing clothing. Participants in the experimental group were then asked to complete measures that assessed thin-ideal internalization, body-related mood, and cognitions about the discrepancy between their current and ideal size. Overall, women who were exposed to the thin models reported more negative thoughts about their body than women in the control group; however, further analysis of the results showed that this was only applicable to women who internalized the thin-ideal. Women who did not internalize the thin-ideal did not rate themselves any differently than those in the control group who were not exposed to any models. Dittmar et al. (2009) extended their earlier study by using a larger sample size and also instructing participants to focus more on the models' bodies (instructions that were not present in the previous study). The findings from the first study were replicated indicating that regardless of sample size or emphasis on model's body, participants who

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possessed a high level of thin-ideal internalization reported higher levels of weight discrepancy related thoughts.

In an earlier study on media and body image dissatisfaction, Stice and Shaw (1994) provided women undergraduate students with images of thin and average-size models from magazines and found that women who were exposed to images of thin models reported more negative symptoms than participants exposed to average sized or no images. The negative symptoms included concerns such as body image dissatisfaction, insecurity and guilt. In hopes of further understanding the effect of exposure to thin-ideal media images on body image dissatisfaction. Stice, Spangler, and Agras (2001) conducted a similar study choosing instead to focus on adolescent girls and extended exposure to thin-ideal images. The researchers provided adolescent girls with a 15-month subscription to *Seventeen* magazine and assessed their body image dissatisfaction, thin-ideal internalization, bulimic symptoms, dieting behaviors and mood at the conclusion of the study. The authors only found an effect with vulnerable adolescents in the sample, for example, adolescents who lacked social support, suggesting that extended exposure to thin-ideal images can be particularly damaging for adolescent girls who lack support and body-positive messages from their peers and family (Stice, Spangler, & Agras, 2001)

A meta-analysis conducted by Grabe, Ward, and Hyde (2008) also supports findings by Dittmar et al. (2009) and Stice (1994). The authors analyzed 71 correlational and experimental studies that examined the relationship between media exposure and dieting behaviors, body dissatisfaction, and thin-ideal internalization among women. They found small to moderate effects between media exposure and disordered eating, body dissatisfaction, and thin-ideal internalization suggesting that the repeated exposure to images promoting the thin-ideal can have a negative effect on women's behaviors and body esteem.

Hawkins, Richards, Granley & Stein (2004) examined the influence of media exposure on women's affect, eating behaviors, body satisfaction, and thin-ideal internalization. Some participants viewed 40 photographs of models from popular women's magazines such as Glamour, Cosmopolitan, and Vogue whereas the other participants viewed 40 photographs of neutral images, such as a car or jewelry that did not contain any bodies or diet/food "stimuli". Participants then completed measures that rated body satisfaction, mood, eating behaviors and thin-ideal internalization. Results indicated statistical differences in responses on the body image, eating disorders, self-esteem and mood measures between the group exposed to thin models and the group exposed to neutral images with the experimental group scoring higher in the aforementioned domains. This finding is similar to Thompson and Stice's (2001) research that found that women who endorsed high levels of thin-ideal were more likely to be effected by exposure to thin models in the media.

Body image research has focused primarily on women's desire to attain a smaller figure while often overlooking other body types that women may find appealing. Recent studies have begun exploring the nuances in body type ideals noting the emergence of a desire for larger, curvier body parts among certain groups of women.

Curvy Ideal

Women are encouraged to have thin bodies while also being encouraged to have physical features inconsistent with thin frames, such as large breasts and round hips (Thompson & Heinberg, 1999). This body type is called the curvy ideal or Coke-bottle shape which refers to the hourglass shape of the Coke bottles in 1915. A curvier figure was idealized during the middle ages and was often figured prominently in art during that period (Bailey, 2008). Slim figures became more prominent in film during the 1950s, however stars such as Marilyn Monroe and

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Josephine Baker were still revered for their curvy, shapely bodies (Thompson et al., 1999). In the 1960s, thinness began to be associated with wealth and the upper class (Garner et al., 1980; Thompson & Heinberg, 1999). During this time the fashion world saw the emergence of British supermodel, Twiggy, as she eventually began to be considered the beauty standard for that era. Twiggy was popular for her thin build and was less than 100 pounds at the height of her career (Bailey, 2008). Despite this trend towards preferring smaller frames emerging in Western culture, this ideal did not seem to affect all groups in the United States equally. The preference for a curvy, shapely body type is commonly seen in Latino and African American cultures.

Anthropologist Anderson-Fye (2004) conducted a series of ethnographic interviews with people in Belize to determine their beauty ideals and practices. In her research, she found that many of the young adolescent girls reported to be pleased with their current size. She also found that more attention was placed on shape and presentation (i.e. hair, accessories, clothing) than size and that both adolescent and adult women found a Coke bottle shape or Fanta bottle more desirable than a thin, waif-like shape (Anderson-Fye, 2004). Anderson-Fye's (2004) findings were interesting because it demonstrated that despite Belizeans exposure to U.S. culture and body ideals, they did not endorse the same beauty standards as women in the U.S. Despite this finding, body image researchers have warned that increased globalization of Western messages and ideals would eventually lead to more body image dissatisfaction and disordered eating in other countries. For example, in a famous study of the effect of television on disordered eating on the people of Fiji, researchers found an increase in the thin-ideal among young women less than two years after the country began to show Western television programming (Anderson-Fye, 2011; Becker, 2004; Becker, Burwell, Herzog, Hamburg, & Gilman, 2002).

Research has postulated that the reason Black women endorse higher levels of body satisfaction was because they do not internalize the thin-ideals in the same manner that White women did. However, this rejection of thinness does not automatically equate to body satisfaction. Studies examining body preference among Black men and women have found that both men and women express a preference for a more shapely body type (Bailey, 2008; Harrison, 2003; Overstreet et al., 2010; Zhang et al., 2009). Furthermore, when the body proportions of idealized figures are examined what seems to be commonly endorsed among White women is the "curvaceously thin" body type—small waist, narrow hips, and large breasts(Harrison, 2003). The curvaceously thin and curvy ideal adds another layer to the conversation around body image dissatisfaction and body ideals that has typically fixated solely on the thinness. Interestingly, Caldwell et al. (1997) believed that differences in body image dissatisfaction could be attributed to class more than race. The authors surveyed over 37,000 women subscribers of *Consumer Report* magazine about their body image dissatisfaction and self-esteem and found that when BMI, marital status, and income were controlled for no significant discrepancies manifested. These findings add support to the idea that racial differences in body image dissatisfaction are not as robust as was once believed.

Overstreet, Quinn, and Agocha (2010) wanted to examine the differences in how Black and White women viewed the curvaceous ideal and how it influenced their body image dissatisfaction. They surveyed over 300 women college students, whose ages ranged from 17 to 30-years-old, about their body ideals and body satisfaction. First, they found that both White and Black women desired a curvy, hourglass-shaped body type, however there were racial differences in what was considered the ideal shape between White and Black women. Results showed that White women typically preferred thin bodies and Black women leaned more

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towards curvier bodies with medium breasts and large butts. Second, the authors found that women whose bodies did not reflect their ideal reported higher rates of body image dissatisfaction than the participants whose ideal and current bodies were more similar in size. Third, researchers found body image dissatisfaction to be a good predictor of body shame and body monitoring, regardless of the race of the participants, although white women did report higher overall levels of body image dissatisfaction (Overstreet et al., 2010).

Webb, Warren-Findlow, Chou, & Adams (2013) added to the literature by conducting a number of focus groups using college-aged Black and White women at a predominately white university (PWI). Their goals were to 1) determine if the use of a more culturally-inclusive figure rating scale would elicit similar responses around an "ideal body size" between both Black and White women, 2) understand how members of each group perceive the other group's ideal body size and 3) to examine the factors that influenced body ideals in both groups. Webb et al. (2013) did not find any statistically significant findings in their interviews, however, they reported that Black women identified a larger, shapelier body type as ideal and used extreme language to reject thin body types of celebrities like Kate Moss, Sarah Jessica Parker, and Paris Hilton. They also found that many of the White women focus groups identified a thin, but curvy and athletic build as the ideal figure. Webb et al. (2013) also found that the White women focus group participants believed Black women were more satisfied with being larger than White women and the Black women focus groups believed White women were obsessed with their weight, especially with becoming thin. Regarding what influenced body ideals, researchers found that Black women identified Black men as a source of influence on what they perceived as the ideal body, whereas the majority of the White participants did not indicate any influence from men of any race on their ideal body size. This finding is consistent with other research that has found

that Black women often aspire to have a curvier, fuller body because it is what is desired by Black men (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2003).

In a study of body image ideals among Latina women in New York City, researchers used qualitative and quantitative measures to explore women's beliefs about their bodies and what they believed was the ideal body type (Viladrich, Yeh, Bruning, & Weiss, 2009). Surprisingly, the researchers discovered conflicting results between the information derived from questionnaires, the figure rating scale, and the information discussed in the focus groups. Women categorized as normal or overweight based on their BMI wanted to be smaller and felt smaller bodies were more attractive to men as evidenced by their responses on the body figure ratings scale. Yet, many of these same women who desired to be smaller also acknowledged that curvier, shapely body types were considered more attractive to Latino men and that women with curves and "pear shape" were normal in Latina women during their interviews. These findings support the notion that body image ideals are complex and are influenced by many variables such as cultural norms and perceived attractiveness.

Racial differences in body image dissatisfaction. It is surprising that Black women in the United States are believed to have lower levels of body image dissatisfaction than White women considering that Black women's bodies have been mocked, denigrated, and ridiculed since slavery (Bailey, 2008). Bailey (2008) noted that early European settlers in African countries would gawk at the Black bodies they saw while also using the differences in those Black bodies to justify their mistreatment of the people to further prove that anything connected to blackness, such as skin tone, body shape, and hair, was considered less than. Collins (1991) asserted that the othering of Black women's bodies was essential during slavery in order for slave masters to maintain their status as dominators and to further separate Black women's

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womanhood from that of White women. One famous example of this "othering" is the case of Sarah Bartman, or the *Hottentot Venus*. Sarah Bartman was a South African slave who was exploited and paraded around London and France in the early 1800s as an exhibition because of her large buttocks and genitals (Bailey, 2008; Elkins, 2007; Hill Collins, 1991). Despite a history of Black women's bodies being used as a tool for exploitation and sometimes even positioned as the phenotypic opposite of White bodies, some research suggests that Black women have been able to create a strong sense of body esteem and body satisfaction compared to other races (Bennett & Dickerson, 2001; Bessellieu, 1997; Bruns & Carter, 2015; Grabe & Hyde, 2006).

Previous research suggests that Black women are more satisfied with their bodies, more accepting of having a larger body size, and report fewer behaviors geared towards being thin compared to White women (Chithambo et al., 2013; Hendley, 2011; Overstreet et al., 2010). Chithambo & Huey (2013) analyzed BMI, race, weight perception, self-rated attractiveness, and education level of 1,694 overweight or obese adult women involved in the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. Their study focused on only Black and White women, they found that Black women rated themselves more attractive, regardless of their size, whereas white women's self-rated attractiveness was negatively correlated to their weight. Sanderson, Lupinski, and Moch's (2013) research extends these findings by exploring the differences in body image dissatisfaction between Black college-aged women in predominantly white settings and Black women in predominately Black settings. The authors theorized that one's environment influenced their beliefs about beauty and body satisfaction and they wanted to explore whether the racial composition of a university influenced how students viewed their own bodies. They surveyed over 300 Black women attending Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) and over 200 Black women who attending PWIs and found similarities and differences in both

groups' beliefs about size. They found that the Black women who attended an HBCU were more satisfied with their weight, rejected messages supporting the thin-ideal, and were less affected by interpersonal messages of thinness, such as *I feel embarrassed asking for help from a sales clerk who is smaller than me* (Sanderson et al., 2013). Both groups of women endorsed similar statements about exercise and the rejection of society's thin-ideal value. This study highlights the influence of cultural/racial identification as a buffer against endorsing beliefs that promote thinness. Research suggests that Black women are typically able to view messages that promote White beauty standards without personally ascribing to them depending on how closely Black women identify with Blackness (Greenwood & Dal Chin, 2012).

Jefferson and Stake (2009) wanted to explore the differences in body image dissatisfaction between Black and White women with a focus on controlling for body size, body part satisfaction, and non-weight related physical features. As with previous studies, the results indicated that White women reported more dissatisfaction with their weight and shape than Black women. They also found that White women focused more on weight whereas Black women placed more value on non-weight related physical features such as hair texture and skin color. Black women also reported less internalization of European beauty standards which is consistent with previous research on thin-ideal internalization (Cusumano & Thompson, 1997; Shaw, Ramirez, Trost, Randall, & Stice, 2004; Thompson & Stice, 2001; Yamamiya et al., 2005)

Previous research has postulated that Black women possessed more positive attitudes about their bodies when compared to other races. However, it is important to note that some research findings contradict this idea and instead suggest that ethnic differences in body image dissatisfaction are very small or non-existent (Bledman, 2011; Capodilupo, 2015; Capodilupo & Kim, 2014; Forbes & Frederick, 2008; Grabe & Hyde, 2006; Shaw et al., 2004). In fact,

Pumariega, Gustavson, Motes, and Ayers (1994) found similarities in reported body image dissatisfaction from readers of *Essence* magazine, a Black lifestyle magazine, and the readers of *Glamour* magazine, a lifestyle magazine with a predominately white viewership. Furthermore, they found that over half of the Black women in the *Essence* sample scored in the "at-risk" range on the Eating Attitudes Test (Pumariega et al., 1994; Rogers, Wood, & Petrie, 2010). Also, of note is the rise in the number of Black women undergoing cosmetic plastic surgery. Both the American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery (ASAPS) and the American Society of Plastic Surgeons (ASPS) report a rise in the number of Black women undergoing cosmetic procedures with ASAPS citing a 50% increase in surgeries from 2005 to 2013 and the ASPS reporting the number of Black women undergoing surgery rose from six to eight percent from 2002 to 2008 (Samuel, 2015; "The American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery," n.d.; The American Society of Plastic Surgeons, n.d.). There has also been a significant increase in the number of butt augmentation surgeries in recent years as evidenced by the ASPS reporting a 98% increase in butt implants and 44% increase in butt lifts since 2013 (American Society of Plastic Surgeons, 2015; Ashley & Jung, 2017). Forbes and Frederick (2008) assessed breast and overall body image dissatisfaction in a diverse sample of Asian American, European American, Hispanic American, and African American women college students. Initially they did not find any statistically significant ethnic differences in global body image dissatisfaction; however, when they statistically controlled for body size they found that Asian American women had the lowest rates of global body image dissatisfaction. They did not find any ethnic differences in breast size dissatisfaction; however, they noted that a significant number of their sample reported breast dissatisfaction, thus highlighting the need to also assess specific body part dissatisfaction when conducting body image research (Forbes & Frederick, 2008). Drawing similar conclusions,

Shaw, Ramire, Trost, Randall and Stice (2004) tested for ethnic differences in eating disorder symptoms and risk factors for disordered eating among a diverse sample of 785 women from the ages of 11 to 26 years old and concluded that ethnic differences in disordered eating symptoms were non-existent in their sample. Shaw et al. (2014) tested for 14 main effects and 49 moderation effects and found one main effect which was Black and Hispanic women demonstrated less internalization of thin-ideals, which is also consistent with previous research.

Recent studies have begun to explore the factors that seem to protect or buffer African American women from body image dissatisfaction and have identified ethnic identity as a salient protective factor (Capodilupo, 2015; Capodilupo & Kim, 2014; Greenwood & Cin, 2012; Guan, Lee, & Cole, 2012; Rogers et al., 2010; Zhang et al., 2009). Two studies conducted by Zhang et al. (2009) and Rogers et al., (2010) may shed light on the role of ethnic identity in body image dissatisfaction. Zhang et al. (2009) explored the relationship between exposure to thin-ideal images and body satisfaction and how ethnic identity moderated that relationship. They hypothesized that Black women with a weak ethnic identity would be more susceptible to lower body image dissatisfaction after being exposed to the images than Black women with strong ethnic identity. Their hypothesis was supported as they observed that ethnic identity mitigated the effects of exposure to thin images—Black women with strong ethnic identity had lower levels of body image dissatisfaction, bulimic symptoms, and drive for thinness after exposure than women with weak ethnic identity who experienced higher levels of body image dissatisfaction after exposure to thin images (Zhang et al., 2009). Similarly, Wood & Petrie (2010) used a sociocultural model to theorize that Black women with higher levels of ethnic identity would have lower internalization of mainstream beauty standards, such as thinness, than Black women with lower levels of ethnic identity. They found that a strong ethnic identity acted

as a protector against societal standards of attractiveness and beauty, consistent with previous research findings (Rogers et al., 2010). Existing research suggests that ethnic identity acts as a protective factor against White beauty standards; however, there is a dearth of research that addresses how ethnic identity moderates the internalization of messages received from Black women's culture, such as those themes found in hip-hop lyrics. If ethnic identity protects Black women from endorsing the thin-ideal that is dominant in Eurocentric cultures can it in turn act as a risk factor for the endorsement of the a curvy ideal? Capodilupo (2015) provided some context to this question when they explored "culturally relevant" variables (i.e. skin tone and long, straight hair) that influenced body dissatisfaction in Black women. They found that greater levels of internalization of idealized media images was related to lower ratings of attractiveness among participants. This finding further underscores the importance of exploring the unique aspects of how Black women internalize beauty standards unique to Black culture.

Music and Body Image

Much of early research on the influence of media on body image has focused on magazines, television shows, and film (Grabe et al., 2008; Tiggemann, 2003; Tiggemann & McGill, 2004). However, researchers have found a link between exposure to images in music videos and depression, anxiety, and lowered body esteem (Grabe et al., 2008; Mischner, van Schie, Wigboldus, van Baaren, & Engels, 2013).

Mischner et al. (2012) explored the effect of viewing sexually objectifying music videos on young women's body satisfaction and they also explored if participants' self-esteem moderated this effect. Sixty-two white, normal weight college women were shown a series of photos of themselves in a swimsuit where some of the pictures were altered to appear narrower or wider than the original and were asked to identify and rate their perceived body and ideal

body size. Some of the participants viewed music videos that had been coded as sexually-objectifying that included women who were curvaceously-thin and wearing revealing clothing and dancing or moving in a provocative way that catered to the male gaze, whereas participants in the control group viewed neutral music videos. Participants were then shown the same series of photos of themselves and asked to identify their body as it appears currently. Participants who had been exposed to the sexually-objectifying videos rated their bodies as larger than participants who were exposed to neutral videos in the post-test. Results also showed that not only did exposure to the sexually-objectifying images increase body image dissatisfaction, but it also increased the discrepancy between their ideal body size and perceived body size. Importantly, authors found that high self-esteem served as a protective factor for women exposed to the sexually-objectifying images as they were less likely to rate themselves any differently after being exposed to the images (Mischner et al., 2013).

The previous study is just one study in a growing body of literature that has shown how exposure to music videos can have an effect on body image satisfaction (Grabe et al., 2008, 2008; Mischner et al., 2013; Zhang et al., 2009). Similar to body image research studies that focused on various forms of media such as television and magazines, many of the subjects and images used in the study were White women. Zhang et al. (2010) addressed this issue by conducting a content analysis of rap music videos released in 2005. They found that rap videos were dominated by thin women, similar to what was observed in mainstream media. However, they found that women's body sizes in the videos varied according the content of the song used in the video—for example, political or conscious rap videos featured larger women whereas videos that focused on sex or money heavily featured women with smaller bodies. In a separate study, Zhang et al. (2009) explored the influence of rap music videos on body satisfaction using

a predominately Black sample of participants. Rap videos tend to include a larger number of Black women in their videos compared to television, print media, and film, thereby increasing the likelihood that Black women may identify and internalize these images more than they would images of non-Black women. The authors found a significant relationship between ethnic identity, exposure to thin-ideal, and body satisfaction where lower ethnic identity was related to body image dissatisfaction after exposure to the images. Participants with low levels of ethnic identity who were exposed to rap videos containing thin, Black models reported higher levels of body dissatisfaction when compared to women with high levels of ethnic identity exposed to those same videos. This finding supports the notion that ethnic identity can act as a buffer for Black women against the thin-ideal, regardless of the race of the model being viewed and that Black women with low ethnic identity may be more vulnerable to internalizing the thin-ideal standard of beauty.

Influence of music. Research has found that music can have an effect on the listener's perception, beliefs, and overall physical and mental health (Croom, 2015; Jolij & Meurs, 2011; Messner et al., 2007; Nikodym, 2013). Music has often been used in social movements to motivate, to soothe, and even to provoke (Messner et al., 2007; Nikodym, 2013). This power may lie in the rhythm, melody, percussion of the song, but, most importantly, it may lie in the lyrics. Many researchers have posited that lyrics can be a power vehicle to capture group ideals and spread those messages to other groups (Jang & Lee, 2014; Messner et al., 2007). Jang and Lee (2014) explored the power of the priming effect of lyrics on people's political opinions about the biological origins of sexual orientation. Participants who were exposed to Lady Gaga's, "Born this Way" song via visual lyrics and song audio later expressed opinions about sexual orientation similar to the message reflected in Lady Gaga's song, which further supports

the notion that song lyrics can influence a person's views. Messner et al. (2007) also acknowledged the role of music in promoting social movements when they explored the themes of 23 country music songs released during the 1960s that they categorized as hate music due to messages of White supremacy, racism, bias, and promotion of violence towards Black people and "hippies" within the lyrics. Messner et al. (2007) posited that music can be an effective vehicle for delivering messages to listeners especially those from a shared background. They went on to underscore the importance of understanding the context—both social and personal—in determining the music's message was effectively transmitted to its intended group.

Effect of rap lyrics on listener beliefs. Cundiff (2013) expanded this topic by exploring the effect that listening to rap lyrics had on listeners' views of misogynistic behavior. This study specifically examined gendered audiences' interpretation of misogynistic messages in popular rap/hip-hop songs to see if there were group differences in the effects of media content. Results of this study showed that exposure to rap lyrics were positively correlated with misogynistic thoughts or tendency to justify violence towards women. Nikodym (2013) examined the influence of rap lyrics on women's attitudes about themselves. They found that the women who were exposed to the audio recordings of rap music with objectifying lyrics were more likely to endorse self-objectifying statements when completing the Twenty Statements Test. The Twenty Statements tests asks respondents to provide responses to the question, Who Am I? In this study, the women participants in the experimental group were more likely to answer the prompt with statements that focused on their bodies than those in the control group who were exposed to neutral rap lyrics. However, these findings were not statistically significant, so the researchers replicated the study using a participant pool of all Black women. It was then, with the all-Black women participants, that a statistically significant difference emerged between groups exposed to

objectifying lyrics and those not. Nikodym (2013) also found that race emerged as a variable that effected the listening patterns, previous exposure, and rejection and/or awareness of objectifying content in the songs they heard.

Cobb and Boettcher (2007) sought to explore the effect of rap lyrics on consumer's views of sexism specifically focusing on the rapper, Eminem. Eminem generated controversy very early on in his career due to his lyrics that promoted the abuse and murder of women who he believed had wronged him. Interestingly, their study did not yield any significant results and actually found that hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes increased after listening to nonmisogynistic rap lyrics (Cobb & Boettcher, 2007). These findings suggest that listening to rap music is not a direct predictor of attitudes and that other variables, such as gender, mediate the listener's response to the content of the music.

Volgman (2014) further explored the effect of listening to rap music that contained degrading lyrics on women's self-objectification. According to her findings, there was no relationship between exposure to lyrics and body image dissatisfaction, depression, and appearance monitoring; however, further examination of participants' responses found themes of the participants' body image dissatisfaction and mood being affected by their exposure to rap music. It should be noted that participants were not exposed to the music and only asked to indicate their listening habits. Volgman's statistical findings were inconsistent with the themes that emerged from the qualitative data gleaned from participants' responses to open-ended questions about how music affects their mood. These inconsistencies in Volgman's findings support the need for more research in this area.

Why Rap Music?

Rap music, or hip-hop, first emerged in the 1970s and has been described as the voice for the marginalized made famous by Black artists (Oware, 2009). Research has noted that images of Black women have long been neglected in mainstream media and this lack of representation has also been noted in research that focuses on the influence of mainstream media on Black women's esteem. Rap music is a form of media that is often dominated by Black voices and Black stories, thus it increases the likelihood that Black women listeners will identify with the content. Reid-Brinkley (2008) highlight this finding stating that "Black women may pay particularly close attention to the representation of black women in rap lyrics and videos as it is taken to be relevant to their individual experience, but also more importantly, to their loyalty to black women's discursive communities

Award-winning movie director, Ava DuVernay stated on her Twitter account (https://twitter.com/Avaetc/status/632953219824553984, August 6, 2015) that "to be a woman who loves hip hop at times is to be in love with your abuser. Because the music was and is that. And yet the culture is ours." Her comment connotes the complicated, and often violent, relationship rap music has had with Black women. To fully understand the influence of rap, one must acknowledge its duality as both outlet and oppressor. Rap music has been called a "necessary evil" and a place of pain and redemption (J. Morgan, 2000; Wallace, 1990). Primarily because of its history of speaking for those oppressed by institutional racism, poverty, and drugs who are often silenced and ignored elsewhere. However, this same vehicle has been riddled with misogyny and objectification of women, primarily Black women for a large portion of its 40-year history. Wallace (1990), Morgan (2000), and DuVernay (2015) speak to this complicated relationship by noting the importance of rap as an art form but also acknowledging the pain that

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it has caused Black women. bell hooks characterized rap's sexism and misogyny as a rejection of ideals that attempt to stifle black men's masculinity and the resulting hypermasculinity does not always allow space for positive, healthy views of women (Wallace, 1990). What makes this duplicitous message dangerous is that because of rap's history of storytelling many internalize the lyrics as truth instead of artistic expression. Jeffries (2011) conducted interviews with 40 Black and White men who identified themselves as consumers of rap music. When asked about their perception of women in rap music, many of the interviewees responded that they believed that rappers were merely reflecting their own experiences. He also found that Black listeners identified more strongly with rap music and viewed it as an integral piece of their cultural identity. Allen (2001) explored Black identity development and came to the conclusion that strong ethnic identification acts as a "cultural shield" for Black Americans when faced with conflicting ideals (i.e. thin-ideal). It can be theorized that Black women low in ethnic identity lack that "shield" which leaves them more susceptible to the influence of beauty standards more commonly associated with White culture.

The perceived authenticity of rap lyrics adds credence to the notion that researchers need to continue to explore rap music's effect on listener attitudes and beliefs, particularly those listeners often caught in the crosshairs of the objectifying lyrics—Black women. The objectification of women in rap has not solely been at the hands of male rap artists. Oware (2009) conducted a content analysis of over forty rap songs by female rap artists and found a number of contradictory messages of self-objectification, self-degradation, and female empowerment sometimes from the same artist. Oware (2009) asserted that the demeaning messages by the female rappers completely cancel out the empowering lyrics and consequently contributes to a culture of objectification of women. Oware (2009) suggested that these

contradictory messages lead to women mimicking and further perpetuating the stereotype of hypersexualized objects who only exist for sexual pleasure.

Famed Black feminist scholar, bell hooks (1994) was asked to share her opinion about the second wave of rap, often called "gangsta rap." In her review she viewed the misogyny and hypersexualization in rap music as a reflection of a society as a whole that has benefited from patriarchy for centuries and cautioned against viewing it as an issue specific to Black people. Oware (2009), Morgan (2000), and hooks (1994) emphasize the global and historical implications of patriarchy and white-dominated spaces and its complicity in cultivating the misogyny and objectification often seen in rap music.

It is crucial to continue to study all aspects of Black women's body image dissatisfaction for better understanding of what factors act as a protectant for Black women's esteem and to address a dearth in extant literature on body image that often fails to center Black women as the focus of the study, for example not using images of Black women in the experimental manipulation or the lack of research that focuses on Black women's body image ideals A study that explores beauty ideals more commonly accepted in Black spaces can also allow for a more nuanced conversation about Black women's body image dissatisfaction.

III. Method

The purpose of the current experimental quantitative study was to examine the effect of exposure to rap lyrics containing references to the curvy ideal on Black women's body image dissatisfaction. This study explored preferences of Black women related to the curvy-ideal body type and whether exposure to curvy ideal rap lyrics causes an increase in body image dissatisfaction among Black women. This study also evaluated the extent to which ethnic identity alters the effect of exposure to rap lyrics on body image dissatisfaction. This dissertation addressed the following hypotheses:

1. Participants with higher levels of ethnic identity will place more emphasis on the importance of body parts consistent with the curvy ideal (breast, waist, hips, and butt) as measured by the Curvy Body Ideals Questionnaire (CIQ) and Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI).

2. Participants exposed to curvy ideal rap lyrics will report an increase in body image dissatisfaction.

   a. Participants exposed to curvy ideal rap lyrics will report higher levels of body image dissatisfaction on the Curvy Ideal Silhouette Scale (CIS) than participants exposed to neutral/non-curvy rap lyrics.

   b. Participants exposed to curvy ideal lyrics will report higher levels of body image dissatisfaction on the Visual Analogue Scale (VAS) after curvy-ideal exposure when compared to participants exposed to neutral/non-curvy rap lyrics.

3. Ethnic identity, as measured by the centrality and private regard scales on the MIBI, will moderate the effect of exposure to the rap songs that contain curvy ideal lyrics on body image dissatisfaction measured by the VAS.

4. Ethnic identity will moderate the effect of exposure to curvy ideal rap lyrics on the participants' endorsement of the curvy body type as ideal measured by the CIS.

This Method section describes the characteristics of the participants, how they were recruited, the settings in which they completed the study, the psychometric properties of the measures used, and the statistical methods used to analyze the data. This study examined whether there is an effect for exposure to curvy ideal lyrics on body image dissatisfaction.

Participants

Power analyses were performed with G-Power to estimate sample size for adequate power for this study (.80, p = .05). The power analysis revealed that a minimum sample size of 92 participants would be sufficient to detect the desired effect.

The investigator obtained 96 participants for this study through online recruitment using Qualtrics participant panel. The investigator used Qualtrics panel aggregator services to recruit participants. Qualtrics is a crowdsourced research platform that that allows researchers to reach large samples of potential participants while offering rewards for every study that participants complete. Separate analyses were done for the 58 participants who passed all attention checks and the 96 total participants in the study.

Potential participants to be recruited were limited to Black women from the ages of 18-34 years old who had access to audio output such as speakers or headphones. The Radio and Television Business Report (RBR) states that two-thirds of rap music consumers are between the ages of 18- and 34 years old ("Hip-Hop, Consumers and Retail Radio & Television Business Report," 2012). Thus, this sample targeted a demographic that matches consumers of rap music. By not limiting the sample to only college-aged women, it was the author's hope that the

findings would yield data that could generalize to adult Black women of various developmental stages and backgrounds.

Ninety-six participants completed the survey. Forty-eight women were randomly placed in the neutral group and 48 in the curvy group. Participants ranged from 18-34 years old with the mean age being 25 years old ($M = 25.00$ $SD = 4.71$) and all participants identified as women. Regarding race, 100% of participants identified as African American and 2.1% also identified as American Indian/Alaska Native and 4.2% also identified as White.

Development of Study Manipulation

I conducted preliminary work with 13 Black women recruited from a graduate student population between the ages of 21 to 33 years old before finalizing song selection for the study. Participants were presented with each song listed below and given the prompt, "Did this song elicit thoughts or visual images of an hourglass or curvy body type?" Participants indicated their response on a 5-point scale with 1 being *not at all* and 5 being *very much so*. Only songs that received a high average rating (at least a 4.5) were used in the curvy song category and songs with the lowest ratings were used in the neutral song category (see Table 1). The songs used for the experimental exposure within the main study appear in Appendix A. It should be noted that the songs chosen for this study were all at least seven years old to decrease the likelihood of participants hearing the song during current music rotations on the radio.

Table 1

Average Rating of Songs Used in Pilot Study

Song	Rating (*M*)	Used/Not Used
Dance by Big Sean	4.62	Used
Thicky Thick Girl by Nelly	4.51	Used
Bottom of the Bottle by Curren$y	4.06	Not Used
Shake That by Too Short	4.50	Used
Miss New Booty, by Bubba Sparxx	4.12	Not Used
Good Day by Nappy Roots	1.18	Used
The Nature by Talib Kweli	1.12	Used
Champion by Kanye West	1.22	Not Used
Sidelines by Big K.R.I.T.	1.06	Used

Note. Used/not used indicates if the song met the criteria to be included in the study. Prompt given in pilot study: Did this song elicit thoughts or visual images of an hourglass or curvy body type?

Attention Checks

To increase the quality of responses and ensure that participants were focused during the exposure and remained on the screen for the appropriate amount of time for each song to play in

its entirety several formal and informal attention checks were utilized. First, participants could not move on to the next screen until the song had played in its entirety Lastly, after listing to the song participants responded to a multiple choice question in which they selected, from among a list of words, the word heard in the preceding song (See Appendix B).

Measures

Pre-Screening Questionnaire. The *Pre-Screening Questionnaire* (see Appendix C) was be used to determine participants eligibility in the current study. Participants were asked to indicate their age, gender, and race. Responses from participants who did not meet eligibility criteria were discarded.

Visual Analog Scale- Body Satisfaction. Visual Analog Scales (VASs; See Appendix D) are psychometric assessments that are effective in measuring small, immediate changes in attitudes and subjective experiences such as pain and body image dissatisfaction (Benton & Karazsia, 2015; van den Berg & Thompson, 2007). State body image dissatisfaction was measured using the Visual Analog Scale for Body Satisfaction (VAS-BS) developed by Heinberg and Thompson to assess a respondent's overall state body satisfaction (Benton & Karazsia, 2015; Thompson et al., 1999; van den Berg & Thompson, 2007). The VAS has been shown valid in detecting small changes in body satisfaction because of its simple and rapid administration format which makes it an ideal measure for the proposed study. Additionally, the VAS has been used in several studies that evaluate the effects of media on body satisfaction after the participant has been exposed to stimuli (Benton & Karazsia, 2015; McLean, Paxton, & Wertheim, 2016; Prichard & Tiggemann, 2012).

Respondents answer a question such as, "How satisfied are you with your current body" by marking their response on a horizontal 100-mm line that is anchored by endpoints such as No

Dissatisfaction to Extremely Dissatisfied. The distance from 0 is measured in millimeters and used to indicate levels of satisfaction, where marks farthest from 0 indicate higher levels of distress/dissatisfaction. For this study, I modified the VAS in the following ways: I transformed the administration from the 100- mm horizontal line originally presented on paper to a horizontal line that runs from 0 to 100 using the "slider" function in Qualtrics, enabling digital administration. Participants answered one VAS question at both pre-and post-exposure to music lyrics, *How satisfied are you with your current body shape right at this moment,* to test the success of the experimental manipulation of exposure to music lyrics.

The VAS has received high validation criteria ratings for content, criterion, discriminant and construct validity and has large strength association/convergent validity with the Eating Disorder Inventory-Body Dissatisfaction scale, a measure often used to measure body image dissatisfaction, $r = .77$, $p < .001$, among a sample of Australian adolescent girls (McLean et al., 2016; Thompson et al., 1999). The VAS was found to be more resistant to confounds and ceiling effects and less sensitive to previous exposure than Likert-scales in measuring body image dissatisfaction (McLean et al., 2016; Thompson et al., 1999). The VAS was found to have high reliability when used to measure weight dissatisfaction across four experimental conditions in a sample of sixty-two women aged 18 to 24 years old with a reported alpha coefficients above .98 among the seven VAS items (Lopez, Drobes, Thompson, & Brandon, 2008). Similarly, in a separate study of body image dissatisfaction in a population of diverse college-aged women, the VAS showed high internal consistency when multiple items were used to assess body image dissatisfaction, $\alpha = .94$ (Brown & Tiggemann, 2016; Prichard & Tiggemann, 2012)**.** McClean et al. found that the VAS demonstrated high internal consistency across four items at both pre- and post-exposure to thin-ideal images thus supporting the measure's reliability ($\alpha = .94$, pre-

exposure; α = .94, post-exposure). It should be noted the previous studies used multiple VAS measures in their study which provided the reliability coefficient and this study utilized the single item approach.

The Curvy Ideal Silhouette Scale. The *Curvy Ideal Silhouette Scale* (CIS) is a visual scale that measures discrepancies between actual and ideal body image (Hunter, 2017) and it was used to assess curvy body image dissatisfaction in the current study. The CIS scale is a unique visual scale in comparison to more commonly used scales such as the Stunkard Figure Rating Scale, because it was developed for Black women and includes curvier figures to assess for the presence of a curvy ideal in respondents. The CIS scale is comprised of images presented on a 5x5 grid and participants are asked to choose their ideal body type first and actual body type during the second administration. The CIS curvy real-ideal discrepancy is scored by first coding the figures from 1 to 5 based on their location on the grid in reference to curviness of the figures selected. For Curvy scoring, the most left column is coded as a 1, the next column as a 2, and so in until reaching the right most column which is coded as a 5. Next, the discrepancy score is obtained by subtracting the Ideal Curvy Score from the Actual Curvy score which yields a Curvy Index, which is an index that represents the discrepancy between the respondent's perceived level of curviness and how curvy she wants to be. Although not used in this study, users can also obtain a Body Fat Index by subtracting Ideal Body Fat Score from the Actual Body Fat score. Discrepancy scores (i.e., the Curvy Index) range from -4 (the respondent desires largest possible decrease in fat and curves) to 4 (the respondent desires the largest possible increase in curves). This is a new scale, therefore psychometrics are limited, however, the CIS scale has demonstrated construct validity such as convergent validity with the Body Image Questionnaire (BIQ), discriminant validity with the Family Food Experience-Black Questionnaire (FFBQ)

Thin-ideal Scale, $r = -13$, and the Eating Disorder Examination, $r = .30$ (Hunter, 2017). It should be noted that participants in the present study were not able to select the last three images of the scale due to a software error that was not discovered until after data collection was completed.

In addition to the scoring recommended by Hunter (2017), for the purpose of this study, to examine how much individuals endorse the curvy-ideal, the individual Ideal Curvy Score was used in isolation. This is a different use of what was proposed by Hunter and therefore lacks psychometric examination. However, due to the lack of measures of clear endorsement of the curvy-ideal, this was the best available option. Additionally, the error that occurred on the Qualtrics site which caused five figures on the last row of the CIS to be unavailable for selection by participants, limits the accuracy of the results of the study.

The Curvy Ideal Silhouette Scale Body dissatisfaction and body part importance were assessed using the *Curvy Ideal Questionnaire* (CIQ). The CIQ is a trait-based measure adapted by the author based on the Body Image Ideals Questionnaire (BIQ) which was developed by Cash and Szymanski (1995) to assess the discrepancy between respondents perceived self and their ideal self. The BIQ is based on the self-discrepancy model of body satisfaction which suggests that inconsistencies between the actual self and ideal self result in behavioral, emotional, and psychological consequences such as sadness, anxiety, and/or extreme dieting. The BIQ was normed on a population of 284 female undergraduate students with modest racial/ethnic diversity—74% of the sample identified as White, 21% identified as African American and 5% identified as other (Cash & Szymanski, 1995). Cash and Szymanski (1995) reported Cronbach alphas of .75 for the Discrepancy scale and .83 for Importance scale. The BIQ has been used with college-aged and adult populations from various ethnic and racial

backgrounds and found to be a reliable and valid instrument (Cash, Jakatdar, & Williams, 2004; Jefferson & Stake, 2009; Yamamiya et al., 2005).

The BIQ assesses the following ten attributes: height, skin complexion, hair texture and thickness, facial features, muscle tone and definition, body proportions, weight, chest size, physical strength, physical coordination, and overall physical appearance. The CIQ was modified by including only those body parts most commonly identified as curvy ideal attributes—breasts, waist, hips, body proportion, buttocks—and overall physical appearance. This measure is important for this particular study because it provides information about participants' satisfaction with specific body parts, particularly those consistent with the curvy ideal, instead of only assessing overall body image dissatisfaction.

The CIQ consists of seven statements with two subsections that first asks the participants to rate the extent to which their actual physical attribute matches their ideal physical attribute (Part A) and second, asks the participant to rate the value they place on the body part or attribute (Part B). The item response choices are on a 4-point rating scale from (0) *exactly as I am* to (3) *very unlike me* for questions about the discrepancy between actual and ideal body part or attribute (Part A) and (0) *not important* to (3) *very important* for questions about the value respondents place on the body part. The CIQ follows the same scoring as the BIQ by first recoding the discrepancy ratings of -1 to 3 in Part A to avoid problems when multiplying something by 0. Next, the cross-product of the responses to Parts A and B for each item are calculated (discrepancy x importance to obtain the item score). The mean of the calculated cross products of all items is used to compute the composite score. Composite scores may range from --3 to +9 with higher scores indicating higher levels of self-ideal disparity and importance on physical attributes (Cash, 2000; Cash & Szymanski, 1995).

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI). Ethnic identity was

assessed using the *Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity* (MIBI). The MIBI was normed

on a population of 474 Black college students who attended an HBCU or a predominately white

institution (PWI), 68% of the sample were women and 32% were men (Cokley & Helm, 2001;

Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). The MIBI is based on the Multidimensional

Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) which focuses on the qualitative experience of Black identity

and proposes four components of racial identity —salience, centrality, ideology, and regard

(Sellers et al., 1997). Sellers et al. (1997) believe that race is one of many identities that Black

people possess and therefore should be assessed from a multidimensional perspective. One of the

features of the MIBI that sets it apart from previous Black racial identity models is its focus on

the respondent's experiences and self-defined, and at times situational, description of what it is to

be Black (Cokley & Helm, 2001; Sellers et al., 1997; Street et al., 2012). The MIBI measures

three of the four components of the MMRI excluding the salience factor. The MIBI consists of

56 seven-point Likert scale items with responses ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7

(*strongly agree*), where high scores indicate strong agreement with the subscale's construct. The

MIBI contains seven subscales (centrality, private regard, public regard, assimilation, humanist,

minority identity, and nationalism) however, for the purposes of this study only the private

regard and centrality items were used to measure ethnic identity (Sellers et al., 1997; Street et al.,

2012). The centrality scale consists of eight items that measure the significance of the

respondent's race to their overall identity, *In general, being Black is an important part of my*

self-image, and the private regard scale consist of six items that evaluate the respondents

personal feelings about Black people/culture and their affiliation with Blackness, for example, *I*

am proud to be Black (Caldwell, Sellers, Bernat, & Zimmerman, 2004; Rowley, Sellers,

Chavous, & Smith, 1998; Sellers et al., 1997). The developers noted that because this scale measures various dimensions of Black identity it is important that sum scores are not used, instead it is most appropriate to interpret the scale scores individually.

Reliability estimates revealed varied results, ranging from inadequate to good, with reported Cronbach alphas ranging from .55 to .79 in the original sample and Cronbach alphas ranging from .58 to .82 in subsequent studies (Sellers et al., 1997; Simmons, Worrell, & Berry, 2008; Vandiver, Worrell, & Delgado-Romero, 2009). All scales, with the exception of the private regard scale, had Cronbach alphas above .70 among both samples of students during scale development (those attending PWIs and HBCUs). Upon further analysis, the reported Cronbach alphas for the full sample were higher, ranging from .70 to .79. Despite the wide range of internal consistency in the original sample, subsequent studies reported more reliable psychometrics. The MIBI was found to be reliable in a population of Black Germans with reported Cronbach alphas of .74 for private regard scale and .85 for the Centrality scale (Wandert et al., 2009). Cokley and Vandiver (2001) also analyzed the validity of the MIBI using 279 Black students currently attending an HBCU or PWI whose ages ranged from 18 to 46 years old. The authors reported Cronbach alphas of .72 to .82, which were higher than the Cronbach alphas reported by Sellers et al. (1997) in the original sample.

Listening Patterns Questionnaire (LPQ). The *Listening Patterns Questionnaire* (LPQ; Appendix E) is a self-report measure created by the author that assesses participants' consumption of rap music by asking them to indicate the amount of rap music they listen to and note the amount of previous exposure to each song used in the study. Responses were coded so that higher scores reflected high levels of consumption of rap music and more familiarity with

the songs included in the study. This information was used to address the confounding variable of repeated previous exposure to the independent variables.

Demographics Questionnaire. The *Demographics Questionnaire* (see Appendix F) was created for this study to collect relevant information such as highest degree attained, history of cosmetic surgery, and if the participant has taken the study before. This information was used to analyze the composition of the sample.

Procedure

Participants completed all measures on the Qualtrics platform by responding to a link that they received via email sent by Qualtrics or by self-selecting into the study via other recruitment efforts controlled by Qualtrics and agreed to during the establishment of their account. Upon linking to survey in Qualtrics, prospective participants saw an information letter (Appendix G) which provided information for informed consent, including that continuing onto the study constituted provision of consent. To limit the knowledge participants had about the study hypotheses, the information provided about the purpose of the study for informed consent stated that the purpose of the study was to understand listening habits of Black women. The information letter included the author's host institution and a description of the study's inclusion criteria that related to age, race, gender, and hearing accessibility.

If participants met the criteria and agreed to participate, they were directed to a page that tested their sound input by playing the sound of a bell chiming. The participant was asked to indicate if they heard a sound which ensured their audio output functioned properly. After a positive test for sound, participants answered three pre-screen questions to confirm race and gender, then responded to the pre-test of the VAS used for this study. Next, they were randomly

assigned to one of two conditions (i.e., curvy lyrics, neutral lyrics). Participants listened to the songs for their assigned condition.

The experimental and control groups were exposed to different songs. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the two groups using the Randomizer option on Qualtrics: Condition A in which the experimental group listened to the curvy-ideal rap songs— "Dance," "Thicky Thick Girls," and "Shake That," or Condition B in which the control group listened to neutral rap songs—"Champion," "Good Day," and "The Nature." The songs for the control group were labeled as neutral songs because they did not reference women's bodies in the lyrics, and they received the lowest ratings in the pilot study. The entirety of each song was played via an embedded video on Qualtrics.

Participants received instructions to listen to each song in its entirety and proceed to the next item when the song finished. Participants listened to the three rap songs for approximately three minutes per song. The *next* button was hidden for the duration of each song and reappeared only at the end of the song to ensure that participants listened to the entirety of each song before proceeding to the next item. Participants were also asked to answer a question about lyrics in each song, this served as an additional attention check. Those who answered any of the questions incorrectly were not included in some analyses (results indicate when the sample is comprised of participants who passed the attention checks). After listening to the appropriate songs for their assigned group, participants responded to the VAS, CIS, CIQ, MIBI, the Listening Patterns Questionnaire (LPQ), and the Demographics Questionnaire. The Listening Patterns Questionnaire was only used to extract data about the participants' history of listening to rap music and to document any previous exposure to songs used in study.

Analyses

Because of the number of participants who failed at least one attention check, I ran all analyses on the full sample and the sample of participants comprised solely of those who passed the attention checks. For the first hypothesis regarding the relationship between ethnic identity and the importance Black women place on body parts that are consistent with the curvy body type, a regression analysis was conducted to determine if ethnic identity had any bearing on the emphasis placed on body parts relevant to the curvy-ideal. For the second hypothesis, I evaluated the first sub-hypothesis with a t-test comparing scores on the CIS between those exposed to curvy lyrics and those exposed to neutral lyrics. For the second part of Hypothesis 2, I performed an ANCOVA to examine the effects of song exposure on the VAS ratings for all participants and again for those who passed the attention checks. Lastly, I ran separate hierarchical regression analyses, regressing scores from the VAS and the modified CIS on the experimental condition, curvy-ideal rap lyrics vs. neutral lyrics, and moderator (i.e., ethnic identity). These analyses determined the influence of pre-exposure body image dissatisfaction, ethnic identity, song group exposure, and lastly, song group and ethnic identity interaction on post exposure body image dissatisfaction as measured by the VAS and CIS.

IV. RESULTS

Overview

Prior to conducting the final analyses, all the variables were examined through SPSS software for accuracy of data upload from Qualtrics, missing values, normality of distribution, and outliers. No cases were found to have any outliers; however, two participants failed the sound check; thus, their responses were not included in the final analyses. Descriptive statistics, means, and standard deviations were examined for all measures in this study and can be found in Tables 1 and 2. The average level of body image dissatisfaction was fairly high pre-exposure in both neutral (M = 52.5) and curvy groups (M = 43.35).

Estimates of reliability were examined for all measures in the study. Cronbach's alphas for the Centrality scale was .57 for participants who passed attention checks and .60 for all participants, which is considered a questionable rating of internal consistency. Cronbach's alpha for the Private scale for all participants was .74, and was .72 for participants who passed the attention checks. The Cronbach's alpha for the Curvy Ideal Questionnaire was .80 for all participants and was .79 for participants who passed the attention checks.

Test of Research Hypotheses

In the section that follows the hypotheses are stated followed by the reporting of the results for each hypothesis

Hypothesis 1: Participants with higher levels of ethnic identity will place more emphasis on the importance of body parts consistent with the curvy ideal (i.e., breast, waist, hips, and butt) as measured by the Curvy Body Ideals Questionnaire (CIQ) and the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI).

A multiple regression analysis was conducted with CIQ scores regressed on two dimensions of ethnic identity (i.e., private regard and centrality). There was no significant relationship between ethnic identity, $R^2 = .04$, $F(2,91) = 1.74$, $p = .180$, as measured by Private Regard, $\beta = .21$, $p = .134$, and Centrality, $\beta = -.03$, $p = .822$, and the curvy ideal; therefore, this hypothesis was unsupported. A separate regression analysis was conducted on those participants who passed the attention checks. Together, the two aspects of ethnic identity did not explain a significant amount of variance in CIQ scores, $R^2 = .06$, $F(2,55) = 1.68$, $p = .195$, as measured by Private Regard, $\beta = .28$, $p = .118$, and Centrality, $\beta = -.38$, $p = .706$.

Hypothesis 2: Participants exposed to curvy ideal rap lyrics will report an increase in body image dissatisfaction.

H2a. Participants exposed to curvy ideal rap lyrics will report higher levels of body image dissatisfaction on the Curvy Ideal Silhouette Scale (CIS) than participants exposed to neutral/non-curvy rap lyrics.

Using a t-test with all participants (regardless of performance on the attention checks), I compared scores on the CIS for those exposed to the curvy lyrics compared to those exposed to the neutral lyrics. There was no significant effect for song group on the CIS, $t(94) = -0.08$, $p = .937$. Thus, this sub-hypothesis was not supportedwith this analysis. Using the same approach and only participants who passed the attention checks, I compared scores on the CIS for those exposed to the curvy lyrics to those exposed to the neutral lyrics. Here too, there was no significant effect for song group on the CIS, $t(56) = 0.26$, $p = .777$. Thus, this sub-hypothesis was not supported with this analysis

H2b. H2a. Participants exposed to curvy ideal rap lyrics would report higher levels of

body image dissatisfaction on the Curvy Ideal Silhouette Scale (CIS) than participants exposed

to neutral/non-curvy rap lyrics.

Using an ANCOVA, the effect of song group on VAS scores was examined after

controlling for pre-exposure VAS scores. For all participants (regardless of attention), there was

no significant effect for song group on body image dissatisfaction as measured by the VAS,

$F(1,93) = 0.16$, $p = .693$. Similarly, there was no significant effect when including only those

who passed the attention checks, $F(1,56) = 0.59$ $p = .447$.

Hypothesis 3: Ethnic identity, as measured by the centrality and private regard scales on

the MIBI, will moderate the effect of exposure to the rap songs that contain curvy ideal lyrics on

body image dissatisfaction measured by the VAS.

Correlational and hierarchical regression analyses were conducted with all participants to

examine the relationship between song group and body image dissatisfaction as a function of

ethnic identity (i.e., centrality and private regard). Pre-exposure body dissatisfaction was entered

in Step 1 and explained 40.9% ($p < .001$) of the variance in post-exposure body dissatisfaction.

Adding ethnic identity centrality and ethnic identity private regard to the model in Step 2

accounted for an addition 0.7% ($p = .591$) of the variance in post-exposure body dissatisfaction,

such that adding ethnic identity to the regression model did not significantly increase the amount

of variance accounted for in body image dissatisfaction after exposure to song type.

In Step 3, exposure to song type was added, which did not significantly increase the

variance in post-exposure body image dissatisfaction explained by the regression model,

accounting for only an additional 0.4% of variance, $p = .411$. Finally, adding interactions

between song type and ethnic identity in Step 4 did not significantly increase the amount of

variance in post-exposure body dissatisfaction explained by the regression model with the interactions accounting for only 0.5% additional variance, $p = .673$. Table 3 contains the unique variance in post-exposure body dissatisfaction explained by each variable added to the regression model. Thus, the hypothesis was not supported when examining the effect of song group among all participants.

For those participants who passed the attention checks, pre-exposure body image dissatisfaction (i.e., pre-exposure VAS scores) explained a significant amount of variance in post-exposure body dissatisfaction, $R^2 = .57, p < .001$. Adding ethnic identity as measured by the private regard and centrality subscales to the model did not produce a significant change in variance in body dissatisfaction explained by the model, $R^2\Delta = .03, p = .063$. It is important to note that the p value of the beta weights suggest that they were both unique predictors but not quite enough to tip the overall model; had there been a larger sample, the findings might have been significant. The variables both showed a relationship once you controlled for BID before exposure, but together they did not explain a significant amount of variance. Similarly, adding the song group to the regression model in the third step did not explain a significant amount of additional variance in body dissatisfaction, $R^2\Delta = .01, p = .372$. However, adding the interaction terms between song group and ethnic identity produced a significant increase in the variance in body dissatisfaction explained by the regression model, $R^2\Delta = .04, p = .027$. Analysis of the β values indicated that the centrality subscale moderated the effect of song group on post-exposure VAS scores for those who passed the attention checks (see Table 4).

To better understand the significant interaction between exposure to curvy song lyrics and ethnic identity centrality on VAS scores (after controlling for pre-exposure VAS scores) among participants who demonstrated good attention, I examined the simple slopes. When

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examining the group of individuals exposed to curvy ideal rap lyrics, higher centrality scores corresponded with higher body dissatisfaction scores, $B = 17.10$, $t = 3.38$, $p = .001$ (see Figure 1). However, for individuals in the group exposed to neutral song lyrics, the slope of the line representing the relationship between centrality scores and body dissatisfaction was not significantly different from 0, $B = 1.60$, $t = 0.40$, $p = .690$. In other words, only when exposed to curvy ideal rap lyrics did higher centrality relate to greater body dissatisfaction.

Hypothesis 4: Ethnic identity will moderate the effect of exposure to curvy ideal rap lyrics on the participants' endorsement of the curvy-ideal body type as measured by the Curvy Ideal Scale (CIS).

Hypothesis 4 was evaluated using a hierarchical regression analysis (see Table 5 for regression coefficients). In the first step of the model using all participants, CIS scores were regressed on ethnic identity (i.e., private regard and centrality subscales). Ethnic identity was found to predict CIS scores, $R^2 = .09$, $p = .021$. Adding the song group in the second step of the regression model did not significantly increase the variance in CIS scores explained by the model, $R^2\Delta = .00$, $p = .608$. Finally, adding the interaction terms in the third step of the regression model also did not significantly increase the variance in CIS scores explained by the regression model, $R^2\Delta = .01$, $p = .575$.

For those participants who passed attention checks, when I regressed CIS scores on ethnic identity in Step 1 of a hierarchical regression, the subscales of private regard and centrality, together, explained a significant amount of variance in CIS scores, $R^2 = .13$, $p = .023$ (see Table 6 for regression coefficients). Adding song group in step 2, did not change the variance in CIS scores explained in the regression model, $R^2\Delta = .00$, $p = .973$. Finally, adding the interaction terms to the regression model also did not increase the variance explained by the

regression model, $R^2\Delta = .03$, $p = .210$. As such, ethnic identity was not found to be a moderator of the effects of exposure to curvy ideal rap lyrics on the CIS.

In sum, for Hypothesis 4, ethnic identity did not moderate the effects of song lyrics on CIS scores nor did body image dissatisfaction related to the curvy ideal differ as a function of the song lyrics to which participants were exposed. However, ethnic identity was related to greater dissatisfaction with body image related to the curvy ideal.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for all Participants

Scale	Neutral (*n* = 48)	SD	Curvy (*n* = 48)	SD	Total	*SD*
CIQ	1.82	1.86	2.25	2.01	3.15	1.33
CIS	0.48	1.23	0.50	1.35	0.48	1.28
VAS – Pre-exposure	52.25	28.34	43.37	30.27	47.81	29.51
VAS – Post-exposure	52.89	32.80	42.64	28.86	47.77	31.16
Centrality	13.52	8.77	10.33	8.13	11.92	8.56
Private Regard	21.85	7.50	20.56	8.14	21.20	7.81

Note. CIQ = Curvy Ideal Questionnaire, CIS = Curvy Ideal Silhouette Scale, VAS = Visual Analog Scale. There were no significant differences in means between neutral and curvy groups.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Participants Who Passed Attention Checks

Scale	Neutral (*n* = 36)	*SD*	Curvy (n = 22)	*SD*	Total (*n* = 58)	*SD*
CIQ	0.58	1.27	0.68	1.28	0.62	1.26
VAS - Pre	39.36	28.36	51.86	33.11	44.10	30.88
VAS - Post	42.16	29.61	50.63	35.59	45.37	31.96
CIS - Pre	3.30	1.23	3.22	1.30	3.27	1.25
CIS - Post	2.72	1.32	2.54	1.26	2.65	1.29
Centrality	11.16	8.32	13.86	8.50	12.18	8.42
Private Regard	21.52	7.63	21.95	7.87	21.68	7.65

Note. CIQ = Curvy Ideal Questionnaire, CIS = Curvy Ideal Silhouette Scale, VAS = Visual Analog Scale. There were no significant differences on scores between neutral and curvy groups.

Table 3

Regression Coefficients for Interaction between Song Group and Ethnic Identity in Predicting
Post-Exposure Body Dissatisfaction among All Participants on Visual Analog Scale (N = 96)

Variable	B	*SE B*	β	*p*	*sr*
Step 1					
Pre-exposure body satisfaction	0.67	.08	.63	<.001	.63
Step 2					
Centrality	2.47	3.25	.09	.449	.06
Private Regard	-2.75	2.68	-.11	.208	-.08
Step 3					
Song	4.25	5.15	.07	.411	.06
Step 4					
SGX Centrality	5.04	6.75	.13	.457	.06
SGXPrivate Regard	-4.88	5.60	-.13	.509	-.05

Note. SG = Song group.

Table 4

Regression Coefficients for Interaction between Song Group and Ethnic Identity in Predicting Post-Exposure Body Dissatisfaction among Participants Passing Attention Checks on Visual Analog Scale (n = 58)

Variable	B	SE B	β	p-value	sr
Step 1					
VAS Pre-exposure body satisfaction	0.83	0.08	.81	<.000	.81
Step 2					
Centrality	6.67	3.18	.22	.041	.16
Private Regard	-5.85	2.56	-.23	.026	-.17
Step 3					
Song	-4.71	5.22	-.07	.372	-.07
Step 4					
SGX Centrality	15.50	6.42	.32	.019	.17
SGX Private Regard	-3.42	5.15	-.09	.509	-.05

Note. SG = Song Group. Centrality had a unique effect on predicting body dissatisfaction when added to the model.
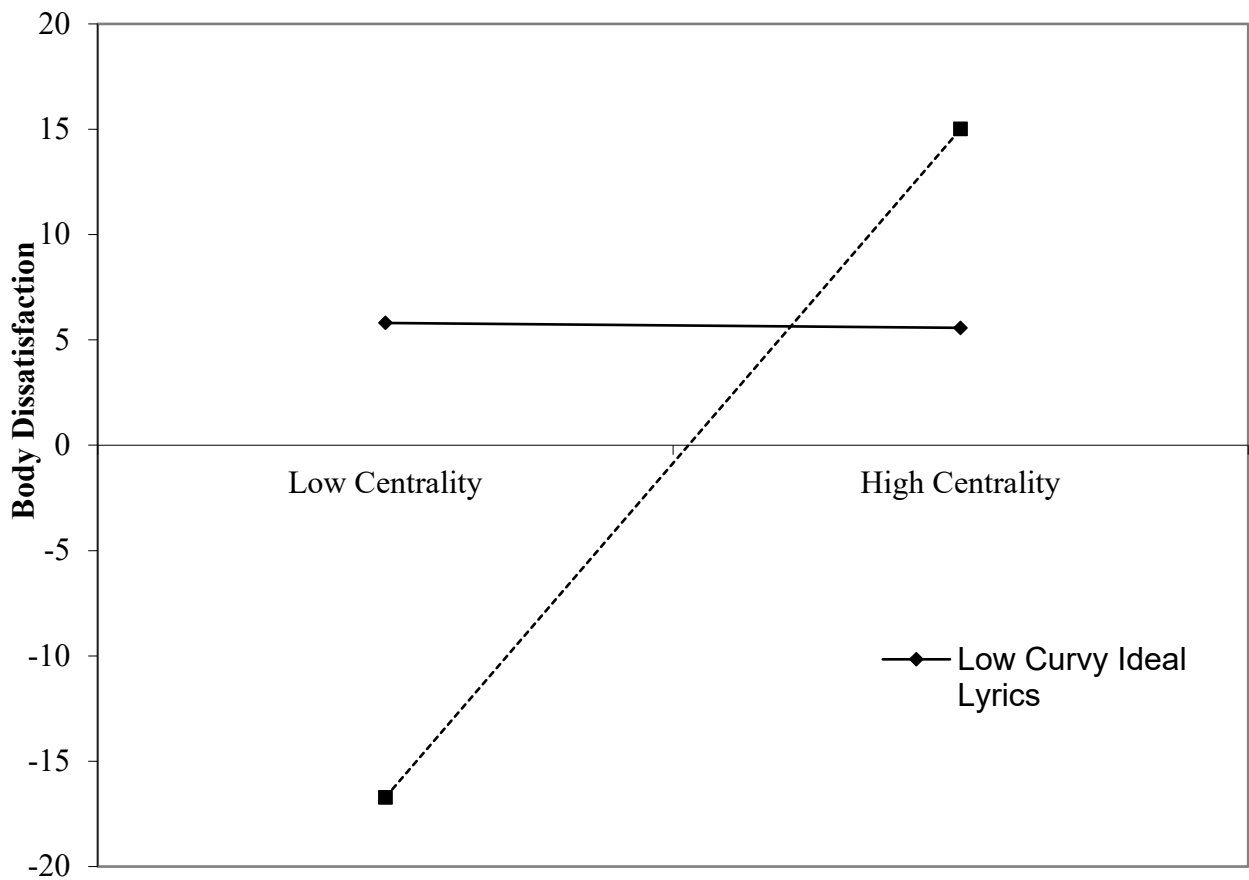
Figure 1. Interaction between ethnic identity (EI) centrality and exposure to curvy lyrics on body image dissatisfaction. Higher levels of EI positively correlated with higher ratings of body image dissatisfaction.

Table 5

Regression Coefficients for Interaction between Song Group and Ethnic Identity in Predicting
Body Dissatisfaction on the CIS among All Participants ($N = 96$)

Variable	B	*SE B*	β	*p-value*	*sr*
Step 1					
Centrality	0.20	0.16	.16	.248	.11
Private Regard	0.14	0.13	.14	.303	.09
Step 2	-0.13	0.26	-.05	.608	-.05
Song Group					
Step 3					
SG X Centrality	0.34	0.34	.20	.330	.09
SG X Private Regard	-0.27	0.28	-.18	.337	-.09

Note. SG = Song group

Table 6

Regression Coefficients for Interaction between Song Group and Ethnic Identity in Predicting
Body Dissatisfaction on the CIS among Participants Passing Attention Checks (n = 56)

Variable	B	*SE B*	β	*p-value*	*sr*
Step 1					
Centrality	0.29	0.20	.24	.154	.18
Private Regard	0.15	0.16	.14	.392	.10
Step 2	-0.01	0.33	-.00	.973	-.00
Song Group					
Step 3					
SG X Centrality	-0.40	0.31	-.20	.210	.16

Note. SG = Song group

IV. Discussion

Meaning and Interpretation of Findings

The purpose of my study was to examine the influence of curvy ideal rap lyrics on body image dissatisfaction and to investigate if ethnic identity moderated the effects of that exposure. This study explored the influence of curvy ideal rap lyrics on body satisfaction and how ethnic identity influenced that relationship. One significant finding from this study was that ethnic identity was related to body dissatisfaction for those with good attention who were exposed to curvy ideal rap lyrics. Although not the focus of this study, an interesting finding, consistent with prior research with samples predominantly comprised of White women, was that body image dissatisfaction ratings before exposure explained substantial variance in participants' body dissatisfaction ratings after exposure to songs, regardless of song group or levels of ethnic identity. None of the other hypotheses were supported.

Thus far, few studies have focused on levels of body dissatisfaction among Black women with a focus on a curvy body as the ideal body type (Grabe & Hyde, 2006; Overstreet et al., 2010; Sanderson et al., 2013). Previous research has identified the role of media exposure on body image dissatisfaction; however, few have focused on the influence of rap lyrics on Black women's body image dissatisfaction (Cundiff, 2013; Dixon, Yuanyuan Zhang, & Conrad, 2009; Thompson & Heinberg, 1999).

Many researchers have suggested that Black women are less likely to experience body image dissatisfaction compared to White women (Jefferson & Stake, 2009; Overstreet, Quinn, & Agocha, 2010; Zhang et al., 2009). However, some of these findings have been called into question through experimental studies and meta-analyses which found little to no difference in reports of body image dissatisfaction among Black women and non-Black women (Caldwell et

al., 1997; Grabe & Hyde, 2006). As a result of these conflicting findings, researchers called for more studies to examine body image dissatisfaction among Black women and championed the inclusion of studies that used culturally relevant variables in the experimental design (e.g., images of Black women).

Body image research has posited contradictory messages about the role of ethnic identity in protecting women from body image dissatisfaction. Previous studies suggest that ethnic identity acted as a protective factor against thin-ideal body type for Black women, however other studies purport that high levels of ethnic identity do not automatically protect or buffer participants from endorsing body image dissatisfaction (Dittmar, 2009; Grabe & Hyde, 2006; Greenwood & Cin, 2012; Guan et al., 2012; Kashubeck-West et al., 2013; Rogers et al., 2010). Furthermore, the findings from Capodilupo's (2015) study, which focused on participants' endorsement of culturally-relevant beauty ideals, found that ethnic identity predicted more body image dissatisfaction in Black women (Capodilupo, 2015). Capodilupo (2015) reported that Black women with high levels of internalization of beauty ideals commonly endorsed in Black culture had higher ratings of body image dissatisfaction compared to Black women with lower levels of internalization. Given the results of the aforementioned study and the findings of the current study, it is possible that ethnic identity may not act as a protective factor, but more of a liability for Black women, particularly when it pertains to a drive for the curvy ideal. Many of the earlier studies that examined the role of ethnic identity, only focused on the thin-ideal, thus limiting the scope and generalizability of their findings for Black women.

The results of this study found that body image dissatisfaction increased significantly for those participants with greater levels of ethnic identity who were also exposed to curvy ideal lyrics, however, this was only true for those participants who demonstrated good attention by

passing all attention checks and after controlling for pre-exposure levels of body image dissatisfaction. Song group (neutral vs. curvy lyrics) and the participants' ethnic identity accounted for a significant increase in variance in participants' post-exposure ratings of body satisfaction. Interestingly, participants with higher levels of centrality, which is a construct that measures how important a person's race is to their overall self-concept, were more likely to experience higher levels of body dissatisfaction after exposure to curvy ideal lyrics than those participants with lower ratings of centrality. This is not surprising considering one can reason that the closer a person identifies with their culture the more they would want to attain the physical standards that are deemed desirable within that culture. Furthermore, according to cultivation theory (Potter, 2014), repeated exposure to media images influence our belief systems, therefore those who have high levels of ethnic identity may be more susceptible to the influence of media messages that confirm pre-existing beliefs. Although many previous body image researchers suggested that ethnic identity protects Black women from the influences of messages in the media that promote unrealistic body types (Capodilupo, 2015; Rogers et al., 2010; Zhang et al., 2009), this particular finding presents a counter argument that ethnic identity may only be a protective factor from messages that promote a thin-ideal, particularly for Black women.

Because persons with high level of ethnic identity may have personal beliefs about curvy body types consistent with those that are endorsed within Black culture, they may be more susceptible to higher self-monitoring after exposure to stimuli that promote those ideals (Bennett & Dickerson, 2001; Overstreet et al., 20-10; Sabik et al., 2010; Sanderson et al., 2013). This explanation is supported by one aspect of the social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954), which asserts that people are more likely to evaluate themselves in comparison to people who look like

them and research has found that a greater tendency towards social comparison being positively related to higher levels of body dissatisfaction (Myers & Crowther, 2009). Interestingly, this finding was not replicated on the trait-based scale of body image dissatisfaction used in this study, the CIS. This could be explained by the VAS's reputation for being more sensitive to detecting change than other scales (McLean et al., 2016; Thompson et al., 1999), thus detecting changes the CIS did not. It should also be noted that the last row of figures on the CIS were not able to be selected by participants due to an error that was not detected until after the completion of the study, therefore these findings should be interpreted with caution. These results add credence to the need for more body image research that focuses on more than just the thin-ideal as aspirational, particularly for ethnic and racial minorities, but also research that examines the complex relationship between ethnic identity and body image dissatisfaction.

Ethnic identity and the curvy ideal. I theorized that women with higher levels of ethnic identity would also place a higher value on parts of the body often promoted within the curvy ideal (breasts, small waist, hips, and butt) for this study. This hypothesis was not supported, suggesting that ethnic identity did not have an effect on body type ideals for the participants in this study as measured by the CIQ. It could be argued that participants placed higher value on aspects of appearance not measured by the CIQ such as body shape, which is consistent with what some researchers have found regarding Black women's body ideals (Awad et al., 2015; Hendley, 2011; Kashubeck-West et al., 2013; Singh, 1994). It is also possible that a relationship between ethnic identity and a desire for curvy ideal body parts does not exist among this group of participants. One post-hoc explanation may be the study design itself; specifically, the measures used may not have accurately captured participants' most valued body parts. The CIQ was modified from the Cash and Szymanski's (1995) BIQ which had been proven to be a reliable

instrument. Stewart et al. (2012) addressed the issue of the lack of measures normed on diverse populations and the potential psychometric issue that arise when modifying measures to better fit diverse populations. They noted that making significant modifications to existing measures may weaken the strength of said measure and offered recommendations to address this concern, one being conducting a pilot study using the modified measure with a small sample of the target population. The researchers also noted the dearth of research on modifying measures for use with diverse populations (Stewart, Thrasher, Goldberg, & Shea, 2012). It is possible that some of the sound psychometric properties of the BIQ were compromised when the measure was modified to meet the needs of this study, resulting in non-significant results.

Black feminist scholars such as hooks (1992,1994), Collins (1991), Morgan (2000), and Reid-Barkley (2008) have addressed the complicated and sometimes conflicting relationship between Black women and hip hop noting that Black women are often ignored, objectified, and disrespected in the male-dominated genre. hooks famously coined the term 'oppositional gaze' in her analysis of white cinema to define an attitude of rebellion for Black people who were often punished for looking, or gazing, at White people in the 19th and early 20th century. The oppositional gaze also reflected Black women's rejection of harmful images in the media and to capture how Black women reclaimed ownership of their bodies and representation in a time where Hollywood either ignored Black women in their films or presented them in stereotypical and racist caricatures (hooks, 1992). hooks (1992) interviewed Black women about their subjective experiences when confronted with harmful representations in film and many noted that "to experience foully the pleasure of that cinema they had to close down critique, analysis; they had to forget racism. And mostly they did not think about sexism" (bell, 1992, p. 120). This intentional forgetting in order to enjoy the art echoes Ava Duvernay's sentiment where she

compared being a fan of hip-hop as a woman to being in love with your abuser. Both comments underscore an awareness of potentially harmful messaging in the artform but also a need to simultaneously ignore the harmful nature of the message to simply enjoy the art. Perhaps this intentional ignoring also occurred in the participants in this study which would explain why exposure to curvy song lyrics had little to no significant effect on most of the participants.

Media Exposure. The present study predicted that women exposed to curvy ideal rap lyrics would report an increase in body image dissatisfaction post-exposure. This hypothesis was not supported. One possible explanation is that the amount of time participants were exposed to the curvy ideal rap lyrics was not sufficient to produce a change in beliefs about one's body. Research varies in regard to exposure times and even the types of exposure (auditory verses visual) determined to be most effective in producing a desired effect in the participant. Cobb and Boetcher (2007) and Nikodym (2013) both explored the relationship between exposure to music lyrics and attitudes and exposed their participants to one song, ranging from three to four minutes, and found significant results. Greitemeyer, Hollandale, Traut-Mattausch (2015) postulated that exposure to songs with positive lyrics about women would increase the likelihood of the participant having positive attitudes towards women post-exposure to lyrics. For their study, participants listened to two songs, and results suggested that "proequality" lyrics had a significant effect on participant attitudes. In another exposure study, Carpentier, Knobloch-Westerwick, Blumhoff (2007) exposed their participants to four songs totaling 14 minutes in their study analyzing the influence of pop music with high sexual content on listeners' partner preferences and found that song exposure predicted how participants rated the attractiveness of potential partners. Thus, it could be surmised that there is no definitive amount of time that will guarantee a priming effect and more research is needed in this area. It also important to note the

different ways that audio and visual media exposure prime a subject. Lennings and Warburton (2011) conducted a study to determine if violent visual stimuli and violent auditory stimuli affected participants' levels of aggression differently. For their study, participants were placed into one of four conditions that included listening to music with or without lyrics or music with or without an accompanying video. Researchers found the condition that had the strongest effect was the music with lyric condition. These findings lend support to the notion that lyrics can have an effect on a participant's attitude while also supporting the need for additional research that further analyzes how lyrical content affects this relationship (violent content vs sexual content). Although efforts were made to reduce the potential confound of previous exposure to the songs in the study (i.e., Listening Patterns Questionnaire, using songs that were at least seven years old), it is still possible that participants' previous exposure to the songs may have interfered with the effect of the song's lyrics on their levels of body dissatisfaction, even if that previous exposure was minimal. Using previously released music in the study presented a challenge that can be explained by the mere-exposure effect. The mere-exposure effect occurs when repeated exposure to a stimulus increases the likelihood of a person responding favorably to said stimulus (Brentar, Neundorf, & Armstrong, 1994; Zajonc, 2001). The mere-exposure effect is also known as the familiarity effect due to the various ways familiarity can affect listener's experiences of a stimulus (Brenter et al., 1994). For this study, participants' familiarity with the rap songs presents a possible confounding variable in that the listener's existing memories or meanings attached to the song possiby interfering with the song's influence on their body image dissatisfaction.

The usage of audio exposure in this study presented several challenges in terms of research design. First, because participants completed the study online there were significant

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limitations placed ensuring the participant was not engaged in other activities while completing the study. Second, despite using attention checks throughout the study, this study did not measure internalization or interpretation of the songs the participants were exposed to. This information may have provided more insight into how the songs influenced or did not influence thoughts about the participants body dissatisfaction. Interestingly there was a high level of body image dissatisfaction present in the sample prior to exposure to the songs.. This finding also challenges the large body of research that asserts Black women have higher rates of body image satisfaction. Additionally, if the starting point of body dissatisfaction was already elevated prior to exposure then it raises a question of how much of an influence can listening to curvy ideal music have on a sample that is already displeased with their bodies.

The results of this study did not support the prediction that exposure to curvy ideal song lyrics would significantly and negatively influence body image dissatisfaction for participants or that those with higher levels of ethnic identity would place more emphasis on body parts consistent with the curvy ideal. However, there was some evidence supporting the hypothesis that ethnic identity moderated the effect of exposure to those curvy ideal lyrics on body image dissatisfaction—as ethnic identity increased so did levels of body image dissatisfaction. This finding counters a long-held belief in most research about ethnic identity that touted it as a protective factor, thus more exploration is needed in this area.

Limitations

Although the author took steps to strengthen the design of the study wherever feasible, (e.g., using randomization in participant assignment to condition, embedding attention checks in the study, etc.), the findings of this study must be seen in the light of some limitations. Even though the study met the minimum number of participants suggested by G- Power analysis, a

larger sample size would have increased the probability of finding any significant differences which might exist between groups. As noted in the results section, the p value of the beta weights suggested that ethnic identity was a unique predictor of body dissatisfaction, but it was not enough to influence the overall model. It is possible that a larger sample may have produced significant results in this area. Also, of importance to note, only 58 of the participants in the study passed all attention checks, thereby limiting the generalizability of findings.

Several attention checks within the present study were questions about the lyrical content of the song and followed immediately after the participant was exposed to the song. Although many participants failed one or more checks, it does not mean they were not listening to the song being played in the study. The study included additional design strategies to ensure as best as possible that the participant listened to each song. Participants were not able to skip songs or move to the next screen until the song was played in its entirety. One possible explanation for this high fail number is that participants may have misheard the lyric while others may have been distracted. However, just because some participants may have been distracted during the exposure to the audio it does not mean that their behavior is dissimilar to how many listeners consume music in real world settings.

In a recent study of listener behaviors, Nielsen (2018) reported that most hip-hop/rap consumers listen to about 38 hours of hip-hop/rap per week. This averages to about five hours per day of listening to music. It is unlikely that these five hours are completed sitting in a stationary spot; therefore, one can surmise that consumers are listening to music while completing other tasks. In regard to how consumers listened to music, researchers found that most consumers used their cell phones to access music at a rate significantly higher than the usage of a desktop computer, a laptop, and car radio/audio (Delmonte, 2018). Based on these

findings, one could theorize that if Americans consume two and a half to five hours of music a day primarily using their cell phone, then it is likely that they are also participating in other activities while listening. Therefore, the possibility that some of the participants were distracted does not invalidate their responses completely. Additional research is needed on how a person's environment and level of distractedness while listening to music affect one's internalization of the messages in the song.

This study could have been improved by using a more psychometrically sound measurement of ethnic identity. As previously stated, the MIBI's Cronbach alphas ranged from .70 to .79 for the centrality scale and .85 for the private regard scale in previous research. Unfortunately, the Cronbach's alpha for the Centrality scale in this study did not meet traditionally determined cutoffs (a = .57) of reliability. However, some researchers have cautioned against the use of relying on traditional cutoffs for racial and gender minorities (Green, Chen, Helms, & Henze, 2011). Green et al. (2011) encouraged researchers to view reliability coefficients as representation of the participants responses instead of automatically assuming the value is a definitive measure of reliability.

Additionally, this study could have benefited from more participant exposure to curvy ideal songs. Previous research on the influence of media, such as music lyrics or music videos, on implicit attitudes or beliefs, exposed participants to the stimulus for at least fifteen minutes or collected data at multiple time points (Cundiff, 2013; Nikodym, 2013; Volgman 2014). Although some researchers were able to demonstrate significant effects using only one song in their design (Cobb & Boettcher, 2007; Jang & Lee, 2014), increasing exposure time or having multiple listening sessions spread over time would be more reflective to how listeners typically consume music. This author also used a measure with limited psychometric properties, the Curvy Ideal

Silhouette Scale because of the lack of scales that measured curviness in the body image literature. Lastly, the dearth of previous research on Black women's body image dissatisfaction, rap lyrics, and ethnic identity presented a challenge in finding relevant research studies that addressed my research questions. The few studies that explored rap music and Black women focused on perceived sexual objectification and/or misogynistic attitudes in listeners (Cundiff, 2013; Dixon et al., 2009; Nikodym, 2013) or drive for the thin-ideal (Zhang et al., 2009, 2010) or did not focus solely on Black women.

It should be noted that all songs used in this study were performed by male artists to avoid any possible confounds of listeners interpreting curvy-ideal content as empowering and to mirror the fact that hip hop is predominated by men. Failing to include women artists in the study further limited the generalizability of the results. The inclusion of women artists could have provided interesting information about how gender of the artists affected the internalization and influence of lyrics heard by the participant.

Future Considerations

Previous scholarship has often posited that Black women may experience less body image disturbances than White women, however, future research can benefit from exploring the nuances of Black women's body image by exploring the different body types that are held in esteem by Black women and by including culturally relevant variables in those studies (i.e., music, images, scales reflective of Black women). The limitations and scarcity of similar studies in existing literature point to the need for further research in this area. Further investigation may provide more support on other contributors to Black women's body image dissatisfaction as well as the factors that protect them from negative messages found in media. Interestingly, this author only found an effect between song group and ethnic identity when including those who paid

good attention and after controlling for initial levels of body dissatisfaction. This finding could be a suppression effect where ethnic identity or song group is incorrectly interpreted as having an effect on body image dissatisfaction when there may be a separate confounding variable (e.g., self-esteem, internalization of message in lyrics) responsible for the effect.

The average age of the women in this study was 25-years old. It is fair to hypothesize that a younger sample may have elicited different results as identities and self-concept are still being developed in the early stages of emerging adulthood (Robins & Trzesniewski, 2005). One could assert that an older population would be less susceptible to messages from the media because they have a more stable sense of self therby allowing them to combat negative messages in rap music. Future research would benefit from having a sample of women from a more varied age range to assess for the effect of age on post-exposure body image dissatisfaction.

An interesting outcome of this study was the challenge of the long-held assertion in body image research that ethnic identity acts as a protective factor for Black women against body image dissatisfaction. The findings of this study add credence to the idea that ethnic identity may only be protective from European standards of beauty may even act as a risk factor for internalizing unrealistic body ideals promoted within Black culture. As a result, future research in this area should focus on the various ways ethnic identity effects Black women's body esteem. It is imperative that future research on body image focuses on Black women, and not just in comparison studies to other races of women. With more knowledge about the nuances of Black identity and body image and the psychological effects of culturally relevant media on body dissatisfaction, then we ensure that Black women aren't treated as afterthoughts in body image research and treatment. This data would be helpful in identifying Black women who may be at risk of developing disordered eating or engaging in harmful practices like corset/waist-training

which has been shown to cause damage to internal organs (Overstreet et al., 2010; Viladrich et al., 2009). This study did not measure psychological distress in participants. It would be helpful if future research explored the connection between exposure, body image dissatisfaction and distress since dissatisfaction does not always cause distress (Duchesne et al., 2017, Johnson & Wardle, 2005). Additionally, Black women include other factors in their self-evaluation of beauty such as hair, skin tone, and personality, suggesting that body size is not the sole determinant of overall attractiveness and that it is possible for Black women to experience body dissatisfaction but still be satisfied with other aspects of their physical appearance. (Capodilupo, 2015). Making this clear distinction may provide more insight into how Black women internalize body image dissatisfaction and help researchers identify other psychotically risk or protective factors that cause or prevent the experience of distress as a result of being displeased with certain areas of the body.

Future research may also shed light on the influence of rap lyrics that promote unrealistic body types and identify what age group is more susceptible to these messages. It would also be helpful to include qualitative interviews from participants to further understand how they interpret the messages they hear in curvy ideal lyrics as well as to explore if it the message has a different meaning based on the gender of the rapper. As previous authors have noted, while men predominate the rap world, they are not the only ones in the genre promoting the message of unrealistic body types (hooks, 1994; Oware, 2007; Wallace, 1990). This study is an important step toward using culturally-relevant forms of media to study body image in Black women According to Nielson (2018), rap is one of music's biggest genres followed closely by country music. Because of rap's popularity as well as its roots in Black American culture, it is important to understand how this art form influences its listeners and to develop interventions and

strategies to protect its listeners from harmful or unhealthy messages. It is the author's hope that

psychologists and other healthcare professionals will update their body image dissatisfaction

screening tools to reflect a full spectrum of concerns and not just focus on the drive for thinness.

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Appendix A

Curvy Ideal Songs

Dance by Big Sean

Shake that Monkey by Too Short

Miss New Booty by Bubba Sparxxx

Neutral Songs

Good Day by Nappy Roots Lyrics

The Nature by Talib Kweli

Sidelines by Big K.R.I.T.

Appendix B

Attention Checks

Curvy Group
1. What word/phrase was repeated in the previous song
   a. Giant
   b. Hammertime*
   c. Apple

2. What word/phrase was repeated in the previous song?
   a. Monkey*
   b. School
   c. Bus

3. What word/phrase was repeated in the previous song
   a. Truck
   b. Player's Club*
   c. Beach

Neutral Group
1. What word was repeated in the previous song?
   a. Bicycle
   b. Drama*
   c. Store

2. What word/phrase was repeated in the previous song
   a. Faith*
   b. Career
   c. Marathon

3. What word/phrase was repeated in the previous song?
   a. Brazil
   b. Cadillac
   c. Sidelines*

*correct answer

Appendix C

Pre-Screen Questionnaire

Please answer the questions below.

1. Age   ☐

2. Gender   Man   ☐   Woman ☐ Non-binary/ third gender   ☐

              Transgender woman   ☐   Transgender man   ☐

3. Race (please check all that apply)

     ☐   American Indian or Alaska Native

     ☐   Asian

     ☐   Black or African American

     ☐   Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

     ☐   White

Appendix D

Visual Analog Scale
(The line measured 100 mm on Qualtrics)
Instructions: Please mark your current level of body satisfaction by moving your slider to the appropriate point on the line that reflects your response

No Weight/Size Dissatisfaction   ————————   Extreme Weight/Size
Dissatisfaction

Appendix E

Listening Patterns Questionnaire

1. According to Nielsen Music survey (nielson.com, 2017), the average American spends approximately 32 hours per week (4-5 hours/per day) listening to music. About how many hours per week do you listen to rap music?
   a. Less than 5
   b. 5-9 hours
   c. 10-15
   d. 16-21
   e. 22-27
   f. 28-33
   g. 33+

2. How many times have you heard the songs used in the study in the last 90 days?

		Frequency				
a.	*Dance,* Big Sean	0	1-3	3-5	5-7	7+
b.	*Thicky-thick Girl,* Nelly	0	1-3	3-5	5-7	7+
c.	*Shake that,* Lil Jon and Too Short	0	1-3	3-5	5-7	7+
d.	*Champion,* Kanye West	0	1-3	3-5	5-7	7+
e.	*Good Day,* Nappy Roots	0	1-3	3-5	5-7	7+
f.	*The Nature,* Talib Kweli	0	1-3	3-5	5-7	7+

Appendix F

Demographic Questionnaire

1. Have you completed this study before?

2. Highest Level of Education Completed

    a. High School   ☐

    b. College   ☐

    c. Graduate Degree   ☐

3. Are you currently in college?

    a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

4. If you answered yes to Question 3, what school do you currently attend ☐

5. Have you undergone any cosmetic surgery?

    a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

6. If you answered yes to number 7 please indicate the type of surgery. If you responded no

    choose n/a. ☐

7. Have you worn a corset or waist-trainer in the last six-months?

    a. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

Appendix G

Information Letter

My name is April Scott and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counseling Psychology program housed in the Department of Special Education, Rehabilitation and Counseling at Auburn University. I am conducting research on music-listening habits of **Black women in the United States aged 18 to 34 years old.**

Completion of this study will take approximately 15 minutes. Participation in this study may include listening to music with explicit lyrics. You must complete the survey using a laptop, personal computer (PC), or tablet. Certain questions may not show up on mobile devices. You are also encouraged to complete this survey in a private space. All your answers will remain anonymous. You will not be asked to provide your name and/or any information that may identify you. In order to protect your identity, please do not include your name or any personal identifying information on this survey. You can choose to receive 100 to 300 credits that you can use towards a gift card, per your agreement with Qualtrics.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Please remember that you have the right to not participate. You can withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.
Any data obtained in connection with this study will remain anonymous. We will protect your privacy and the data you provide by not collecting your email or IP address.

The information obtained from the study will be used to fulfill an educational requirement. If you have any questions, please contact me at AprilScott@auburn.edu. You can also contact my advisor, Dr. Annette Kluck, at ASK0002@auburn.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Auburn University Office of Research Compliance or the Institutional Review Board by phone (334) 844-5966 or e-mail at IRBadmin@auburn.edu or IRBChair@auburn.edu.

Having read the information above, you must decide if you want to participate in this research project. If you decide to participate, please click on the link below. You may print a copy of this letter to keep.

Thank you for your time and consideration,
April Scott, M.S.
AprilScott@auburn.edu
T: 205-910-5375