PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMEN QUARTERLY

Psychology of Women Quarterly, **34** (2010), 273–285. Wiley Periodicals, Inc. Printed in the USA.

I'M NO JEZEBEL; I AM YOUNG, GIFTED, AND BLACK: IDENTITY, SEXUALITY, AND BLACK GIRLS

Tiffany G. Townsend
Georgetown University Medical School

Anita Jones Thomas
Loyola University Chicago

Torsten B. Neilands
University of California, San Francisco

Tiffany R. Jackson
Penn State University

Scholars have highlighted the detrimental influence of racially charged stereotypes and images on self-perception and well being. Others have suggested that identity components (e.g., ethnic identity and self-concept) serve a protective function. The purposes of this study were (a) to explore the relationship among stereotypic images, beauty standards that are consistent with "colorism," and identity components of African American girls and (b) to determine the impact of these variables on girls' sexual attitudes. African American girls ($N = 270$) between the ages of 10–15 years old completed a self-report questionnaire, which included a new measure, the Modern Jezebel Scale, that was used to assess stereotypic images. A series of multiple regressions were performed using identity components, stereotypic images, and colorism as independent variables and sexual attitude variables as the outcome. In addition, interaction effects were explored to determine if identity components moderated the influence of stereotypic images and colorism on sexual attitudes. As expected, findings revealed significant positive relationships among stereotypic images, colorism, and sexual risk. In addition, significant interactions were found between identity components and stereotypes. Instead of identity serving as a buffer against the negative effects of societal messages, endorsement of stereotypes and colorism increased sexual risk in the context of identity components. Results suggest that a strong identity may not be enough to reduce sexual risk if girls cannot critically analyze the societal messages that they receive. Implications for prevention efforts are discussed.

"Leave our daughters alone!" Signs displaying this message were erected by one inner-city community in Baltimore, MD in response to threats faced by many African American girls (Kelly, 2001). Based on recent epidemiological statistics, this community had cause for concern. In a 2005 study of high school students, approximately 11% of girls (compared to 4% of boys) reported having been forced to have sexual intercourse at some time in their lives (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2006). Additionally, African American girls report higher rates of involuntary first intercourse than their European American and Latina counterparts (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2006). This pattern may contribute to the alarmingly high rates of sexually transmitted infections among this population. Currently, African American girls are one of the fastest growing groups to contract HIV, with rates even exceeding those of African American boys (Aronowitz, Rennells, & Todd, 2006). The emerging face of the AIDS epidemic in the United States is now young, Black, and female.

Tiffany G. Townsend, Department of Psychiatry, Georgetown University Medical School; Anita Jones Thomas, Counseling Psychology Department, Loyola University Chicago; Torsten B. Neilands, Center for AIDS Prevention Studies, University of California, San Francisco; Tiffany R. Jackson, Department of Psychology, Penn State University.

Data for this manuscript were obtained from the I.S.I.S. Project, a five-year prevention program funded through the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA Grant 1H79SP1068). Special thanks are extended to Saleema B. Curtis, M.PH., Project Director of the I.S.I.S. Project, and to Sara Whitfield, Program Coordinator, for their assistance with recruitment, retention, and program organization.

Address correspondence and reprint requests to: Tiffany G. Townsend, Department of Psychiatry, Georgetown University Medical School, 612 Kober-Cogan Hall, Washington, DC 20007. E-mail: tt237@georgetown.edu

The Legacy of Slavery

Some scholars have suggested that the negative sexual health statistics among African American girls are not a coincidence. For instance, Stephens and Phillips (2003) contend that the over-sexualized stereotypes of African American women propagated in the media and in broader society have helped to shape the perception of African

American women's and girls' sexuality. These images, with their highly sexual connotations, may shape the way in which African American girls view themselves (Sinclair, Hardin, & Lowery, 2006) as well as influence the way in which others value and interact with them (Stephens & Phillips, 2005).

Across ethnicities, girls and women are sexualized and objectified through media images (American Psychological Association, 2007). Although women of other ethnicities have also experienced sexual victimization, the legacy of slavery associates the sexual exploitation of African American women with distinct dehumanizing and degrading practices. In order to justify their enslavement and incessant sexual violation, the role of primitive sex object was ascribed to women of African descent, resulting in images of African American women as animal-like, savage, and highly sexual beings (Harris & Hill, 1998).

Jezebel, one of the most overtly sexual images of African American women to have emerged, is often depicted as a "mulatto" woman with light skin and long hair (Collins, 1998). She is perceived as seductive, manipulative, and unable to control her sexual drives (Mitchell & Herring, 1998; West, 1995). In direct opposition to the highly sexual Jezebel image is the asexual Mammy—an obese, dark-skinned woman with broad features who worked in the master's house, often serving as nanny, housekeeper, and cook (Mitchell & Herring, 1998; West, 1995). Finally, Sapphire was a character from the *Amos 'n' Andy* radio and television show of the 1940s and 1950s, and she was seen as a woman who took pleasure in emasculating men. Sapphire was seen as loud, crude, callous, argumentative, and full of verbal assaults (Mitchell & Herring, 1998; West, 1995).

These historical images reflect the exploitation prevalent in African American women's sexuality (Stephens & Phillips, 2005). Perhaps in an effort to avoid being judged by these negative images, the final stereotype, the superwoman image has developed more recently. This image portrays African American women as capable of doing and having it all (Mitchell & Herring, 1998). Current role models, such as Oprah Winfrey and Michelle Obama, epitomize this image. Although these more positive images and role models for African American girls are beginning to emerge, contemporary derivations of old stereotypes still abound (Collins, 1991). For example, Stephens and Phillips (2003, 2005) have discussed the current Jezebel permutations seen in today's music videos, including freaks, gold diggers, divas, and baby mamas. The modern images in music videos attempt to convey that women have more control over their sexuality. In reality, however, this professed control is tenuous.

Often women who perceive that they have limited opportunities, due to economic circumstances or previous sexual victimization, will rely on their sexuality as a means to survive (American Psychological Association, 2007). Childhood sexual abuse makes girls more susceptible to sexual exploitation and continued victimization (American Psychological Association, 2007; Wyatt et al., 2002). The Black women in music videos who use sexuality for material profit may influence some Black girls to view the exploitation of their sexuality as a viable option. A more Modern Jezebel image (in which African American women are portrayed as highly sexual, materialistic, controlling, and demanding) may therefore be the image that has the most salience for inner-city African American girls today. "The sexual links to poverty and its relevance to survival are clear. Their lives have been called 'ghetto fabulous,' where they are socially embedded in a culture of poverty, yet have the economic means to procure middle-class goods" (Stephens & Phillips, 2003, p. 18).

It is also important to note that stereotypic images of African American women often present physical depictions, which provide implicit messages concerning the characteristics that are considered attractive. For instance, the light-skinned Jezebel is considered sexually desirable, whereas the dark-skinned Mammy is not. Because the system of slavery in Western society was based on race, those slaves who had White ancestry were allocated privileges (social, economic, educational, etc.) that their darker counterparts were not (Thompson & Keith, 2001). Soon these privileges began to translate into a higher social and economic standing for African Americans with lighter complexions, conveying the message that African Americans who were aesthetically closer to white were more desirable.

Skin color stratification of African Americans has been termed "colorism" (Okazawa Rey, Robinson, & Ward, 1987), and due to institutional racism in Western society, colorism can be seen among many populations of color around the globe—particularly in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The association of lighter skin with beauty and desirability means that colorism has a more significant influence on women (Harris, 2009). Societal messages and media images that emphasize the appearance of women and girls across ethnicities are thought to foster self-objectification (Gordon, 2008). According to objectification theory, adolescent girls become aware that their bodies are examined and evaluated by others and consequently internalize the observers' perspective to evaluate their own bodies (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). This pattern could lead girls to believe that their value and self-worth are a function of their appearance and sex appeal (Gordon, 2008). For African American girls, self-objectification may be influenced by aspects of colorism and may be manifested in a preference for characteristics perceived as more desirable. As Russell, Wilson, and Hall (1992) state, "[a] dark skinned [B]lack woman who feels herself unattractive, however, may think that she has nothing to offer society no matter how intelligent or inventive she is" (p. 42).

She's So Smart; How Can She Be at Risk for HIV?

Due to the high risk faced by some inner-city African American adolescent girls, systematic examinations of this population frequently focus on negative outcomes (Stephens & Few, 2007) without taking into account many of their strengths. For example, the educational attainment of African American girls and women continues to rise and now exceeds that of their male counterparts (Cohen & Nee, 2000; Cross & Slater, 2000; Knapp, Kelly-Reid, & Ginder, 2010). Researchers have suggested that academic self-concept is a factor highly associated with academic success and achievement (Allen, 1992). Therefore, we wondered if identity components that have been found to serve a protective function for African American girls in the academic domain may also help to buffer against sexual risk.

On the surface, academically oriented constructs may not seem to have much in common with sexual risk, but recently researchers have begun to examine the influence of cognitive self-beliefs (particularly academic self-concept and perceived intelligence) on less academically focused outcomes, and they have found some interesting relationships. For instance, components of academic self-concept (e.g., lower competency and evaluative judgments) have been linked to early sexual onset among adolescent populations (Holcomb, Westhoff, & McDermott, 1998) and have been shown to predict pregnancy among adolescent girls (Jaccard, Dodge, & Guilamo-Ramos, 2005). Jaccard and colleagues (2005) speculated that positive evaluative judgments concerning academic ability foster the incorporation of pro-social behaviors (e.g., working hard in school) that serve to push individuals toward constructive activities and away from counterproductive risky behaviors.

This speculation may help to explain Reese, Vera, Thompson, and Reyes's (2001) finding that African American girls were more likely than African American boys to cite the need to be focused and invested in academic success as a means to avoid engaging in risky behavior. Morris (2007) suggests that a positive view of education, serious attention to schoolwork, and pride in academic achievement are part of African American girls' construction of femininity and thus may be incorporated into how they see themselves and how they behave.

Adolescent Identity: No Longer a Girl but Not Yet a Woman

Risky behaviors (such as early, unprotected sex) occur during adolescence—a stage marked by intense, rapid change in identity formation. African American adolescent girls who do not successfully negotiate the identity formation process are more vulnerable to risky behaviors (Stevens, 1997), especially if they believe they cannot conform to society's "body ideal" (Gordon, 2008). Because negative self-conceptualizations and low ethnic identity development have been linked to problem behaviors in some African American youth populations (Grover, 1998; Townsend, 2002; Townsend & Belgrave, 2000; Whaley, 1993), it follows that a healthy identity may help to explain differences in healthy and maladaptive outcomes among African American adolescent girls. As a result, examining components of identity that are salient to African American girls during this developmental period is extremely important.

Given the race consciousness of American society, Whaley (2003) states that African American youth are forced to at least acknowledge their racial/ethnic group membership, even if all African American youth may not consider their race or ethnicity a central component of their identity. In this way, the self-concept of African American girls is influenced by attitudes, knowledge, and beliefs concerning their ethnic group. Phinney (1996) defines ethnic identity as a sense of belonging and attachment to group membership. Thus, an African American's sense of self is intimately related to his or her ethnic identity. Accordingly, research has shown a significant relationship between self-concept and ethnic identity (Thomas, Townsend, & Belgrave, 2003; Townsend & Belgrave, 2000). In other words, a strong ethnic identification is necessary for a healthy identity among African American girls and thus may help to reduce the risk of HIV infection among this population (Salazar et al., 2004; Townsend, 2002; Townsend, Grange, Belgrave, & Fitzgerald, 2006).

Young, Gifted, and Black

Many African American girls seem to possess a positive sense of their academic ability as well as a strong connection to their ethnic group. Accordingly, a strong association has been found between academic achievement and ethnic identity among African American youth, such that having a sense of connection and pride in ethnic group membership is related to positive feelings about school and positive self-perceptions concerning academic ability (Cokley & Chapman, 2008; Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1997; Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus, & Harpalani, 2001). The connection between ethnic identity and academic self-beliefs suggests that ethnic identity may help to facilitate self-assured functioning. In the sexual domain, this connection may lead to higher perceived behavioral control in sexual situations, stronger commitment or intent to follow safer sexual practices, and ultimately safer sexual behaviors. Studies have found support for these predicted links. Among African American girls, a strong ethnic identity has been associated with increased behavioral control (Salazar et al., 2004; Townsend et al., 2006) and attitudes intolerant of risky sexual behavior (Townsend, 2002).

Another model put forth to explain the connection between self-beliefs and ethnic identity focuses on stereotypes and whether an African American's connection with his or her ethnic group membership serves as a buffer against, or increases susceptibility to, negative racial stereotypes (Chavous et al., 2003). According to Steele (1997),

individuals who possess a strong identification with their ethnic group may actually be more susceptible to the negative stereotypes that are used to describe that group. In contrast, the buffering framework purports that adolescents who have examined the meaning of their ethnicity and developed a positive connection to their ethnic group are better able to accept themselves more fully and are less likely to internalize negative societal stereotypes (Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Ward, 1990).

Healthy Identity and Sexuality

The purposes of our study were (a) to explore the relationships among stereotypic images, beauty standards, and identity components (specifically, the ethnic identity and academic self-concept) of African American girls and (b) to determine the impact of these variables on girls' sexual attitudes (specifically, sexual intent, attitudes toward sex, and condom efficacy). We expected that a positive academic self-concept and strong ethnic identity will lead to less risky attitudes toward sexuality. In contrast, girls who endorsed stereotypic images concerning Black girls and who espoused a standard of beauty consistent with colorism were expected to report attitudes that were tolerant of risky sexual behavior. We further predicted that there would be a negative relationship between identity components and societal messages, such that girls with a positive academic self-concept and a strong ethnic identity would be less likely to endorse stereotypic images and a standard of beauty consistent with colorism. Finally, due to the buffering effects of identity components noted in the literature, we expected that ethnic identity and academic self-concept would moderate the influence of stereotypic images and colorism, reducing the impact of these variables on sexual attitudes.

Attitudes, intentions, and efficacy regarding sexual behavior rather than actual sexual behaviors were examined in our study due to the low level of reported sexual activity in our sample, which was expected given the young age of the girls. However, studies have shown that sexual perceptions and intentions to engage in sexual behavior are good indicators of subsequent sexual activity, especially for adolescents who have not yet become sexually active (Stanton, Li, Black, & Ricardo, 1996).

METHOD

Participants

A sample of 270 African American girls with an average age of 13 years old participated in this study as part of a larger longitudinal investigation on the efficacy of an HIV/substance abuse prevention program funded by the Substance Abuse Mental Health Services Administration, Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP). Participants for this study included girls in the intervention as well girls in a comparison group who did not receive the intervention. Girls were interviewed prior to the start of the intervention.

All of the students attended a middle school in southwest Philadelphia, which is a predominantly African American district. According to census data, 73% of the 154,000 residents of southwest Philadelphia in 2000 were African American and during the same year, 27% of the households in southwest Philadelphia lived below the poverty line (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Participants were recruited from four middle schools that were sites for a risk prevention program targeting African American adolescent girls. Only those girls self-identifying as African American, Black (including Caribbean), or biracial (one parent identified as Black/African American) were included in this study. The resulting sample ranged in age from 10 years, 4 months to 15 years, 5 months of age, with a mean age of 13 at the start of the study. The majority of the girls came from families where mothers (74.3%) and fathers (77.2%) were employed. It is important to note that the term "families" does not refer to "households." Girls were asked to indicate the employment status of their parents whether the parent lived in the home with them or not. Thus, girls may or may not have lived with both parents. In fact, living situations varied. Only 9% of the sample lived with both parents. The majority of participants lived with one parent and some other relative. Specifically, 31% of the sample lived with one parent and a sibling(s), whereas another 14% lived with a biological parent and a stepparent. The remainder of the sample had other living arrangements, including living in multigenerational households (10%), with mother only (10%), or with other relatives (e.g., father only, grandparents, aunts, uncles, older siblings, stepparent, etc.) (26%). Of the 270 girls in this sample, 50 girls (19%) reported having engaged in sexual intercourse.

Power Analyses

Planned primary data analyses for the study consisted of measures of central tendency (e.g., means and standard deviations) to characterize the sample, Pearson product moment correlations to quantify bivariate relationships among continuous variables, and multiple linear regression analysis to quantify relationships among focal explanatory variables and criterion variables while controlling for other explanatory variables. A power analysis was conducted for the planned primary inferential analyses described above, the Pearson correlation, and multiple regression analyses. NCSS PASS 2008 (Hintze, 2008) was used to determine the minimum effect sizes detectable at 80% power at $\alpha = .05$ at the available sample size ($N = 270$) for the proposed analyses of this secondary data set. The minimum detectable Pearson correlation is .17. For multiple regression, assuming a multiple R of .30 among 12 explanatory variables, the minimum detectable R^2 effect size for a 13th explanatory variable was 2.6%. Taken collectively, these minimum

detectable effect sizes are between benchmark values for small ($R^2 = .02$) and medium ($R^2 = .13$), and closer to the small end of the effect size continuum (Cohen, 1988).

Measures

When available, measures were selected that have been used with similar populations and found to be reliable, valid, and appropriate for the target population of African American girls in early adolescence. However, there were no known quantitative measures that assessed stereotypic images (a key component of our model) among an adolescent population of African American girls. It therefore became necessary to adapt the Stereotypic Roles of Black Women Scale (SRBW; Thomas, Witherspoon, & Speight, 2004) for a younger sample, resulting in the development of the Modern Jezebel Scale.

Modern Jezebel Scale. Stereotypic images were assessed using the Modern Jezebel Scale, a 20-item measure that assesses Black adolescent girls' identification with stereotypes that have been constructed about Black girls/women. Original items for the scale were adapted from the SRBW, which examines perceptions and stereotypes of African American women (Thomas et al., 2004). The 33-item SRBW has four subscales that correspond to the stereotypes of Mammy, Jezebel, Sapphire, and Superwoman. Items were rated on a 5-point Likert Scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Normative data with 300 African American women, ages 18–63, found moderate internal consistency reliability coefficients for each of the four subscales: Mammy ($\alpha = .52$), Sapphire (.70), Jezebel (.72), and Superwoman (.67). Scale intercorrelations suggested moderate overlap between the subscale variables.

Because the original survey was normed with an adult sample, we administered a pilot test of the scale to 15 African American girls between the ages of 11 and 15. Pilot administration focused on comprehension and relevance of items for this target population. All items that presented a problem during the pilot were altered to increase comprehension without changing meaning. Terms were changed or omitted based on recommendations from the girls. The new version was then piloted with a separate group of 15 girls. Factor analyses and reliability analyses were then performed on the full sample of 270 to determine the latent factor structure of the new scale. The initial confirmatory factor analysis model contained four correlated factors: Sapphire, Jezebel, Mammy, and Superwoman. Examination of the model showed several high correlations among factors, including Jezebel with Sapphire ($r = .95$), Superwoman with Sapphire ($r = .88$), and Superwoman with Mammy ($r = .85$). This pattern suggests that the four-factor model contained too many factors for these data.

To identify a more suitable factor structure, we performed exploratory factor analysis of the 20 items using a weighted least-squares estimator. Using Quartimin rotation to allow for correlated factors, we evaluated the interpretability of each extracted factor. Strengths of factor loadings were evaluated using Comrey's (1973) criteria, based on the proportion of variance in item responses explained by factors: loadings of .55 are good or better (30% or more variance explained). In the one-factor solution, seven items loaded strongly onto the factor and exhibited factor loadings exceeding .55, which is indicative of a good factor-item relationship. Based upon prior expectations in conjunction with the empirical aggregation of the items with the factors, this factor was labeled Modern Jezebel. The Modern Jezebel factor seemed to tap both the Jezebel and Sapphire stereotypes (see Table 1 for factor loadings). Because this scale measures a different construct than was originally identified in the SRBWS, the factor warranted a new label. The internal consistency reliability for the 7-item Modern Jezebel Scale was substantial ($\alpha = .82$), and its test-retest correlation (retest occurred at 6 months) was moderate ($r = .45$, $p < .001$). The Mammy and Superwoman subscales were not relevant for this sample.

Table 1
Exploratory Factor Analysis of the Stereotypic Roles of Black Women Scale: Standardized Factor Loadings

Item		*Factor Loadings*
1	**Black girls are loud and have an attitude.**	**.66**
2	**Black girls always want to have sex.**	**.64**
3	Black girls have to be strong.	.34
4	**Black girls use sex to get what they want.**	**.67**
5	Boys can be controlled with sex.	.45
6	Black girls disrespect Black boys.	.52
7	I have to take care of my younger brothers and sisters.	.04
8	I hate to make mistakes.	.30
9	**Black girls are always mad and ready to fight.**	**.77**
10	Sometimes I help people before I help myself.	.25
11	People don't pay attention to me.	.11
12	I don't like to ask others for help.	.15
13	I feel bad when I don't help others when they need it.	.27
14	I get what I want when I'm loud and angry.	.20
15	Boys like me because of my body.	.25
16	I never get my own way.	.15
17	**Black girls will steal your boyfriend.**	**.68**
18	I often have to put someone in their place or check them.	.48
19	**Black girls are gold-diggers.**	**.64**
20	**Black girls always want their way.**	**.67**

Note. $N = 269$ participants. Items in bold compose the Modern Jezebel Scale.

Image Acceptance Measure (IAM). Colorism was assessed using the IAM (Plybon, Pegg, & Reed, 2003).

The IAM measures acceptance of stereotypically preferred physical traits that stem from a standard of beauty consistent with "colorism" (e.g., light complexion, straight and long hair, and thinness) and a rejection of a more traditional African American standard of beauty. Sample items are: "Straightened hair looks better than natural hair" and "I think guys prefer girls who have lighter skin." The 12-item measure uses a 5-point scale rated from 1 (*agree a lot*) to 5 (*disagree a lot*). For this study, items were reverse coded and averaged so that a higher IAM score denotes acceptance of "colorism" or rejection of a more traditional African American standard of beauty. This scale evidenced strong internal consistency ($\alpha = .90$) with our sample.

Multigroup ethnic identity: Belongingness. Ethnic identity was assessed using the 7-item Belongingness subscale of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992). The full scale consists of 14 items to assess three aspects of ethnic identity: a sense of belonging to and attitudes toward one's ethnic group; ethnic behaviors and customs; and ethnic identity achievement. Participants circled the number that best represented their feelings on a 4-point Likert Scale that ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). Item responses were averaged to obtain a composite score that represented a high sense of belonging and connection to each girl's ethnicity. The Cronbach's alpha for the current sample was .78.

Academic self-concept. Academic self-concept was assessed using a 17-item subscale of the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale (PSC; Piers, 1984). The full PSC consists of 80 items that assess youths' self-concept across six domains, one of which is cognitive and academic (e.g., "I am smart," "I am good in my school work"). Girls responded to items coded 0 (*no*) or 1 (*yes*). All of the items were averaged, so that high averaged scores on the scale indicated a high academic self-concept ($\alpha = .70$).

Sexual attitudes. Attitudes toward sexual activity and risky sexual behavior were assessed using the John Snow, Inc. (JSI) Women's Form that measures perceived harm of sexual risk behaviors (JSI, 2000a). One item was deleted from the original scale to improve internal consistency reliability (i.e., "How much do people risk harming themselves if they have sex while using drugs?"). The resulting 5-item measure ($\alpha = .77$) assessed the extent to which the adolescent believed certain sexual behaviors were harmful or risky (e.g., "How much do people risk themselves if they have oral sex without a condom or dental dam?"). It was scored on a 5-point scale from 1 (*no risk*) to 5 (*great risk*), where higher averaged scores represented the greatest perceived risk.

Condom efficacy. Condom efficacy was assessed using three items from the JSI Youth Form scale of condom efficacy (JSI, 2000b). These items were: "I can get my boyfriend to use a condom even if he does not want to" (condom use efficacy); "I would be able to say to my boyfriend that we should use a condom" (condom communication efficacy); and "I could refuse if someone wanted to have sex without a condom" (condom refusal efficacy). The 3-item measure used a Likert scale from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*). A high averaged score suggested high condom efficacy, and internal consistency reliability ($\alpha = .77$) was adequate for this sample.

Sexual intent. Sexual intent was assessed using an item that the CSAP cross-site research team identified from the JSI Youth Form scale of sexual risk behaviors (JSI, 2000b). Adolescents were asked to indicate how likely they would be to engage in sexual intercourse in the next three months. The item was scored on a 4-point scale from 1 (*not at all likely*) to 4 (*very likely*).

Procedures

Consent forms were obtained from parents and assent was obtained from students prior to data collection. At questionnaire administration, trained African American, female research assistants administered questionnaire packets in the classrooms. One assistant read the questionnaire aloud while the girls read along silently. The second assistant was available to answer questions as necessary. Prior to beginning the questionnaires, students were informed about the confidentiality of their participation, including the use of identification numbers instead of names to label data to ensure their identity remained confidential. They were told that the questions were about their thoughts and feelings on different subjects. It took approximately an hour for participants to complete the questionnaire packet. Girls who were absent on the scheduled day of data collection were administered the questionnaire individually upon their return to school. All students were provided with a cosmetic gift bag (of lotions, body spray, etc.) as incentive for their participation.

Data Analysis

Means and standard deviations were generated for each measure, and correlations among measures were generated. Due to incomplete data, available participants for univariate and bivariate analyses ranged from 226 to 269, with 212 being the smallest available sample for multivariable regression models. To maximize statistical power of hypothesis tests and generalizability of inferences, we employed full information maximum likelihood estimation (FIML) to address missing data (Arbuckle, 1996), which resulted in optimal parameter estimates and standard errors under the assumption that the incomplete data arose from a missing-completely-at-random or missing-at-random missing data mechanism (Schafer & Graham, 2002). For multiple regression analyses, model diagnostics included computation of the Cook's D statistic (Cook, 1977) and likelihood

displacement statistic (*LD*; Cook & Weisberg, 1982) to identify any cases that disproportionately influenced model parameter estimates, Mahalanobis' Distance (*MD*; Tabachnik & Fidell, 2001) to identify potential multivariable outliers, and evaluation of normality and constant variance of model residuals across levels of the predicted values. Determination of which cases were influential or outlying was made by identifying cases that had extreme values for all three influence/outlier statistics (i.e., *D*, *LD*, and *MD*). Three such cases were identified and removed from the data set used for the analyses reported below, resulting in $N = 267$ for those analyses. Predicted value-by-residual plots revealed evidence of nonconstant variance in the predicted values (i.e., heteroscedasticity) from the multiple regression models for sexual attitudes, sexual intent, and condom efficacy. Therefore, the bootstrap was used to generate standard errors of regression parameter estimates (Efron & Tibshirani, 1993). The number of bootstrap samples was set at 5,000 to ensure sufficient precision of the estimated standard errors (Hox, 2002). M*plus* 5.2 was used to generate the results reported below because it offers FIML estimation in the presence of incomplete data and the bootstrap is available to address heteroscedasticity (Muthén & Muthén, 2007).

RESULTS

Stereotypes and Identity

Descriptive data and bivariate correlations for each scale are presented in Table 2. As hypothesized, significant relationships were found among stereotypic images, colorism, and identity components. Specifically, stereotypic images were positively related to colorism such that those girls who endorsed the Modern Jezebel stereotype also endorsed beauty standards consistent with colorism and rejected an African American standard of beauty. Colorism was negatively related to academic self-concept such that girls who reported a positive view of their intelligence and academic ability rejected colorism standards and instead endorsed an appreciation for a more traditional African American standard of beauty. Ethnic belongingness was positively related to academic self-concept such that girls who reported a strong connection with their ethnic group also reported a positive academic self-concept.

Predictors of Sexual Attitudes Among African American Girls

In order to determine the influence of identity components and societal messages on the sexual attitudes of participants, a series of multiple regressions was conducted, including ethnic identity belongingness, academic self-concept, stereotypic images, and colorism measures as explanatory variables. Age was entered as a covariate as well as dichotomous variables for mother's and father's employment. Studies have shown that among low income families, parents' employment has a significant impact on children's educational and behavioral outcomes, with increased employment associated with positive effects (Huston et al., 2001). Because study participants were sampled from similar low income communities, mother's and father's employment were entered into the analysis as covariates to control for any effects that could be accounted for in the model by their presence.

Interaction effects were explored to determine if ethnic belonging and academic self-concept moderated the influence of stereotypic images and colorism, reducing the impact of these variables on sexual attitudes. These relationships were examined by creating interaction terms for stereotypic images and colorism as well as each of the identity components. As suggested by Aiken and West (1991), all variables used to compute interaction terms were centered. Each interaction term was entered into the equation separately to investigate the single contributions of each; subsequent multiple-interaction final models included all interactions simultaneously. Because single-interaction and multiple-interaction models yielded identical substantive

Table 2
Mean, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Among Study Variables

			Correlations						
Variables	*M*	*SD*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
1. Image	2.94	.87	–						
2. Academic	12.42	2.58	−.06	–					
3. Colorism	2.58	.66	.17**	−.28***	–				
4. Belong	3.20	.55	−.04	.22**	−.12	–			
5. Condom	3.15	.92	−.04	.12	−.05	.28***	–		
6. Attitudes	2.24	1.49	−.09	.04	−.01	.22**	.40***	–	
7. Intent	1.48	.81	.10	−.04	.03	.13*	.16*	.25***	–

Note. $N = 267$. Sample statistics were estimated using full information maximum likelihood estimation in M*plus* 5.2. Image = Stereotypic Image, Academic = Academic Self Concept, Belong = Ethnic Identity Belongingness, Condom = Condom Efficacy, Attitudes = Attitude Toward Sexuality, Intent = Intent to Have Sex.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

results, we report the multiple-interaction model results only in the interest of clarity and brevity (see Table 3). Simple slope regression analyses (Aiken & West, 1991) were performed to probe the significant interactions from multiple-interaction analyses and to plot the interaction effects.

In the first regression, intent to engage in sexual intercourse was entered as the dependent variable. After controlling for age and parental employment, a main effect for ethnic belonging emerged (see Table 3). Unexpectedly, those girls who endorsed a strong ethnic identity also reported an intention to have sexual intercourse in the next three months. However, this main effect was qualified by a significant interaction effect for colorism and ethnic belonging, such that the high endorsement of ethnic belonging was associated with a decrease in intent to have sexual intercourse when colorism was low, but an increase in intent to have sexual intercourse when colorism was high (see Figure 1).

A second interaction emerged between stereotypic image and academic self-concept, such that as endorsement of Modern Jezebel decreased, the intent to engage in sexual intercourse also decreased when endorsement of academic self-concept was high. However, as Modern Jezebel increased and the endorsement of academic self-concept remained high, girls' reported intent to engage in sexual intercourse in the near future increased (see Figure 2). The proportion of variance accounted for by the regression equation was 26%.

In the second regression model, attitudes toward risky sexual behavior was entered as the dependent variable. After controlling for age and parents' employment, ethnic belonging showed a positive relationship with attitudes toward risky sexual behavior such that as ethnic belonging increased, girls' tendency to view risky sexual behavior as harmful also increased. The proportion of variance accounted for was 17%.

In the final regression analysis, condom efficacy was entered as the dependent variable. After controlling for age and parents' employment, a significant main effect of ethnic belonging was observed. As expected, an increase in ethnic identity was associated with an increase in reported condom efficacy. The proportion of variance accounted for was 18%.

Table 3
Regression Analyses of Standardized Sexual Attitude Outcome Measures

	B (SE)	*P*	*Beta*
Sexual Intention			
Intercept	1.493 (.156)	<.001	—
Mother Employment	213 (.186)	.252	.092
Father Employment	−.194 (.177)	.275	−.096
Age	**.264 (.045)**	**<.001**	**.335**
Academic Self-Concept	−.021 (.024)	.384	−.066
Ethnic Belonging	**.218 (.101)**	**.031**	**.147**
Stereotypic Image	.082 (.057)	.148	.089
Colorism	.068 (.083)	.408	.057
Colorism * Image	.177 (.116)	.126	.142
Colorism * Belonging	**.304 (.133)**	**.022**	**.169**
Colorism * Self-Concept	−.009 (.037)	.795	−.021
Image * Belonging	−.056 (.132)	.674	−.032
Image * Self-Concept	**.075 (.033)**	**.024**	**.212**
Belonging * Self-Concept	.082 (.046)	.077	.145
Attitudes Towards Risky Sex			
Intercept	2.348 (.377)	<.001	—
Mother Employment	.055 (.140)	.696	.040
Father Employment	−.099 (.111)	.372	−.082
Age	**.426 (.084)**	**<.001**	**.300**
Academic Self-Concept	−.015 (.038)	.692	−.026
Ethnic Belonging	**.594 (.178)**	**.001**	**.221**
Stereotypic Image	−.177 (.110)	.108	−.103
Colorism	.091 (.151)	.603	.040
Colorism * Image	.027 (.180)	.882	.010
Colorism * Belonging	.082 (.269)	.761	.024
Colorism * Self-Concept	−.026 (.063)	.685	−.028
Image * Belonging	−.203 (.207)	.326	−.063
Image * Self-Concept	.053 (.048)	.262	.077
Belonging * Self-Concept	−.073 (.072)	.312	−.070
Condom Efficacy			
Intercept	3.043 (.236)	<.001	—
Mother Employment	.136 (.100)	.174	.158
Father Employment	−.097 (.058)	.098	−.129
Age	**.196 (.056)**	**.001**	**.222**
Academic Self-Concept	.011 (.025)	.669	.030
Ethnic Belonging	**.463 (.118)**	**<.001**	**.278**
Stereotypic Image	−.029 (.073)	.694	−.027
Colorism	−.004 (.109)	.967	−.003
Colorism * Image	.063 (.126)	.616	.037
Colorism * Belonging	−.014 (.190)	.943	−.006
Colorism * Self-Concept	.024 (.050)	.637	.041
Image * Belonging	.025 (.152)	.868	.013
Image * Self-Concept	−.023 (.033)	.483	−.054
Belonging * Self-Concept	−.035 (.053)	.514	−.054

Note. $N = 267$. Parameters are estimated via full information maximum likelihood; standard errors are based on 5,000 bootstrap samples. Boldface type denotes effects with $p < .05$.

DISCUSSION

Our results revealed many expected relationships. The Modern Jezebel stereotype was related to attitudes toward sexual activity, such that endorsement of the stereotypic image was related to a perception that risky sexual behaviors were less harmful. In contrast, ethnic belonging and academic/cognitive self-concept were negatively related to many of the sexual risk outcomes. These findings corroborate those from investigations that have found positive outcomes associated with ethnic identity and academic/cognitive self-concept among African American girls (Cokley & Chapman, 2008; Salazar et al., 2004; Townsend, 2002; Townsend et al., 2006), and, similar to findings of Jaccard and colleagues (2005), our study suggests that academic/cognitive self-concept may evidence

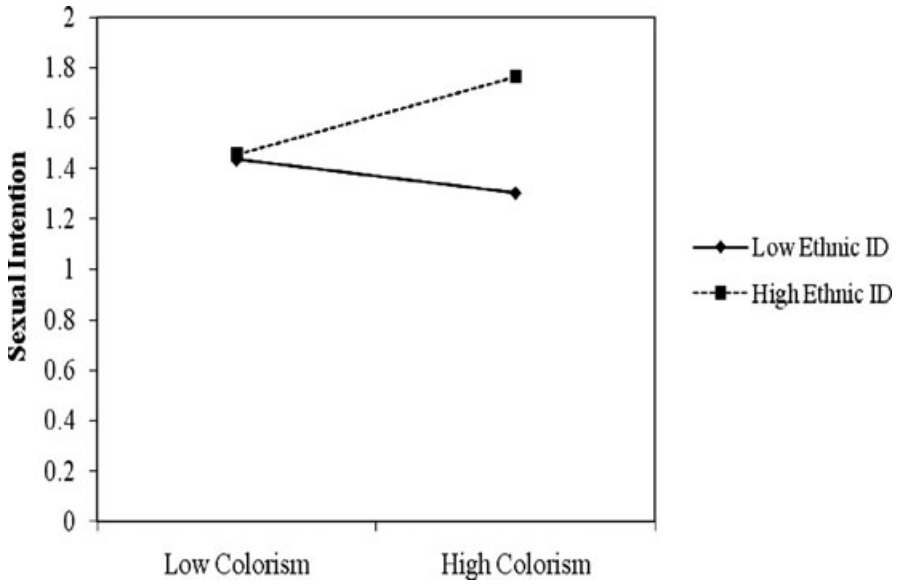

Fig. 1. Colorism by ethnic belonging on sexual intention.

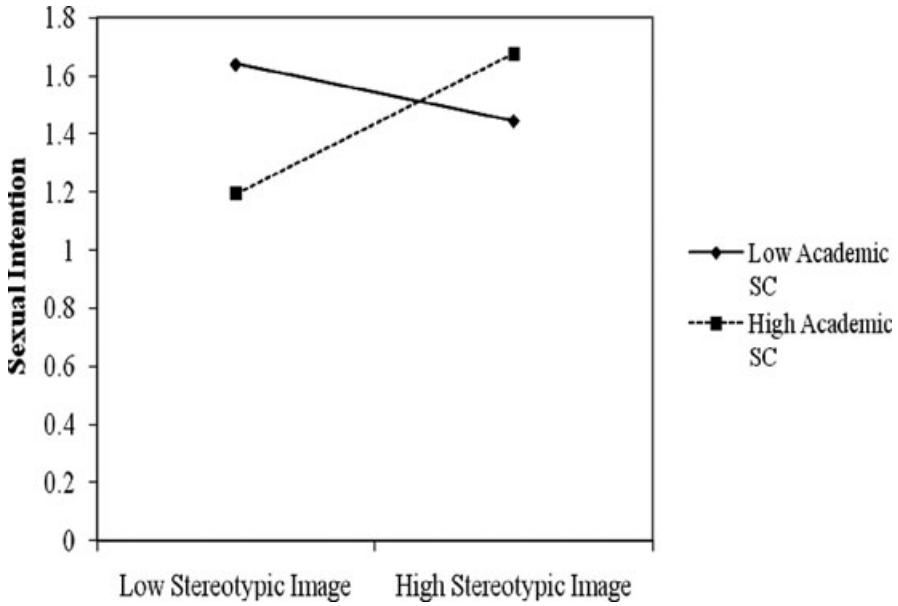

Fig. 2. Stereotypic image by academic self-concept on sexual intention.

beneficial effects for African American girls even among nonacademically oriented constructs.

A notable exception to the findings described above was an unexpected positive relationship between ethnic belonging and intent to engage in sexual activity. Those girls who endorsed a strong sense of ethnic belonging also reported an intention to have sexual intercourse in the next three months. This finding was quite surprising and difficult to explain given the other significant relationships noted among this sample. We reasoned that the relationship was likely signaling the presence of a third variable, and consequently we found that examination of the significant moderation effect of colorism on the relationship between ethnic identity and sexual intention helped to provide some explanation.

The positive relationship between ethnic identity and intent to have sexual intercourse was strongest when endorsement of colorism was high. Instead of identity serving as a buffer against the damaging effects of negative societal messages as expected, endorsement of "colorism" increased the sexual risk of those girls with a strong sense of ethnic belonging. In this case, a strong connection and identification with their ethnic group may have made the African American girls in our sample more susceptible to the negative impact of colorism. This pattern most closely

aligns with Steele's (1997) stereotype threat. According to Steele (1997), individuals who identify more strongly with their group may be more susceptible to the negative group stereotypes that are salient in a particular situation and, therefore, may expect to be viewed in ways that are consistent with that stereotype. In sexual situations, physical attractiveness is very important. However, it is difficult for most African American girls to conform to the narrowly defined, stereotypic standard of beauty that has emerged from "colorism." Many of the girls who endorsed colorism in this sample may not have possessed physical characteristics that were consistent with a colorism-informed standard of beauty (e.g., lighter skin tones and straight hair). As a result, they may have judged their appearance harshly and may have been more willing to adopt risky behaviors to be seen as sexually attractive/desirable. Wingood, DiClemente, Harrington, and Davies (2002) found that African American girls who judged their physical appearance negatively evidenced increased sexual risk.

Although this explanation is quite plausible, it is important to note that it is speculative. Our study did not actually assess the physical characteristics of the girls to determine if their physical characteristics were consistent with colorism standards of beauty. In future studies, it would be important to also assess girls' physical characteristics and satisfaction with appearance along with a measure of the girls' judgment concerning their actual conformity to colorism standards in order to shed more light on the moderation effect we described.

Another unexpected moderation effect in the prediction of sexual intent was noted in which endorsement of stereotypic images increased the risk for those girls with high academic self-concept. Specifically, the intent to engage in sexual intercourse decreased as academic/cognitive self-concept increased when the endorsement of the Modern Jezebel stereotype was low, but increased when Modern Jezebel was highly endorsed. This pattern seems counterintuitive. Why should girls with a positive academic/cognitive self-concept report an intention that could possibly increase their sexual risk? When interpreting this finding it is important to remember that academic/cognitive self-concept assesses a girl's perception of herself as intelligent, a good thinker, and a solid student. It does not measure the content of her thoughts. If, for instance, she has internalized negative stereotypes and has ascribed to the stereotypic roles presented for African American girls, a perception of herself as intelligent and a good thinker may actually increase her confidence in those attitudes, making it more likely that she would act on those beliefs (i.e., I'm smart, so my perspective must be accurate). Findings from Quardrel, Fischoff, and Davis (1993) provide some support for this explanation. They found that adolescents with high confidence in their ability along with lower levels of knowledge concerning the best way to protect themselves in sexual situations were at increased risk for engaging in risky behaviors. In other words, adolescents who were confident but unaware that they did not know key information were at increased risk. In the case of African American girls, those who are bright and confident in their intellectual ability but endorse oversexualized, stereotypic images may be at increased risk in the sexual domain because they may be unaware of the damaging effects of their views or they may be uninformed concerning the oppressive structure that these stereotypic images perpetuate (Wilson, 1986).

Limitations of the Study

Although our findings are very promising, there are study limitations that need to be kept in mind when interpreting our results. A primary limitation is the use of a convenience sample, which limits the generalizability of findings. All the girls in this study lived in an inner-city area characterized by low economic resources. In other words, the participants of our study were from a similar economic background. Therefore, study findings cannot be generalized beyond a lower economic inner-city population of African American adolescent girls. In addition, they were all voluntary participants in a primary prevention program. Their willingness to participate in a program to prevent risky behaviors may indicate a unique quality in these girls that may affect their behavior and attitudes toward sexual activity. For the most part, participants in our study reported relatively low levels of sexual activity and attitudes intolerant of risky sexual behavior, which restricted the range of their responses. A larger observational cohort with more variability in sexual attitudes and activity would allow a better examination of study effects.

Another measure-related limitation was the use of a single item to measure intent to have sexual intercourse. This one-item variable may not have captured the true complexity of the construct. When responding to this one item, girls tended to report a low intent to engage in sexual intercourse in the next three months. Again, this restricted range of response may have limited our ability to assess whatever actual variability in intent to engage in sexual intercourse existed within the sample, thereby negatively impacting accurate assessment of the relation of this variable to stereotypes. Future studies should use a measure that is more sensitive to the variability found in sexual intent. Similarly, the Modern Jezebel Scale posed some measurement concerns. Specifically, the measure was adapted for our population from a scale that was developed for and normed with adult women. Thus, this instrument may not have been as sensitive to the nuances of our target population as a more relevant measure may have been.

Future studies could also benefit from obtaining objective measures of academic performance, physical characteristics, and sexual behavior. Our study focused on attitudes that were precursors to these outcomes. Whereas studies have shown links between academic self-concept and academic performance, or sexual attitudes and sexual behavior for example, research has also shown that there is not a one-to-one correlation between these variables. Obtaining data on these outcomes would provide more

information concerning the prediction of sexual risk among African American girls.

The findings are also subject to the limitations of all self-report measures. Response bias and other testing constraints may have interfered with valid reporting of information. For instance, the sensitive nature of the questions pertaining to sexual activity and sexual attitudes may have encouraged more socially desirable responses. Attempts to address these potential problems were made by emphasizing confidentiality during data collection.

Finally, the correlational nature of the study prevented us from determining causation. Although colorism and the Modern Jezebel stereotype were associated with relevant outcomes, relationships noted do not prove that these messages and images directly cause particular attitudes or intentions. It is quite possible that a third variable not assessed in this study was responsible for variability in the assessed constructs.

Implications

Despite these limitations and caveats, we believe that our findings provide some valuable contributions to the literature. Our study takes an important step by first demonstrating that the protective function of ethnic identity and academic/cognitive self-concept may extend beyond the academic setting and may serve to reduce risk in the sexual domain. Thus, identity enhancement strategies (particularly ethnic identity and academic self-concept enhancement) would not only be beneficial in academic programs, but in sexual risk reduction programs as well.

However, it would seem important to also address the influence and impact of stereotypes and colorism in risk prevention programs for African American girls. Teaching girls that they are smart without also equipping them with the knowledge and understanding to critically analyze the messages that they receive may actually increase their sexual risk. Although the ability to learn, incorporate and reproduce information presented without variation may be rewarded in an academic setting, this level of simplicity may pose a risk in the sexual arena amidst so many competing and often damaging messages.

An intervention that can help a girl understand the influence of contextual factors (e.g., discrimination, stereotypic images, and colorism) while also enhancing her self-concept and cultural appreciation will likely provide a strong foundation for the development and maintenance of skill-based prevention strategies that require self-assurance (such as assertive sexual communication, resistance to unwanted sexual activity, and condom negotiation—all of which have been associated with reduced risk of HIV infection). Accordingly, there are prevention programs that address gender, cultural, and contextual considerations for African American girls that have shown some effectiveness in risk prevention among this population (e.g., SiHLE, DiClemente et al., 2004; G-TREM, Berley, Guillory, Harris, Quezada, & Seagroves, 2004; Sisters of Nia, Belgrave, Cherry, Butler, & Townsend, 2008). Our study suggests that prevention programs that target African American girls are most successful when they incorporate the broader experience of African American girls into their interventions.

Initial submission: June 12, 2009
Initial acceptance: November 24, 2009
Final acceptance: April 26, 2010

REFERENCES

Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regressions: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Allen, W. R. (1992). The color of success: African American college student outcomes at predominately White and historically Black colleges and universities. *Harvard Educational Review*, *62*, 26–44.

American Psychological Association, Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls. (2007). *Report of the APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. Retrieved from www.apa.org/pi/wpo/sexualization.html

Arbuckle, J. L. (1996). Full information estimation in the presence of incomplete data. In G. A. Marcoulides & R. E. Schumacker (Eds.), *Advanced structural equation modeling: Issues and techniques* (pp. 243–277). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Aronowitz, T., Rennells, R. E., & Todd, E. (2006). Ecological influences of sexuality on early adolescent African American females. *Journal of Community Health Nursing*, *23*, 113–122.

Belgrave, F. Z., Cherry, V. R., Butler, D. B., & Townsend, T. G. (2008). *Sisters of Nia: A cultural enrichment program to empower African American girls*. Champaign, IL: Research Press.

Berley, R. W., Guillory, K., Harris, M., Quezada, C. J., & Seagroves, K. (2004). *Love and life: Trauma recovery and empowerment for adolescent girls and young women ages 12–18* (G-TREM). Washington, DC: Community Connections, Inc.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2006). *Youth risk behavior surveillance—United States 2005. Surveillance Summaries. MMWR 2006*, 55: SS-5.

Chavous, T. M., Bernat, D. H., Schmeelk-Cone, K., Caldwell, C. H., Kohn-Wood, L., & Zimmerman, M. A. (2003). Racial identity and academic attainment among African American adolescents. *Child Development*, *74*, 1076–1090.

Cohen, C., & Nee, C. (2000). Sex differentials in African American communities. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *43*, 1159–1206.

Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Cokley, K. O., & Chapman, C. (2008). The roles of ethnic identity, anti-white attitudes and academic self concept in African American student achievement. *Social Psychology of Education*, *11*, 349–365.

Collins, P. H. (1991). The meaning of motherhood in Black culture and Black mother/daughter relationships. In P. Bell Scott

et al. (Eds.), *Double stitch: Black women write about mothers and daughters* (pp. 42–60). Boston: Beacon Press.

Collins, P. H. (1998). *Fighting words: Black women and the search for justice*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Comrey, A. L. (1973). *A first course in factor analysis*. New York: Academic Press.

Cook, D. (1977). Detection of influential observations in linear regression. *Technometrics*, *19*, 15–18.

Cook, R. D., & Weisberg, S. (1982). *Residuals and influence in regression*. New York: Chapman and Hall.

Cross, T., & Slater, R. B. (2000). The alarming decline in the academic performance of African American men. *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, *27*, 82–87.

DiClemente, R. J., Wingood, G. M., Harrington, K. F., Lang, D. L., Davies, S. L., Hook, E. W., et al. (2004). Efficacy of an HIV prevention intervention for African American girls: A randomized controlled trial. *JAMA*, *292*, 171–179.

Efron, B., & Tibshirani, R. J. (1993). *An introduction to the bootstrap*. New York: Chapman & Hall/CRC.

Frederickson, B., & Roberts, T. A. (1997). Objectification theory: Toward understanding women's lived experiences and mental health risks. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *21*, 173–206.

Gordon, M. K. (2008). Media contributions to African American girls' focus on beauty and appearance: Exploring the consequences of sexual objectification. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *32*, 245–256.

Grover, P. L. (1998). *Preventing substance abuse among children and adolescents: Family-centered approaches*. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (DHHS Publication No. 3223). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Harris, A. P. (2009). Economies of color. In E. N. Glenn (Ed.), *Shades of difference: Why skin color matters* (pp. 1–6). Palo Alto, CA: Standford University Press.

Harris, T. M., & Hill, P. S. (1998). "Waiting to exhale" or "Breath(ing) again": A search for identity, empowerment, and love in the 1990s. *Women and Language*, *11*(2), 9–20.

Hintze, J. (2008). *PASS 2008*. Kaysville, UT: NCSS, LLC.

Holcomb, D. R., Westhoff, W. W., & McDermott, R. J. (1998). An academic paradox: High school students' perception of their class standing and self-reported risk taking. *Psychological Reports*, *82*, 215–220.

Hox, J. (2002). *Multilevel analysis techniques and applications*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Huston, A. C., Duncan, G. J., Granger, R., Bos, J., McLoyd, V., Mistry, R., et al. (2001). Work-based antipoverty programs for parents can enhance the school performance and social behavior of children. *Child Development*, *72*, 318–336.

Jaccard, J., Dodge, T., & Guilamo-Ramos, V. (2005). Metacognition, risk behavior, and risk outcomes: The role of perceived intelligence and perceived knowledge. *Health Psychology*, *24*, 161–170.

John Snow Inc. (2000a). *Health promotion in our communities: Multi-site baseline assessment women's form; 2000*. Boston: JSI Research and Training Institute, Inc.

John Snow Inc. (2000b). *Health promotion in our communities: Multi-site baseline assessment youth form; 2000*. Boston: JSI Research and Training Institute, Inc.

Kelly, E. M. (2001). Female, young, African American and low income: What's feminism got to do with her? *Feminism & Psychology*, *11*, 152–156.

Knapp, L. G., Kelly-Reid, J. E., & Ginder, S. A. (2010). *Enrollment in postsecondary institutions, Fall 2008; graduation rates, 2002 & 2005 cohorts; and financial statistics, fiscal year 2008* (NCES 2010–152). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved April 22, 2010, from http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch

Martinez, R. O., & Dukes, R. L. (1997). The effects of ethnic identity, ethnicity, and gender on adolescent well-being. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *26*, 503–516.

Mitchell, A., & Herring, K. (1998). *What the blues is: Black women overcoming stress and depression*. New York: Perigee.

Morris, E. W. (2007). "Ladies" or "Loudies"? Perceptions and experiences of Black girls in classrooms. *Youth & Society*, *38*, 490–515.

Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (2007). *Mplus user's guide*. Los Angeles: Muthén, L .K., and Muthén, Inc.

Okazawa Rey, M., Robinson, T., & Ward, J. V. (1987). *Black women and the politics of skin color and hair*. New York: Haworth.

Phinney, J. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *7*, 156–176.

Phinney, J. S. (1996). When we talk about American ethnic groups, what do we mean? *American Psychologist*, *51*, 918–927.

Piers, E. (1984). *Manual for the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale: Revised manual*. Los Angeles: Western Psychological Services.

Plybon, L. E., Pegg, P. O., & Reed, M. (2003, April). *The Image Acceptance Measure: A validation study*. Poster presented at the Biannual Society for Research in Child Development, Tampa, FL.

Quardrel, M. J., Fischoff, B., & Davis, W. (1993). Adolescent (in)vulnerability. *American Psychologist*, *48*, 102–116.

Reese, L. E., Vera, E. M., Thompson, K., & Reyes, R. (2001). A qualitative investigation of perceptions of violence risk factors in low-income African American children. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*, *30*, 161–171.

Rowley, S., Sellers, R. M., Chavous, T. M., & Smith, M. A. (1997). The relationship between racial identity and self-esteem in African American college and high school students. *Journal of Social and Personality Psychology*, *74*, 715–724.

Russell, K., Wilson, M., & Hall, R. (1992). *The color complex: The politics of skin color among African Americans*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Salazar, L. F., DiClemente, R. J., Wingood, G. M., Crosby, R. A., Harrington, K., Davies, S., et al. (2004). Self-concept and adolescents' refusal of unprotected sex: A test of mediating mechanisms among African American girls. *Prevention Science*, *5*, 137–149.

Schafer, J. L., & Graham, J. W. (2002). Missing data: Our view of the state of the art. *Psychological Methods*, *7*, 147–177.

Sinclair, S., Hardin, C. D., & Lowery, B. S. (2006). Self-stereotyping in the context of multiple social identities. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*, 529–542.

Spencer, M. B., Noll, E., Stoltzfus, J., & Harpalani, V. (2001). Identity and school adjustment: Revisiting the "acting White" assumption. *Educational Psychologist*, *36*, 21–30.

Stanton, B. F., Li, X., Black, M., & Ricardo, I. (1996). Longitudinal stability and predictability of sexual perceptions, intentions, and behaviors among early adolescent African Americans. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *18*, 10–19.

Steele, C. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, *52*, 613–629.

Stephens, D. P., & Few, A. L. (2007). The effects of images of African American women in hip hop on early adolescents' attitudes toward physical attractiveness and interpersonal relationships. *Sex Roles*, *56*, 251–264.

Stephens, D. P., & Phillips, L. D. (2003). Freaks, gold diggers, divas, and dykes: The sociohistorical development of adolescent African American women's sexual scripts. *Sexuality & Culture*, *7*, 3–47.

Stephens, D. P., & Phillips, L. D. (2005). Integrating Black feminist thought into conceptual frameworks of African American adoelscent women's sexual scripting processes. *Sexualities, Evolution and Gender*, *7*, 37–55.

Stevens, J. W. (1997). African American female adolescent identity development: A three-dimensional perspective. *Child Welfare Journal*, *76*, 145–172.

Tabachnik, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (2001). *Using multivariate statistics*. (4th ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Thomas, A. J., Witherspoon, K. M., & Speight, S. L. (2004). Toward the development of the Stereotypic Roles for Black Women Scale. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *30*, 426–442.

Thomas, D. E., Townsend, T. G., & Belgrave, F. Z. (2003). The influence of cultural and racial identification on the psychosocial adjustment of inner-city African American children in school. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *32*, 217–228.

Thompson, M. S., & Keith, V. M. (2001). The blacker the berry: Gender, skin tone, self-esteem, and self-efficacy. *Gender & Society*, *15*, 336–357.

Townsend, T. G. (2002). The impact of self-components on attitudes toward sex among African American preadolescent girls: The moderating role of menarche. *Sex Roles*, *47*, 11–22.

Townsend, T. G., & Belgrave, F. Z. (2000). The impact of personal identity and racial identity on drug outcomes among African American children. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *26*, 421–436.

Townsend, T. G., Grange, C., Belgrave, F. Z., & Fitzgerald, A. Y. (2006). Understanding HIV risk among African American adolescents: The role of culture and ethnicity in the theory of planned behavior. *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, *30*, 90–121.

U. S. Census Bureau. (2000). *Census 2000 data releases*. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/main/www/cen2000.html

Ward, J. V. (1990). Racial identity formation and transformation. In C. Gilligan, N. D. Lyons, & T. J. Hanmer (Eds.), *Making connections: The relational worlds and adolescent girls at Emma Willard School* (pp. 215–238). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

West, C. M. (1995). Mammy, Sapphire, and Jezebel: Historical images of Black women and their implications for psychotherapy. *Psychotherapy*, *32*, 458–466.

Whaley, A. L. (1993). Self-esteem, cultural identity, and psychological adjustment in African American children. *The Journal of Black Psychology*, *19*, 406–422.

Whaley, A. L. (2003). Cognitive-cultural model of identity and violence prevention for African American youth. *Genetic, Social and General Psychology Monographs*, *129*, 101–151.

Wilson, P. M. (1986). Black culture and sexuality. *Human Sexuality, Ethnoculture and Social Work*, *4*(3), 29–46.

Wingood, G. M., DiClemente, R. J., Harrington, K., & Davies, S. L. (2002). Body image and African American females' sexual health. *Journal of Women's Health & Gender-Based Medicine*, *11*, 443–449.

Wyatt, G. E., Myers, H. F., Williams, J. K., Kitchen, D. R., Loeb, T., Carmona, J. V., et al. (2002). Does a history of trauma contribute to HIV risk for women of color?: Implications for prevention and policy. *American Journal of Public Health*, *92*(4), 1–7.