Exploring the Components and Consequences of Enjoyment of Sexualization for Black Women

by

Petal Lucienne Grower

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Psychology)
in the University of Michigan
2022

Doctoral Committee:

Professor L. Monique Ward, Chair
Associate Professor Rona Carter
Professor Elizabeth Cole
Professor Isis Settles

Petal Lucienne Grower

pgrower@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0003-0434-7645

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandfather, Louis "Red" Grower, whose nurturance and unconditional love helped me grow into the person I am today. Your integrity, generosity, and strength are attributes I try to always embody.

Acknowledgments

I'd like to begin my acknowledgments by thanking my wonderful dissertation committee, Drs. L. Monique Ward, Isis Settles, Elizabeth Cole, and Rona Carter. I feel so fortunate to have such an incredible group of scholars to guide me in every step of this project and to push me to think critically. With your insights, this dissertation is nearly unrecognizable compared to the prospectus! To Isis, Liz, and Rona, I am so grateful to have you on my committee and to have deepened my relationship with each of you in the varied capacities we have worked together: In your labs, through diversity work in the department, and in teaching. In every instance, I have felt so lucky to learn from you. Thank you for helping me do this dissertation justice.

I must give special thanks to you, Monique. Truthfully, it's difficult to put my feelings into words! Over the years, I've come into your office in every state of being, from a ray of sunshine to a whirling tornado—and you've received me with warmth and wisdom in all of those instances. Your nurturance has steadied me in matters both personal and professional: What I have learned from you, both academically and interpersonally, are things that I will carry forward with me into every domain of life. Whether I continue into academia or venture elsewhere, you have beautifully modeled what it means to be an outstanding advisor and I hope to have even a fraction of your positive impact on those I work with in the years ahead. I never once doubted that you were in my corner, cheering me on, lifting me up, and molding me into the best possible researcher I could be. I am who I am as a scholar—and in many ways as a person—because of your devoted mentorship. I am eternally grateful.

Next, I'd like to thank Dr. Ann Merriwether, my undergraduate mentor. Dr. Merriwether, maybe one day I will consistently call you "Ann"—but until then, and now immortalized in these dissertation acknowledgments, you'll always be Dr. Merriwether. I will never forget the serendipitous series of events that led me to turn to you for a letter of recommendation, in a meeting that literally changed the course of my life, forever. Your unwavering faith and your ability to recognize a talent and skillset in me that I could not yet see myself was deeply touching. The confidence you showed me then—and the continued praise and care you show me now—serve as the very foundations of my research career. Without your support, I would not have pursued a PhD; I would not have applied to the University of Michigan to work with Monique; and I would not have met the incredible collection of scholar-friends I am now blessed enough to know, many of whom I readily consider family. Thank you so, so much.

The next person I would like to extend my thanks to is Tremell Goins. Treymeezy, I could have never known when we met during summer orientation the incredible friendship that would flourish in the years to come. I am so glad that I asked you to go to coffee with me that summer after our second year! You are a brother to me, someone who I know I can always turn to for support in my time of need, and with whom I can celebrate all my successes and share, without fear of judgment, all my failures. So many of your sayings have become mantras that I repeat to myself and to everyone I know and that I try to live my life by. One of the most touching things you ever said to me was "I'll never let you forget that you're destined for greatness." And Tremell, I've never forgotten. Without you, I don't think I would have dreamed quite so big or imagined so grand a destiny for myself. In academia and beyond, you are the one that makes me think I could be a superstar. Thank you for supporting me through everything.

Jaime Muñoz-Velazquez. Everything I have to say here are things you already know and that I've already told you a hundred times before, but I hope you'll indulge me to say them one more time. You and I share such an incredible connection, one reflecting the truth that our souls have known each other before in space and time—and no one can convince me otherwise. For all the things I've learned in many years of friendship we've shared while in the program, the most valuable lesson I learned from you had nothing to do with academic life. What you've taught me, with your every word and action, is that I am worthy of unconditional love, that I am strong, that I am spiritual. Because of you, I'll never underestimate myself again. Thank you for letting me experience what it is like to love someone with my whole self and to be wholly loved by them in return. I treasure the fact that our friendship is oceans deep but never complicated; that you allowed me to be unrepentantly myself; that you took all sides of me in stride; and that you taught me I was never too much yet always more than enough. Thank you.

The last person I would like to give a special thanks to is my Aunt Debi. Aunt Debi, thank you for being behind me at every step of the journey. I know you didn't always understand exactly what I was going through but coming over to your house for coffee or Shabbat, walking Leo and Lucy, and spending time at Alana and Zach's went further than you could imagine towards keeping me in good spirits as the dissertation process intensified. Before I moved halfway across the country to be closer to you and Uncle G, our three-hour chats were a highlight of my week because I could always count on you listen to my struggles, academic or otherwise; even if you didn't always know how to help, I felt the depth of your love in every conversation. Without you, I would never have moved to DC and started reconnecting with the rest of our family, who have in turn been a huge source of support during this process. I want you to know

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Appendices

Abstract

The omnipresence of sexualized imagery of women in our society has raised questions about its potential impact on young women, primarily concerned with whether these representations are dehumanizing or empowering. Because most of these studies and their accompanying scales have tested predominantly white samples, researchers cannot assume that current findings and assumptions about sexualization operate similarly across participants occupying different social locations. Due to the proliferation of hypersexualized stereotypes in society, Black women are confronted with harmful narratives about their beauty and sexuality which render enjoyment of sexualization a complex issue to navigate. Though past qualitative work demonstrates that interpersonal sexualization is a concern for Black women and a few quantitative studies have explored this construct, none have used a psychometric approach to examine the correlates and consequences of Black women's enjoyment of sexualization.

To shed light on this issue, the current study explored the psychometric properties of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale (Liss et al., 2011) among a national sample of 493 heterosexual and bisexual Black women aged 18-40 (M_{age} = 28.39; SD = 6.49). Confirmatory and exploratory factor analyses first revealed that participants' responses reflected two correlated yet unique factors: Male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization. Measurement invariance testing revealed that this two-factor solution adequately represented both younger (18-29) and older (30-40) women's experiences, but that older women endorsed some items to a greater extent than younger women. Towards understanding intragroup heterogeneity in Black women's enjoyment of sexualization, I next conducted descriptive

xi

analyses to determine how these novel facets of enjoyment of sexualization were correlated with specific demographic variables. I also explored how enjoyment of sexualization was linked to traditional or egalitarian gender and body beliefs, including both mainstream and culturally relevant measures. Age, marital status, and religiosity emerged as significant demographic correlates of enjoyment of sexualization, and both facets were moderately positively correlated with traditional gender ideologies and body beliefs. Interestingly, the only differences that emerged between these two facets of enjoyment of sexualization were in the case of racial identity and body appreciation, which correlated with self- but not male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization.

Finally, I explored the mental health and self-esteem consequences of these two forms of enjoyment of sexualization using multigroup structural equation modeling. Analyses demonstrated that male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization was associated with more symptoms of anxiety, depression, and hostility, and lower self-esteem. In contrast, self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization was unrelated with symptoms of anxiety, depression, or hostility, but predicted greater self-esteem. Though these associations looked different for women of different ages, these models provided statistically equivalent fit when the paths were forced to be equal.

These findings have important theoretical and practical implications and contribute to the ongoing debate concerning empowerment and sexualization. My findings seem to suggest that Black women's motivations for self-sexualizing meaningfully differentiate the outcomes they experience. This study demonstrated the value of psychometrics to interrogate whether pre-existing measures developed with predominantly white samples accurately reflect the reality of those with different lived experiences. Furthermore, they underscore the need to develop safe spaces intended for Black women to reclaim bodily autonomy while also addressing larger

systemic inequalities stemming from the predatory, patriarchal male gaze that make enjoyment

of sexualization potentially harmful.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Objectification theorists (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; McKinley & Hyde, 1996) posit that as women navigate Western, patriarchal society, they encounter both interpersonal sexual objectification and sexually objectified representations that reduce them to a collection of body parts. As a result of this chronic reduction of the self, women are thought to assume an *objectified body consciousness*, a state of being wherein they regard themselves from a third person perspective and are more concerned with how their body looks than how their body feels (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; McKinley & Hyde, 1996). This internalization of an objectified body consciousness has been associated with a host of deleterious outcomes, including increased body shame, appearance and general anxiety, depression, disordered eating, sexual dysfunction, and reduced concentration and awareness of internal bodily states (e.g., hunger and satiety; Jones & Griffiths, 2015; Moradi & Huang, 2008; Schaefer & Thompson, 2018; Quinn, et al., 2011).

Though several studies have empirically tested the tenets of objectification theory, more work remains to be done to capture more fully women's lived experiences. First, because a majority of past studies tested predominantly white samples, these findings may not represent the experiences of women occupying other social locations. Furthermore, the most commonly used scales in the extant literature were normed and developed with predominantly white samples, meaning that their reliability and validity among samples with other demographic characteristics cannot be assumed. Second, some researchers have proposed the need to extend analyses beyond objectification to focus instead on sexualization, a broader umbrella term that includes objectification and also includes the grounding of self-worth in one's sexual appeal and having

sexuality inappropriately imposed upon a person (APA, 2007). Yet shifting the focus to sexualization comes with some complexities. In contrast to the demonstrated negative consequences of objectification among predominantly white samples, the possible outcomes of sexualization have been hotly debated, in part because some women profess to enjoy and even feel empowered as a result of it, despite sexualization's reductive nature (Attwood, 2006; Erchull & Liss, 2014; Gill, 2012; Grower & Ward, 2021; Liss et al., 2011; Regehr, 2012). Others have suggested that women's subjective feelings of empowerment are overshadowed by the fact that self-sexualizing behavior fundamentally reinforces the idea that a woman's value comes from her body and sexual appeal, while larger gender inequities in society remain unchanged. Other researchers have argued that there are contexts where women's decision to participate in and accommodate patriarchal systems of oppression may represent a form of agency, inasmuch as women's so called "buy-in" to these systems may provide tangible or intangible benefits that allow women to meet their basic needs (e.g., food, water, physical safety) or acquire status in society (Bay-Cheng, 2019, Hamilton et al., 2019).

Finally, though this debate in the psychological literature is predominantly conceptualized in terms of patriarchal oppression, it is also important to consider the role of other systems of power, such as racism, classism, heterosexism, and ableism that shape women's experiences of sexualization and their potential for deriving empowerment from sexualization, specifically. For Black women in particular, who contend with problematic stereotypes that seek to dehumanize them on the basis of their presumed hypersexuality, previous studies exploring their experiences of objectification and sexualization, and the measures used therein, may not adequately capture their lived reality. Disciplinary norms within psychology that focus most often on variables rather than systems of power may fail to capture the role of gendered racism

and cultural stereotypes that Black women note as important in shaping their feelings about their bodies in general (Capodilupo & Kim, 2014; Dunn et al., 2018; Kelch-Oliver & Ancis, 2011; Lewis, 2016).

Building upon prior objectification and sexualization literature, I seek to expand the field with this dissertation in five central ways. First, I respond to the call in the literature to address issues of sexualization, rather than focusing exclusively on objectification. Second, I want to investigate the correlates of sexualization when applied to the lived experiences of Black women, shaped by their unique sociohistorical context, employing intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991) and Black feminist thought (Collins, 2002) to do so. Third, I offer a psychometric analysis of one commonly used measure in the sexualization literature, the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale (Liss et al., 2011), to determine whether this scale accurately captures Black women's enjoyment of sexualization. Fourth, I test both "mainstream" and culturally relevant ideological and body image correlates of this scale to determine whether it is associated with traditional, disempowering beliefs or with more egalitarian, empowering beliefs. Finally, I explore the consequences of enjoyment of sexualization for Black women's self-esteem and mental health. Taken together, these contributions represent an important effort to quantitatively understand Black women's experiences of sexualization, interrogate assumptions of how these experiences should be measured, and contribute to the larger debate regarding women's derivation of empowerment from sexualization.

First steps: Defining and operationalizing sexualization

The APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls defined sexualization as occurring when a person is sexually objectified, equates their self-worth or attractiveness with being sexy (usually in a narrowly defined way), or when sexuality is inappropriately imposed on a person.

The experience of being sexualized can be imposed by others, or on one's own self, as in the case of self-sexualization. One challenge to studying the consequences of self-sexualization within a quantitative framework is the absence of a unified definition of what self-sexualization includes. Though researchers readily agree that the *objectifying* male gaze can be internalized (e.g., Calogero et al., 2011; Moradi & Huang, 2008; Roberts et al., 2018), less research has focused on the internalization of the *sexualizing* male gaze, perhaps due to its varied dimensions. As a result, this construct has been operationalized in a variety of ways. For example, some researchers have defined self-sexualization as comparable to sexual subjectification, reflecting women's ability to have agency and be playful (e.g., Gill, 2008). Others have focused more on the manifestation of certain behaviors that emphasize one's sexualized features, draw attention to oneself, or encourage a sexualized gaze (Allen & Gervais, 2012; Aubrey et al., 2017). Still others define self-sexualization as an internalization of the APA definition of sexualization (Ward, 2016; Ward et al., 2018). Recently, in Choi and Delong's (2019) work, self-sexualization is said to occur when a woman favors sexual self-subjectification, relates her sexual desirability to her self-esteem, equates her physical attractiveness with being sexy, or accepts violations of her sexual boundaries (e.g., views unwanted sexual attention as normalized or commonplace; Choi & Delong, 2019). The field's lack of clarity in defining sexualization and self-sexualization represents a significant impediment to the study of this phenomenon, but also underscores the need for precise definition and measurement in future empirical research.

Given the numerous ways that self-sexualization has been defined, studies have been equally diverse in their use of measures to assess it, with no one scale capturing its varied dimensions. Instead, researchers have used scales that reflect different facets of this complex construct. For example, some studies have addressed the behavioral aspects of self-sexualization

4

via the Self-Sexualizing Behavior Questionnaire for Women (Smolak, et al., 2014). This scale examines specific behaviors that women engage in to feel sexy (e.g., wear perfume, wear tight clothes). Other researchers have sought to examine the extent to which an individual grounds her self-worth in her sexual appeal using scales such as the Sexual Appeal Self-Worth scale (sample item: [Prompt: How would you feel about yourself if . . .] "you were asked to be a model for a calendar featuring college students"; "you were wearing an outfit that you know looks good on you?"; Gordon & Ward, 2000). Finally, some work has focused on women's positive thoughts and feelings concerning the experience of being sexualized by others via scales such as the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale (sample items: "I feel proud when men compliment the way I look"; "I like showing off my body"; Liss, et al., 2011). These measures also reflect differing interests in assessing the affective, behavioral, and cognitive components of a woman's tendency to self-sexualize. The absence of a unified tool for assessing women's experiences of sexualization indicate that researchers in this area must attend to findings from prior research with care so as not to misinterpret or generalize a finding from one measure of sexualization to another and should select their measures carefully with consideration for which conceptual definition and component of sexualization they hope to assess. With this awareness of conceptual and measurement issues within the field of sexualization in mind, I now discuss theories and empirical data relevant to Black women's experiences and enjoyment of sexualization.

Understanding Black women's experiences of sexualization: Theoretical considerations

Whereas work on sexualization has drawn primarily from objectification theory as its theoretical grounding, I also bring in intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991) and Black feminist thought (Collins, 2002), which both contextualize Black women's lives within multidimensional systems of power, and offer insight into the complex interplay of factors shaping Black women's

experiences of sexualization. Crenshaw's intersectionality proposes that the tendency of laws and policies to think of individuals in acontextual, single matrix identity frameworks fundamentally misrepresents their lived experiences, which are in fact the result of interlocking systems of privilege and oppression. Rather than understanding individuals' experiences as a product of the identities themselves, Crenshaw posits that individual's social locations are socially constructed signifiers of advantage and disadvantage that serve to reify existing inequalities structurally, politically, and representationally. The overreliance on dichotomous single identity frameworks acts as an intentional tool to exclude and decenter multiply marginalized individuals. Although intersectionality was popularized in the academic sphere through Crenshaw's seminal legal writings, its origins lie within the writings of prominent abolitionists such as W. E.B. DuBois and Julia Cooper. More recently, its political impact has been underscored through the writings of the Combahee River Collective, a group of socialist Black lesbians who argued that existing feminist and civil rights movements failed to consider their unique sociopolitical needs informed by interlocking systems of power (Collective, 2014). This statement protested additive conceptualizations of identity that would have the authors ignore their positionality—which was especially repugnant in the context of a feminist movement deeply entrenched in maintaining white supremacy, a civil rights movement deeply entrenched in maintaining patriarchy, and with both movements perpetuating classist, homophobic ideals.

Black feminist thought (Collins, 2002), much like intersectionality, seeks to understand Black women's experiences as a product of white supremacy and patriarchy, while also promoting space for more authentic expressions of Black womanhood. A central tenet of Collins' work is her discussion of culturally constructed "controlling images": stereotypical representations that dehumanize Black women by reducing them to societal "others," defined by

their subservience to and deviation from white patriarchal norms. Historically, these images of Black womanhood served to socially sanction the exploitation and sexual victimization of Black women, but their continued relevance in the present day cannot be understated; though occasionally repackaged or relabeled, echoes of the asexual and maternal mammy, the lascivious jezebel, or the emasculating matriarch permeate the fabric of modern society (e.g., Hazell & Clarke, 2008; Smith, 2013; Tyree, 2011; Ward et al., 2013; though see Woodard & Mastin, 2005 and Baker, 2005 for some exceptions in magazines). Essential to Black feminist thought is the notion that all Black women serve as *Black intellectuals*, creating space wherein externally defined images of Black womanhood are rejected, and personally defined images emerge and are uplifted. This reclamation of institutionally devalued information positions Black feminist thought as a critical social theory that destabilizes traditional conceptions of knowledge production, challenges positivistic assumptions of objectivity, and disrupts existing hierarchies.

The decision to describe the principles of these theories separately obfuscates the significant conceptual overlap between them. Indeed, though Black feminist thought and intersectionality are cited separately here, both emerged from a similar historical and sociopolitical context that demanded the centering of Black women's voices. Importantly, neither of these works were intended as analytical tools for use in psychological research but were instead disseminated for the purpose of combatting social injustice (McCormick-Huhn et al., 2019; Warner et al., 2018). As such, the depoliticization of these theories and their use in academic research has been the focus of ample debate. The proliferation especially of "weak intersectionality"—intersectional work that fails to consider how psychologists can take their efforts beyond the confines of the ivory tower to create transformative change (Shin et al., 2017)—has created a dilemma wherein work that operates largely within disciplinary standards

and neglects issues of power beyond demographic descriptors has become the norm (Cole, 2020; McCormick-Huhn et al., 2019; Sabik et al., 2021). Worse yet, the popularization of these works has led to scholarship that in some ways reifies existing inequalities, both within and outside of academic institutions (Grzanka, 2020; McCormick-Huhn et al., 2019; Sabik et al., 2021; Settles et al., 2020). At a minimum, these theories should be used to evaluate the ability of policy to serve the multiply marginalized, with their primary concern being the disruption of oft-normalized social injustices in our society.

Although not their intended purpose, intersectionality and Black feminist thought do provide a framework for understanding the sociohistorical context that may simultaneously create cultural pressure for Black women to embody hypersexualized stereotypes of their group while also using this imagery to justify their relegation to the margins (Collins, 2002). The jezebel stereotype represents one cultural image that normalizes and sanctions the sexual exploitation of Black women. One prominent figure that illustrates the intersection of cultural images, policy, and institutions is Sarah Baartman, a Khoisan woman sold to white colonizers and whose body became the subject of scientific scrutiny and erotic projection in life and death, at which time a cast of her body was put on display in museums until the mid- to late-1970s (Gordon-Chipembere, 2011; Henderson, 2014; Hobson, 2018b). Baartman's story is simultaneously singular yet exemplary of the ongoing objectification and commodification of Black women's bodies that render the question of individual autonomy, agency, and enjoyment of sexualization so complex for Black women to navigate. In my own work, Black feminist thought and intersectionality serve as a critical lens through which Black women's experiences can (and perhaps should) be understood.

Tests of objectification theory among Black women

8

Before discussing the small body of work that has sought to understand Black women's experiences of sexual objectification (one facet of self-sexualization), I will review common measures of objectification to offer greater understanding of their potential utility in capturing Black women's lived experience. The Body Surveillance subscale of the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale (McKinley & Hyde, 1996) and the Self-Objectification Questionnaire (SOQ; Noll & Fredrickson, 1996) are the most cited measures of women's self-objectification, each capturing different facets of objectification. The Body Surveillance Subscale assesses the extent to which individuals monitor their appearance and prioritize their body's appearance over their body's comfort (sample item: "During the day, I think about how I look many times"). The Self-Objectification Questionnaire reflects the extent to which individuals value the observable, appearance related aspects of their physical self-concept relative to the non-observable, competence related aspects of their physical self-concept. Here, participants are asked to rank the relative importance of different aspects of their self-concept, including competence related items such as "stamina" and appearance related items such as "muscle tone." It is also important to note the development of Lewis' (2016) Gendered Racial Microaggression Scale, which includes an "Assumptions of Beauty and Sexual Objectification" subscale; however, this measure captures interpersonal experiences of sexual objectification grounded in gendered racism rather than the internalization of these messages, differentiating it from other self-objectification scales. In the literature more broadly, the use of different measures reflects different theoretical conceptualizations of how the process of objectification unfolds; in work with Black women, researchers have predominantly used the body surveillance subscale.

Scholars using these scales to empirically test assumptions of objectification theory among Black women have generally supported the core tenets of the theory, with some

qualifiers. The theory argues that within our patriarchal society, women encounter and internalize a variety of sexually objectifying representations that intimate their societal value comes from their utility to others. This internalization of the objectifying male gaze, in turn, contributes to worsened mental and physical health for women. In one of the first studies to investigate these associations among Black women, Buchanan and colleagues (2008) tested how skin tone and body surveillance predicted self-objectification (as measured by SOQ) among a convenience sample of 117 Black women aged 18-59 (median = 22, *SD* = 8.73). Here, body and skin tone surveillance predicted self-objectification, which in turn predicted women's feelings of shame concerning their body and skin tone. Other studies have used regression and path analysis to link Black women's self-objectification to higher levels of depressive affect (Carr et al., 2014; Mitchell & Mazzeo, 2009; Watson et al., 2013), more anxiety, body shame, and disordered eating (Awad et al., 2020; Watson et al., 2013). These studies have also highlighted ethnic identity as a protective factor and the internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals as a risk factor for experiencing negative consequences of self-objectification (though see Awad et al., 2020 for an exception regarding ethnic/racial identity as a protective factor). A few issues temper the conclusions that can be drawn from these findings, including the use of composite variables (Mitchell & Mazzeo, 2009) and small or niche samples (all studies <300 participants; one study focused on 144 women seeking mental health treatment). Together, this work underscores the deleterious effects of self-objectification for Black women's mental health.

Using structural equation modeling to examine racial group differences in objectification theory's proposed connections has also been revealing. Schaefer and colleagues (2018) tested a model linking body surveillance and body shame to disordered eating among Black, white, and Latina women. In this sample, Black women reported significantly lower levels of body

surveillance compared to white women, and these feelings were less strongly linked to disordered eating. However, when Black women's surveillance contributed to feelings of body shame, they reported similar levels of disordered eating compared to white women. There are several statistical limitations to note in his study: firstly, group sizes were quite disparate (white $n = 880$; Hispanic $n = 133$, Black $n = 116$), meaning that beta estimates for Hispanic and Black women were less precise than those for white women. Secondly, this study used item parceling to establish their measurement model, which makes it difficult to determine individual item loading onto the latent constructs. Finally, the fit criteria used were internally inconsistent and the measurement model criteria were more lax than the structural model criteria, making it difficult to know just how well these items operated for Black and Hispanic women. Taken together, we see from this work that the physical and mental health consequences of objectification originally theorized hold true for Black women, both with and without the integration of culturally relevant constructs to these models, but that the models tested could still be psychometrically improved upon by reconsidering the application of traditional measures of self-objectification.

Expanding work to include self-sexualization: Theoretical considerations

As noted earlier, researchers have hotly contested whether it is possible for women who self-sexualize to be empowered, though much of this debate focuses on how self-sexualization may provide benefits in some situations yet prove deleterious in others. Some theorists have proposed that women's enacting and embracing a sexually appealing appearance represents their efforts to reclaim their body and is a healthy expression of their sexuality (e.g., Levy, 2006); others have asserted that enjoyment of sexualization represents another instance wherein women's bodies are treated as consumable objects, while societal inequalities between women

and men remain unchanged (e.g., de Wilde et al., 2021; Gregus et al., 2014). Relatedly, some scholars (e.g., Gill, 2008) argue that the focus on individual women in debates concerning sexual empowerment unduly puts the onus on the individual to overcome inequalities. Further complicating this issue is the fact that in some situations, conceding or compromising one's sexual or bodily boundaries may be the only way a woman can meet her basic needs (i.e., food, shelter, physical safety; Bay-Cheng, 2019). Finally, because attractiveness and sexiness are often equated in our society, some women do receive patriarchal benefits from self-sexualizing (e.g., Hamilton et al., 2019; Murnen & Smolak, 2013), which some could argue represent a form of empowerment; yet these rewards only reinforce the notion that a woman's value comes primarily from her body and sexual appeal. With some exceptions (e.g., Bay-Cheng, 2019), this work has discussed the derivation of empowerment from sexualization without regard to race or identity.

Rather than drawing wholesale conclusions regarding the outcomes of sexualization, other researchers have chosen to make an argument that different contextual factors and conditions may differentiate the downstream consequences of sexualization. For example, some scholars posit that in certain contexts such as romantic relationships, the negative effects of sexualization may be offset by the equality, consent, and respect shared between individuals involved (Bogaert & Brotto, 2014; Meltzer, 2020; Nussbaum, 1995); still others argue that the experience of being sexualized inherently precludes the possibility of equality, consent, and respect, because an individual's personhood is denied in the process (Calogero & Siegel, 2018). Outside of the romantic context, research with predominantly white samples has illustrated that white women who self-sexualize in professional contexts are most often penalized, viewed as less honest, trustworthy, and capable (Infanger et al., 2016). Furthermore, Black women in qualitative literature frequently comment that their larger bodies are deemed unprofessional or

sexualized and note double standards between Black and white women concerning what clothing is read as sexual due to differences in body size or proportions (e.g., Hesse-Biber et al., 2010; Ringrose et al., 2019). Taken together, this work broaches important questions as to the conditions and contexts wherein engaging in self-sexualizing behavior may or may not be empowering.

Though Black women have largely been excluded from the psychological literature exploring the consequences of sexualization, there has been extensive writing on the impact and legacy of hypersexualized portrayals of Black women, particularly focused on Sarah Baartman (Ashley, 2021; Crais & Scully, 2021; Derbew, 2019; Halliday, 2020; Hobson, 2018a, 2018b; Hoxworth, 2017; Lyons, 2018). These writings, often sociological or anthropological in nature, remark extensively on the complexities of Black women's efforts to reclaim their bodily autonomy while rejecting stereotypical, reductionist representations that seek to dehumanize them. Prominent in these writings is an emphasis on Black women's joy, power, and pride in African heritage that survives in the face of persistent white colonialism (Halliday, 2020; Hobson, 2018; Gentles-Peart, 2020). In qualitative investigations from a psychological perspective, it is important to note that Black women do report interpersonal experiences of sexualization as a concern, even in romantic contexts where equality, consent, and respect are presumed to be present (Crooks et al., 2019; Silvestrini, 2020). Furthermore, understanding Black women's experiences of sexualization is particularly relevant as the historical and modern-day stereotype of Black women as hypersexual jezebels represents a socially sanctioned form of inappropriately imposing sexuality upon Black women, a direct component of the definition of sexualization. Given the multifaceted nature of self-sexualization and the relevance of this historical context for Black women, the implications of self-sexualization may be distinct from

those gleaned from literature on self-objectification and from previous literature that has focused on white women. Thus, Black women may feel motivated to avoid this type of behavior to avoid aligning themselves with harmful stereotypes in society or may be motivated to engage in this type of behavior in order to resist these externally defined images of Black women, turning behavior that may otherwise be deemed reductive into an act of resistance and liberation.

Exploring sexualization among Black women

Though no qualitative studies to date have focused on the issue of enjoying or deriving empowerment from sexualization among Black women, there have been three qualitative studies in the field of psychology that have examined Black girls' experiences. Lamb and colleagues (Lamb & Plocha, 2015; Lamb et al. 2016) sought to understand how a sample of diverse girls (12 of 17 whom reported their race as Black or biracial Black) navigated the issue of being sexy (as defined and discussed by the participants). Girls talked about Black women with darker skin having to try harder to be sexy or having to have the perfect body to "make up" for the fact that they were dark skinned. Girls described different standards of what qualified as sexually provocative clothing for Black and white girls and described the potential dangers of being "too sexy too soon." Though girls wanted to be sexy for themselves, their conversation belied knowledge that it is hard to be sexy for oneself. Interestingly, the authors of these studies note a certain distance present in a lot of these themes, wherein girls were more willing to talk about other girls' sexiness and the consequences of it, rather than discussing their own sexuality. In another study of diverse adolescent girls by Ringrose and colleagues (2019), similar themes emerged regarding double standards for clothing. Whereas white girls in this study sought to reap patriarchal benefits from self-sexualizing, Black girls resisted the notion of deriving

empowerment from sexualization, instead emphasizing how such behavior would lead to punishment in school contexts or even endanger their physical safety in the world at large.

Two studies have explored the consequences of enjoyment of sexualization for Black women within a quantitative framework. The first study examined how Black women's enjoyment of sexualization was associated with their sexual agency, while also considering the mediating role of body shame and the moderating role of Jezebel stereotype awareness (Jerald, 2018). Here, the author found that Black women's enjoyment of sexualization was linked directly to greater sexual agency (measured as sexual assertiveness, sexual shame, and sexual guilt) but linked indirectly to less sexual agency when mediated by body shame. In other words, Black women who reported greater enjoyment of sexualization reported greater sexual assertiveness and less negative affect concerning their sexual experiences; but if their enjoyment of sexualization engendered feelings of body shame, they reported less sexual assertiveness and more negative affect concerning their sexual experiences. Another study explored the mental health and self-esteem consequences of enjoyment of sexualization for Black and white girls aged 13-18 (Grower et al., 2021). In this case, Black girls' enjoyment of sexualization was linked to greater depression, anxiety, and hostility, but was unrelated to their self-esteem or body shame.

Given that these studies did not find enjoyment of sexualization universally deleterious, they highlight the nuance necessary to understand Black women's enjoyment of sexualization. From the qualitative literature, there is a gap in analyses of adult Black women's experiences; it will be important to examine what aspects of adolescent girls' experiences may generalize to adult women. From this qualitative literature, themes related to maintaining bodily autonomy and being "sexy for oneself" likely persist, as Black women must construct a sense of Black

womanhood that resists externally defined stereotypes (Collins, 2002). From the quantitative

literature, it is notable that both studies reviewed here made use of the enjoyment of

sexualization scale to quantify one aspect of Black women's experiences with sexualization.

From the perspective of a general body image measure, this scale has utility for understanding

Black women's experiences because it taps into both affective and behavioral aspects of body

image, but further attention should be given to understanding the psychometric properties of this

measure given that it was normed and developed with a sample of predominantly white women.

Qualitative work on Black women's global body image

Though Black women's negotiation of sexualization is under-studied, a foundational

understanding of Black women's connections to their bodies can be gleaned from qualitative and

quantitative literature investigating their body image more generally. Here, numerous qualitative

studies provide a valuable groundwork regarding both the external and internal characteristics

that inform Black women's general thoughts, feelings, and behaviors related to their body (Awad

et al., 2015; Parker et al., 1995; Rubin et al., 2003; Watson et al., 2019). These studies typically

recruit largely middle or higher socioeconomic status college and graduate students, though a

few studies have used snowball sampling or convenience sampling; in general, their average age

is slightly higher than participants recruited in the predominantly white college samples that

comprise a majority of the body image literature.

Contrary to core findings within the body image literature that underscored white

women's persistent dissatisfaction with their weight, shape, and size (Bucchianeri et al., 2013;

Jacobi & Fittig, 2010), qualitative investigations among samples of Black women have

emphasized their preference for larger body sizes and the importance of culturally relevant

features. First, this work reveals that Black women do comment on weight and shape, but do so

in such a way that highlights the beauty of heavier bodies or of having curves in the right places, rejecting the thin-ideal as central to being beautiful (Appleford, 2016; Gentles-Peart, 2018; 2020; Kelch-Oliver & Ancis, 2011; Poran, 2006). Furthermore, commentary on weight and shape is not the dominant appearance theme emerging from this literature; instead, Black women often discuss their hair, its texture and thickness, and its style as important to their self-image. Despite experiencing frequent microaggressions concerning their hair, Black women report investing a lot of time, effort, and money into wearing their hair naturally (or not) and feel a sense of pride in their hair, the varied ways it can be worn, and its use for personal expression (Awad et al., 2015; Capodilupo & Kim, 2014; Pope, Corona, & Belgrave, 2014; Rubin, Fitts, & Becker, 2003). Black women also comment extensively on the importance of skin tone to their body image, with experiences of colorism particularly salient in their reflections, discussing interpersonal and institutional bias in favor of those with lighter complexions and an overrepresentation of light skinned women in the media, perpetuating beauty ideals unattainable to many (Appleford, 2016; Awad et al., 2015; Capodilupo & Kim, 2014; Kelch-Oliver & Ancis, 2011; Poran, 2006; Rosario et al., 2021). This literature suggests that although Black women do experience body image concerns, these concerns are generally focused on hair and skin tone, and typically reflect efforts towards self-acceptance or appreciation.

The arduous process of individual self-acceptance or rejection conveyed by Black women in these body image narratives in some ways reflects institutional pressures in action. In the American context, the importance that Black women imbue their hair styling preferences echoes a fraught history wherein Black women's natural hair was deemed unattractive or likened to wool, a cultural message naturalizing the view of Black women as objects, or even animals. Though these ideologies may seem a distant relic to some, societal devaluation of Black

women's hair is evident in workplace and school discrimination against natural and protective hairstyles (Dawson et al., 2019; Mbilishaka et al., 2020; Rogers et al., 2021); policy efforts to end such discrimination (Donahoo & Smith, 2019; Hamilton, 2021); and the personal efforts of many women to undergo the painful process of chemically straightening their hair (Dodson et al., 2021; Robinson, 2011). A similar interpretational lens can be applied to Black women's valuation of skin tone as a central part of their body image, replicating historical and modern-day norms wherein approximating whiteness is rewarded and embodied Blackness is penalized (Awad et al., 2015; Brown et al., 2021; Gaztambide-Fernández & Angod, 2020). This colorism is evident in multiple domains, including the relative absence of darker skinned Black women in (for example) high profile positions due to discrimination in industry hiring (Deloitte, 2018; Ortiz & Roscigno, 2009), and their invisibility from or relegation to more stereotypical media portrayals which deny them a more complex, human experience (Brown et al., 2021; Smith, 2013; Tyree, 2011). Although both Black men and Black women experience biased treatment concerning societal interpretations of hair texture and skin tone, hegemonic femininity renders appearance special importance in determining a woman's value (Collins, 2002). The societal overvaluation of appearance for women renders skin tone and hair texture prominent tools used to exclude Black women from "achieving" hegemonic femininity while encouraging them to assimilate to mainstream, white supremacist norms. Thus, the emphasis on skin tone and hair texture in Black women's constructions of body image may reflect an ongoing struggle to assert and reclaim personal and cultural conceptions of beauty in the face of systemic oppression that prioritizes Eurocentric beauty ideals.

Black women's appreciation for larger body sizes can also be understood as a product of intersecting systems of oppression and their own efforts to reclaim bodily autonomy. On the one

18

hand, all individuals in larger bodies encounter discrimination based on body size due to rampant fatphobia (a form of ableism) in our society, including discrimination by educators, employers, health professionals, and media (Ata & Thompson, 2010; Brochu et al., 2014; Cameron et al., 2018; Phelan et al., 2015). Yet for Black individuals living in larger bodies, societal judgements may reflect cultural stereotypes, whereby individuals' larger bodies may be used as evidence of personal failures or character flaws (e.g., lazy, undisciplined; Strings, 2019). Whereas white people living in larger bodies may endure others' moralistic judgments about their bodies, these judgments are of individuals, and likely do not represent or provide information about their racial group (Boero, 2013; Farrell, 2011). These cultural stereotypes of larger Black individuals again serve to maintain existing oppression, whereby society's view of Black people as lazy or undisciplined is used to naturalize their oppression and make systemic inequalities seem like the result of personal failings (Campo & Mastin, 2007). This thinking intentionally minimizes the fact that thinness has become a marker of privilege, attained only by those with the time, energy, and financial resources to prepare healthy meals and exercise at leisure. As previously mentioned, though both Black men and women experience discrimination based on larger body sizes, Black women's embrace of larger body sizes may represent a form of resistance against white supremacist and patriarchal narratives that would use their larger bodies to dehumanize them, exclude them from the category of "woman," or otherwise "other" them (LeBesco, 2011; Litchfield et al., 2019).

Regarding internal characteristics, findings indicate that Black women extensively emphasize personality and self-confidence as dictating what is beautiful (Cameron et al., 2018; Kelch-Oliver & Ancis, 2011; Parker et al., 1995). Black women in these qualitative studies underscore the importance of "making what you've got work for you," commenting that if a

woman feels confident, she can be beautiful (Cameron et al., 2018; Hesse-Biber et al., 2004; Parker et al., 1995). Personality, attitude, and expression of style also emerge as central to Black women's perception of both themselves and other women. In addition, some Black women comment on strength as being a quality that makes them beautiful, even if society at large fails to recognize this quality (Watson et al., 2012). Finally, some women highlight spirituality and health as explicit aspects of realizing that they are beautiful (Cameron et al., 2018; Gentles-Peart, 2018, 2020). Black women in several studies have commented on their body as being "a gift from God" or a temple to worship and to care for through healthful behaviors to protect and preserve the body given to them (Appleford, 2016; Pope, Corona, & Belgrave, 2014; Rubin, Fitts, & Becker, 2003). Some women also invoke spirituality and Christian scripture as a way of rejecting societal messages about their bodies and reclaiming their inherent beauty (Gentles-Peart, 2018, 2020).

The valuation of these internal characteristics represents a personalized construction of beauty that articulates a unique truth in light of white supremacy's refusal to accept their natural features as attractive. Given the systemic oppression they experience, it is argued that vibrant expressions of personality and personal style represent a form of resistance and reclamation, worth celebrating in their own right (e.g., Halliday, 2020). Furthermore, the idea of "making what you've got work for you" makes beauty something that any Black woman can achieve, rather than something prescriptive and only attainable to a select few. In identifying strength as something that makes someone beautiful, Black women express appreciation of a personal characteristic that has unfortunately been necessary for their survival in the face of continued racism, sexism, and gendered racism (Davis & Afifi 2019; Watson & Hunter 2016; Woods-Giscombé, 2010). Though outside the scope of this dissertation, it is noteworthy that recent

research has identified the pitfalls of identifying strength as central to Black women's self-concept, representing a schema or stereotype that presents Black women as invulnerable, dehumanizing them by making them superhuman (Armstrong, 2020; Jones et al., 2021; Nelson et al., 2020). Finally, that Black women in this literature frequently invoke religion and spirituality as a part of their body image experience reflects the importance of the church and religious institutions within their communities, which often act as a hub of political discussion and dissemination of resources (Mattis et al., 2019; Reed & Neville, 2014). Many Black women convene and confront gendered racism and heteropatriarchy within and outside of the church, turning to scripture to cope with chronic stressors such as discrimination (Higginbotham, 1997; Taylor et al., 2003).

These empirical findings shed some light on how Black women may experience or come to enjoy sexualization. For example, Black women's valuation of personal style and confidence may position them to enjoy sexualization despite externally defined messages that devalue their beauty. Changing how women style their hair or choosing clothes that "mak[e] what you've got work for you" may represent a form of reclaiming bodily autonomy in the face of deleterious cultural messages that would render their bodies simultaneously asexual and hypersexual. This body of research also implicates the importance of grappling with hegemonic femininity. Though it remains an open question whether Black women seek to attain or approximate hegemonic femininity, qualitative data do suggest that the approximation or rejection of hegemonic beauty ideals is relevant to Black women's construction of a personal sense of beauty. These studies raise the question: Might Black women seek the validation and recognition of their beauty that accompanies sexualization? Conversely, might Black women especially eschew sexualization to distance themselves from hypersexualizing stereotypes borne out of slavery that continue into the

present day? This duality, one potential explanation for how Black women may orient themselves towards or away from sexualization, renders enjoyment of sexualization a particularly complex construct to investigate.

Though distinct from the general literature on Black women's body image, there is also one qualitative study of note that has explored how Black women's interpersonal experiences of sexual objectification influenced their mental health and physical safety concerns, implicating the male gaze as particularly dangerous (Watson et al., 2012). Interviews with 20 heterosexual Black women aged 18-53 (M_{age}= 30, SD = 7.83) from predominantly working- or middle-class backgrounds revealed frequent experiences of interpersonal objectification, ranging from body evaluation from others, unwanted sexual advances, and the encountering of sexualized imagery of African American women. Participants in this study explicitly described how the historical context of slavery deprived Black women ownership of their own bodies, and instead gave men, within the culture of patriarchy, a sense of entitlement to women's bodies, cultivating an expectation that Black women self-objectify for the benefit of others, including their romantic partners. Women who reported more sexually objectifying experiences also reported higher internalization of an objectified body consciousness, more engagement in disordered eating behaviors, greater anxiety concerning their physical safety, higher psychological and emotional distress, and more interpersonal consequences than women who reported fewer interpersonal sexual objectification experiences. Some women reported restrictive eating tendencies as a means of conforming to mainstream beauty ideals, whereas others reported overeating to gain weight and become "unattractive" in the eyes of mainstream society, to avoid sexual harassment. To cope, Black women sought social support, intellectualized their experiences, sat with their

emotions, fought the objectification by ignoring or speaking out against the perpetrators, and used spirituality as a source of comfort.

The perspectives shared in this study demonstrate the ways in which the pernicious perpetration of harmful stereotypical images have served to naturalize the idea of sexualized Black women. Aside from emphasizing the very real impact of these interpersonal experiences of sexual objectification, this study also demonstrates women's varied responses and coping mechanisms. The fact that some women reported trying to lose weight to attain a Eurocentric thin-ideal whereas others tried to gain weight to distance themselves from it highlights the pressures of hegemonic femininity at play. Bodily, Black women in this study professed two choices: To "lean in" and try to conform to the ideal, or to gain weight as a form of rejection of hegemonic femininity. In each case, these decisions Black women made to change their bodies in the face of sexual objectification represent an instance wherein institutional pressures suppressed individual agency by forcing women to behave in reactive ways. Aside from this body-sized-based coping, some women in this study did report active resistance (i.e., confronting the perpetrators of objectification), though the ability of some women to do so is likely dependent on their feelings of safety (or lack thereof) in those situations. Though a single study, this research demonstrates the continued relevance of objectification for Black women; although the study was conceptualized within an objectification framework, having sexuality inappropriately imposed upon them (one facet of sexualization) is a core part of the ethos motivating the participants' responses.

Across this small body of literature, Black women frequently cite both internal and external characteristics as contributing to their body image, including characteristics such as personality, confidence, personal style, hair style and texture, and skin tone. A few of these

studies explicitly revealed Black women's awareness of the historical context within which they came to love their bodies, as well as negative feelings about their bodies resulting from the propagation of problematic beauty ideals through modern day media. Of note, the modern-day media were seen to showcase often unrealistic and unattainable images of beauty for Black women that overrepresented phenotypic features approximating whiteness (thin, light skinned, straight or wavy hair), and at other times reduced Black women to hypersexualized caricatures (Capodilupo & Kim, 2014; Kelch-Oliver & Ancis, 2011). Women remarked upon the "absence of the everyday Black woman" from these media portrayals, highlighting that they are left to construct their own sense of beauty in the absence of positive media role models embodying their features, perhaps suggesting an alternative pathway through which Black women could come to enjoy sexualization while maintaining a sense of agency and bodily autonomy. Quantitative investigations of Black women's bodies have built upon this work in a few ways, predominantly through investigating Black-white group differences in body image or examining mediating and moderating factors such as ethnic identity or thin-ideal internalization. I review this work below.

Quantitative investigations of Black women's body image

To identify and quantify systematic patterns in Black women's feelings about their bodies, scholars have used a number of approaches, each with strengths and weaknesses. It is important to note that no single qualitative or quantitative study can provide a complete picture of Black women's experiences, but that each approach serves to answer different empirical questions informed by theory. Before diving into these methods in greater detail, I offer an important caveat that should temper conclusions drawn from this work as a whole: Except when otherwise noted, these studies make use of scales normed and developed with non-representative,

predominantly white samples, often during a time when the field's understanding and application of psychometric theory was not on par with the current standards. Though I address this limitation in my subsequent review of this literature, it is worthy of separate note, because this limitation dramatically undercuts the confidence with which we can say a certain pattern of results applies to Black women when Black women were not adequately represented in the development and validation samples for a given measure.

One approach has been to investigate mean level differences in Black and white women's body image. This approach is typically older, uses smaller samples of predominantly college women, and looks at mean level differences in existing measures of body image such as the Body Image Ideals Questionnaire, Body Shape Questionnaire, or the Multidimensional Body-Self Relations Questionnaire. These studies have demonstrated that Black women report lower levels of body dissatisfaction, engage in fewer behaviors aimed at controlling their weight, and are less preoccupied with weight gain than are white women (e.g., Grabe & Hyde, 2006; Roberts, et al., 2006; Watson et al., 2019). This early approach has the benefit of documenting intergroup differences but highlights the need for measures more attuned to Black women's experiences. The conclusion we might draw from this early work is that Black women (on average) have fewer body image concerns than their white counterparts, but it is evident from the body of qualitative work discussed earlier that such an interpretation is problematic. Black women do report body image concerns related to skin tone and hair texture, and researchers have indeed increasingly recognized that this early literature's overreliance on measures normed and developed with white women minimized Black women's body image concerns because they failed to assess culturally relevant aspects of appearance. Furthermore, the proliferation of a curvy body ideal may come with its own pitfalls because this emphasis on attaining a particular

body shape may act as just one more prescriptive, largely unachievable ideal, a reality rendered invisible by scales designed to assess white women's preoccupation with having a smaller body.

One common argument presented as part of discussing these mean difference findings is that perhaps Black women's cultural context provides support for larger bodies, cultivating more positive body image for Black women (e.g., Rucker & Cash, 1992). However, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions regarding this hypothesis, as much work examining mean level differences utilizes existing measures of body image normed with white women and only applies a cultural lens in post-hoc explanations rather than explicitly examining these factors as a part of the study (Roberts et al., 2006; Schaefer et al., 2015). The use of quantitative averages in the mean difference approach also means that much nuance is lost in the data provided: more information could be gleaned by using more advanced statistical techniques attending to variability in participants' responses rather than collapsing across items. Furthermore, this mean difference approach diminishes the value of studying Black women's body image as a topic unto itself, instead framing Black women's experiences solely in contrast to those of white women. In this way, mean difference work inadvertently reifies institutional practices that "other" Black women, presenting them as a foil to white women. Though beyond the scope of the current study, it is also intriguing to speculate on the ways in which the narrative of Black women's reporting few body image concerns serves to dehumanize Black women; if white women's negative feelings about their body are so common that empirical research labeled this phenomenon "normative body discontent," contrary findings with Black women may intimate that they are abnormal or "superhuman" for being unconcerned with appearance.

A second methodological approach has been to test factors that could moderate Black women's body image, such as ethnic identity and internalization of the thin ideal. Studies that

have incorporated these constructs address important individual differences and generally bear out expectations that individuals with lower ethnic identity and greater thin-ideal internalization report higher levels of body dissatisfaction, greater disordered eating symptomatology, and more weight concerns (Gilbert, Crump, Madhere, & Schultz, 2009; Jefferson & Stake, 2009; Rakhkovskaya & Warren, 2014; Shuttlesworth & Zotter, 2011; Warren, 2014; Wood & Petrie, 2010; though see Davies et al., 2020 for an exception). A related approach has used either quantitative or qualitative methods to interrogate the sociocultural contexts in which Black women have been socialized. For example, a qualitative study by Hesse-Biber, Livingstone, Ramirez, Barko, and Johnson (2010) used semi-structured interviews to identify four groups of college women who varied in the extent to which they aligned themselves with Eurocentric beauty ideals. Their findings reveal that Black women who had internalized this ideal were more likely to have been raised in predominantly white communities, while those who conceptualized beauty more broadly were more likely to have been raised in predominantly Black communities (Hesse-Biber et al., 2010). This work highlights the value of investigating individual difference factors shaped by sociocultural contexts that influence women's feelings about their bodies.

When considering the inclusion of moderators as a quantitative framework within an intersectional paradigm, there are some clear advantages over the simpler mean-difference approach. First, exploring the role of potential moderators of Black women's body image serves to center their experience and understand it in a more nuanced way. Rather than assuming Black women all share the same body image experiences, this approach considers the way in which context informs individuals' feelings about their body. That said, these measures do tend to use personality-focused variables to capture context rather than directly assessing context itself. Yet, using measures such as racial identity or internalization of the thin ideal does move beyond the

pitfall of using dichotomous demographic descriptors as stand-ins for complex concepts, instead measuring participants' actual attitudes concerning identity and identity-informed constructs. Though the reliance on measures such as thin-ideal internalization frames Black women's body image through a construct perhaps more relevant to white women who endorse thinness as an ideal, Black women's general rejection of the thin ideal as personally relevant does not indicate the absence of societal pressure to conform to it. In this way, thin-ideal internalization could be considered a reflection of white, patriarchal pressures for Black women to conform to hegemonic femininity; in a context focused analysis, it would follow that some environments exhibit greater institutional pressure than others.

Building upon this work, a third approach has been to incorporate culturally relevant appearance concerns such as skin tone and hair texture into quantitative work examining Black women's body image (Capodilupo, 2015; Lewis & Neville, 2015; Watson et al., 2013; Webb et al., 2014). For example, Webb and colleagues (2014) used culturally relevant and ethnically neutral figure rating scales to assess Black adolescent girls' body satisfaction. Findings indicated that girls endorsed a *personal* ideal smaller than their actual body size but selected a *cultural* ideal larger than their body size, perhaps reflecting their navigation of competing body norms. Sampling young adult women aged 20-36, Capodilupo (2015) looked at both generic body image (Body Esteem Scale; Franzoi & Shields, 1984) and culturally relevant beauty ideals (a modified version of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Questionnaire-3, Markland & Oliver, 2008; e.g., internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals) to better understand Black women's negotiation of these competing ideals. Results showed that although Black women generally did not report body shape concerns, those who reported greater internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals reported worse body esteem in other dimensions. Finally, Gautier (2021) explored how

ethnic identity and womanist consciousnesses (defined in this study as the integration of gender and ethnic identity) predicted Black college women's satisfaction with skin tone and hair texture; intriguingly, womanist consciousness predicted greater satisfaction with racially relevant aspects of body image, above and beyond ethnic identity. This work both highlights the importance of including culturally relevant variables as part of the analyses and underscores the need for taking intersectional perspectives in quantitative work, as the integration of these perspectives and variables may reveal unique associations in the data that would otherwise be overlooked.

The incorporation of culturally relevant measures is one way to capture Black women's body image more meaningfully. In the above studies, incorporation of these measures highlighted the impact of white supremacy and patriarchy in cultivating certain ideals that Black women wrestled with accepting or rejecting. One limitation of this body of work is that measures used therein (e.g., the modified SATAQ) were often created for the purpose of the individual studies, making it difficult to determine the validity or generalizability of the findings. Researchers need to be aware of the costs and benefits of taking such an approach, determining whether it is more important to operate within disciplinary norms by using previously validated measures or to create novel measures not subjected to equally thorough psychometric evaluation. However, results from singular studies may still serve as a springboard for future research, prompting work in a novel area or the development of culturally relevant measures.

A fourth way that researchers have developed a deeper understanding of Black women's body image is through structural equation modeling, factor analysis, and measurement invariance testing (Burnette et al., 2020; Epperson et al., 2016; Kashubeck-West et al., 2013; Warren, 2014). This approach provides greater statistical flexibility over traditional regression methods or path analysis models by accounting for error in measurement and creating avenues to explore

bias in psychological assessments, though researchers need to exercise caution not to overgeneralize the psychometric properties of a scale to samples that differ from those in a given study. Existing literature provides some evidence that previously validated body image measures may be misapplied to Black women. For example, a study by Kashubeck-West and colleages (2013) examined the factor structure of three established measures among 278 Black women aged 18-60 (M_{age} = 29.94, SD=9.35): the Multidimensional Body Self-Relations Questionnaire, the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Questionnaire, and the Body Dissatisfaction subscale of the Eating Disorder Inventory. Though these scales demonstrated good discriminant and convergent validity, as well as good internal consistency, among this sample, the previously validated factor structure fit the data poorly. Exploratory factor analysis revealed either different factors than previously validated or similar factors comprised of different items (Kashubeck-West et al., 2013). Other psychometric evaluations of body image measures have come to similar conclusions, but these studies have used more lenient criteria, making it difficult to draw firm conclusions from their analyses (Epperson et al., 2016; Warren, 2014). Still, this work underscores another way in which scholars have attempted to work within the constraints of existing measures to develop a quantitative understanding of Black women's body image.

Taking a psychometric approach to understanding Black women's body image has the advantage of explicitly interrogating the assumption of how certain scales operate when applied to samples that differ from the development and validation samples. Given that properties of scales often assumed to be constant are in fact sample dependent (reliability, validity, internal consistency, factor structure), psychometric re-evaluation of existing measures is an essential step for any study interested in understanding a particular group's experience, in the absence of developing entirely new measures. In addition, structural equation modeling provides researchers

with insight into both construct level information (through item loadings) and model level information (through fit indices), though decisions concerning these models should be both statistically and theoretically supported. However, this approach is not without issues; in some ways, measurement invariance testing across groups could be considered a more statistically advanced form of mean-difference testing, framing participants' experiences in contrast to majority groups. Moreover, some researchers may misapply psychometric and item response theories as a means of validating biased or problematic measures or for "correcting" for biased items when revision or wholesale reinvention of a measure may be more appropriate.

As a whole, the quantitative literature investigating Black women's body image more broadly provides several valuable insights concerning Black women's experiences and potential enjoyment of sexualization. This work suggests that Black women contend with competing norms of beauty and appearance, and that different race and gender ideologies (e.g., racial identity or internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals) may significantly differentiate their experiences in different contexts. Furthermore, this body of work has made a meaningful effort not to treat Black women as a monolith. It seems clear from this literature that mean difference work fails to meaningfully capture Black women's body image and that caution should be taken in framing their experiences solely in reference to the white majority because this may serve to "other" them. Rather than making assumptions of how certain scales operate, structural equation model approaches informed by psychometric theory may be an important first step in identifying which aspects of existing scales are and are not appropriate and in moving our understanding of Black women's body image forward. Accordingly, the current dissertation makes use of psychometric theory and structural equation modeling to develop a more nuanced understanding of Black women's enjoyment of sexualization.

Exploring within group heterogeneity of Black women's enjoyment of sexualization

An often overlooked, but equally important consideration in this discussion of whether women derive empowerment from sexualization is the question of developmental stage and age. Though much research has been devoted to this issue in general, there is a clear delineation of when developmental stage recedes from the empirical discussion. Much theoretical and empirical work has focused on the sexualization of girls, including the APA Task Force Report from which the often-cited definition of sexualization originates; and entire theories have been devoted to understanding young girls' internalization of sexualization (APA, 2007; Bigler et al., 2019). Work focusing on adolescent girls' experiences also tends to consider developmental stage, if not in the analysis, then at least in the framing of the work, grappling with how the increased relevance of peers in adolescence, the impact of emerging romantic and sexual relationships, and pubertal development and timing may motivate adolescent girls to self-sexualize (Daniels et al., 2020; Foulkes & Blakemore, 2016; Grower et al., 2019; Lam et al., 2014). As discussions of sexualization transition into college-aged women and young adults, however, relatively less literature emphasizes developmental stage. Though there may be some effort to understand how college environments grant young women more freedoms than afforded them previously, research generally minimizes developmental stage in studies conducted with the predominantly white, heterosexual, college-aged women who are presumed to be the norm; as such, findings regarding their experiences are interpreted in largely decontextualized ways.

The issue of deriving empowerment from sexualization has continued relevance to women at all ages of the lifespan, who contend with different psychosocial milestones and the changing ways their bodies are seen and interpreted in society. Considering the many age-related changes to adult women's bodies, including changes in weight, distribution of fat on the

body, changes in hair color and skin (Kipela et al., 2015; Lewis-Smith, 2014), women may struggle to feel beautiful or sexy in ageist, Western society. Alternatively, it is possible that changes related to childbirth may increase appreciation for the body's functionality. Finally, women's participation in long-term partnerships may cultivate a sense of body comfort (Lovering et al., 2018; Raspovic et al., 2020; van den Brink et al., 2017). Research suggests that many midlife and older women continue to feel dissatisfied with their bodies and continue to self-objectify (Grippo & Hill, 2008; Robbins & Reissing, 2018a, 2018b; Samuels et al., 2019; Tiggemann & Lynch, 2001; Tiggemann, 2004; Quittkat et al., 2019; though see Hockey et al., 2021 for an exception). However, further nuance is needed to understand this pattern of results; for example, a study by Grippo and Hill (2008) revealed that although self-objectification and body surveillance were stable across the lifespan for women aged 40 to 87, older women who surveilled their bodies were less likely to report body dissatisfaction as a result of that self-scrutiny (Grippo & Hill, 2008). Furthermore, extant literature also demonstrates that women have stable or even higher body appreciation—love and respect for the body and what it can do—as they age, even in the presence of continued self-objectification (Robbins & Reissing, 2018a, 2018b; Tylka & Wood-Barcalow, 2015; Quittkat et al., 2019). These results demonstrate the complex interplay of positive and negative thoughts, feelings, and evaluations of the body that change with age.

Though insightful, a discussion of body image changes across the lifespan is inherently different from a discussion of self-sexualizing across the lifespan, as competing influences on a woman's self-concept may make enjoyment of sexualization more or less appealing to her. First, though objectification theorists posited that women who were middle-aged or older may be more free from the objectifying male gaze, results from these tests have been equivocal (e.g.,

Tiggemann & Lynch, 2001; Grippo & Hill, 2008; McKinley, 1999, 2006). Second, the centering of white women's experiences and body image concerns fails to capture the sociohistorical context informing how Black women navigate experiences of sexualization and report enjoying sexualization. Third, women entering adulthood may want to further emphasize sexual appeal as they search for a partner; conversely, sexual appeal may become less important as a woman transitions to motherhood. In other words, we cannot assume that changes in women's body image across age will be paralleled by changes in enjoyment of sexualization because these constructs, and the reasons women have for engaging in behaviors around them, are different.

In addition to considering developmental age and milestones, attention is needed concerning demographic and ideological correlates of enjoyment of sexualization in order to develop a richer understanding of this construct. To what extent is there heterogeneity in Black women's experiences of enjoyment of sexualization? Given the debate concerning women's deriving of empowerment from sexualization, is their endorsement of this construct associated with traditional or egalitarian gender views? Existing research on Black women's body image has uncovered several factors that impact the nature of these self-perceptions, including skin tone (Awad et al., 2015; Rosario et al., 2021), spirituality (Cameron et al., 2018; Gentles-Peart, 2018, 2020), and the impact of romantic partners (Capodilupo & Kim, 2014; Crooks et al., 2019; Silvestrini, 2020). Previous research investigating Black women's experiences of sexual objectification generally did not include demographic controls, but research with predominantly white samples have underscored the importance of body mass index (e.g., Awad et al., 2021) and marital status or the role of partners; these also serve as crude indicators of bodily changes and developmental milestones that participants may be experiencing (e.g., Claudat & Warren, 2014; Ramsey et al., 2015; Ramsey & Hoyt, 2017; Saez et al., 2019). In terms of different attitudes and

ideologies, both racial identity and internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals have been highlighted as important to Black women's body image (Capodilupo, 2015; Rakhkovskaya & Warren, 2014). Given that feminist identification has been investigated in relation to the issue of deriving empowerment from sexualization (Liss et al., 2013; 2014) and that feminist identification has been associated with unique aspects of femininity for Black women (Cole & Zucker, 2007), this variable is also worthy of investigation. Finally, it would be prudent to investigate if enjoyment of sexualization is linked to more traditional or egalitarian gender-related views of the self and others, including views of other women as sexual objects, endorsement of the jezebel stereotype, and diverse body beliefs (e.g., body appreciation, body shame).

The current study

Taken together, the literature on Black women's experiences of sexual objectification and sexualization suggest that sexualization, and especially enjoying sexualization, is an incredibly relevant topic for Black women. Though existing qualitative literature demonstrates the salience of hypersexualized imagery in Black women's lives, there have only been a few studies to investigate this issue quantitatively. Accordingly, the present dissertation sought to address the limitations of the prior literature in several ways. First, I explored the psychometric properties of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale, one common measure of self-sexualization utilized in the literature. I chose to focus on this scale because it captures both behavioral and affective aspects of sexualization (sample item: "When I wear clothing to show off my body, I feel sexy and in control"). Given the dearth of literature exploring enjoyment of sexualization among adult women, I used measurement invariance testing to examine whether the proposed factor structure fit the data equally well for women of different ages.

Next, I used descriptive analyses to explore the demographic and ideological correlates of Black women's enjoyment of sexualization, with the goal of understanding whether these reports of enjoying sexualization are linked to egalitarian and empowering views or traditional and constraining views of women's gender roles and racialized body beliefs. In terms of demographic variables, I explored the associations between enjoyment of sexualization and age, educational attainment, income, body mass index, skin tone, religiosity, and marital status. Regarding ideological and body image correlates, I investigated the link between enjoyment of sexualization and racial identity, feminist identification, jezebel stereotype endorsement, internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals, body appreciation, body surveillance, body shame, the view of other women as sexual objects, and traditional sex role stereotypes. This selection of variables addressed several questions. I included feminist identification, racial identity, and body appreciation to explore potential positive or protective correlates of enjoyment of sexualization. I included body surveillance and body shame as potential negative body image correlates of enjoyment of sexualization, and internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals as one culturally relevant negative body image correlate. I included women's perception of other women as sexual objects and their endorsement of traditional sex roles as potential indicators of their disempowering gender role ideologies. Finally, I investigated the association between participants' enjoyment of sexualization and their endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype to capture one culturally relevant gender ideology.

Finally, I used multigroup modeling to explore the mental health and self-esteem consequences of self-sexualization for both emerging and young adult women. Following from the core tenets of objectification theory, previous work has explored the mental health consequences of objectification (e.g., Carr et al., 2008; Mitchell & Mazzeo, 2009); accordingly, I

would like to explore the impact of enjoyment of sexualization on similar outcomes. Furthermore, given the debate concerning women's deriving of empowerment from sexualization, I would like to investigate the "objective" outcomes of enjoyment of sexualization for Black women. With these goals in mind, I proposed the following research questions:

RQ1: How will the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale operate psychometrically when tested among a sample of Black women aged 18-40?

RQ2: Will there be differences in the factor structure or item endorsement for emerging adult (18-29) and young adult women (30-40)?

RQ3: How will different ideological and body image measures correlate with the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale?

RQ4: How will Enjoyment of Sexualization be related to Black women's mental health and self-esteem?

RQ5: Will there be differences in the consequences of enjoyment of sexualization for emerging adult (18-40) and young adult women (30-40) in this sample?

Researcher Positionality

"Mainstream" research has increasingly acknowledged the non-objective nature of the work we do, calling instead for researchers to recognize their own role in shaping research at every stage of the process (Banister et al., 2011). As such, I would like to recognize my own positionality in testing these questions. As a white, middle class, highly educated, cisgender, heterosexual, able-bodied woman, I have been granted many privileges that influence my lived experience and the insights I bring to the research process; for this reason, I take special care to ensure the conclusions I draw are strongly grounded in empirical literature on Black women's body image. Important to conducting this work was the fact my committee is comprised

exclusively of Black women, who can verify and correct my interpretations of my findings as needed. The theory and empirical research I read, and the service work I do are firmly situated within an anti-racist framework oriented towards creating social change.

Furthermore, I would like to acknowledge the institution and empirical tradition that I have been trained within: At a top-tier R1 research university trained predominantly in quantitative methods, I have been shaped within very specific disciplinary norms that have chronically dismissed the value of qualitative work and labeled work focused on the experiences of underrepresented populations in psychology as "niche" or suitable only to be published in "specialty journals." Finally, it is worth noting that psychology as a science typically concerns itself with the antecedents and consequences of individuals' behavior, rather than focusing on broader systemic institutions that shape individuals' experiences (Bowleg, 2021; Hegarty, 2013). I have undoubtedly internalized, at least to some extent, this disciplinary training and institutional norms. I actively engage in an ongoing process to unlearn and counter those harmful messages. Despite these efforts, I recognize that this training is reflected in the research project described here, which is comprised of predominantly quantitative methods asking individuals about their individual experiences and behaviors.

Chapter 2 Methods

Participants

The initial pool of respondents included 725 Black women aged 18-40 living in the United States recruited through the national survey service, Qualtrics. Of the 725 initial respondents, 601 had complete data for our key construct of interest, the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale (excluded participants had skipped all 8 items). Of these 601 participants, 82 incorrectly responded to both attention checks in the survey and were subsequently removed. Because the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale makes explicit reference to men in four of its items, we removed an additional 30 participants who self-reported their sexual orientation as exclusively or predominantly lesbian, leaving us with a final sample of 493 heterosexual or bisexual Black women aged 18-40 (M_{age} = 28.39; SD = 6.49). Approximately half of the participants indicated that they had completed some college education (n = 209; 42.4%); in addition, a substantial proportion earned either less than $20,000 per year ($n$ = 164, 34.2%) or between $20,001 and $40,000 per year ($n$ = 121, 24.5%). They were predominantly single (n = 299, 60.6%) and exclusively heterosexual (n = 383, 77.7%). Regarding employment, approximately half were employed full time (n = 205, 41.6%), with the next largest group reporting that they were unemployed (n = 117, 23.7%). Finally, nearly two thirds of the participants lived in the South (n = 297, 60.2%), followed by the Midwest (n = 77, 15.6%). See Table 1 for full information regarding participants' demographic characteristics.

Procedure

Following IRB approval, I launched the survey on Qualtrics in April of 2019. Participants were recruited based on the inclusion criteria for this study: identifying as a Black or African American woman aged 18-40 living in the United States. This age range reflects emerging and young adult women, a sample that both replicates and extends prior research that has focused primarily on the experiences of college-age participants. Participants who clicked into the survey but who did not match the inclusion criteria were immediately directed to the end of the survey based on their responses to questions regarding their self-identified race (item: "What is your main ethnic group background/identification?") and gender (item: "What is your gender?"). Those who matched the inclusion criteria were directed to a consent screen that informed them about the study's content: "Black women's feelings about themselves, their social and sexual relationships, and their media use." Participants completed the survey at their leisure using either a computer or mobile device and were compensated by Qualtrics with e-points that can be used to buy gift cards through the Qualtrics Panels platform.

Measures

  Enjoyment of Sexualization. Participants reported their enjoyment of sexualization using the 8-item Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale (Liss, Erchull, & Ramsey, 2011). Response options on this scale range from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 7 (*strongly agree*). Sample items include "It is important that men are attracted to me" and "When I wear tight clothing, I feel sexy and in control." Mean scores were computed such that higher scores reflect greater enjoyment of sexualization. Originally developed and validated among two samples of undergraduate women (N = 212 and 227 respectively; M_{age} = 18.72, 21.37 respectively; 83.5% white and 81.8% white; no other racial demographics provided), the scale's construct and discriminant validities were upheld. In the development and validation samples, Cronbach's alphas were .85 and .86,

respectively; Cronbach's alpha in the current sample was slightly higher, at .90. There have been

a few other studies that have used the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale with samples of Black

women (alpha = .82; Jerald, 2018) and Black teen girls (alpha = .92; Grower et al., 2020), but its

construct validity and factor structure have yet to be explored in other studies. In the current

study, I changed the eighth item in the scale, "I feel empowered when I look beautiful" to "I feel

empowered when I look hot," as I thought this wording better reflected the construct of

sexualization, wherein a person's value comes from their sexual appeal specifically rather than

from their attractiveness, more generally.

Racial Centrality and Private Regard. We measured participants' ethnic identity using

the 4 items assessing racial centrality and 3 items assessing private regard from the shortened

and revised version of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al.,

1997). The centrality subscale captures the extent to which a person's race is a core part of their

self-concept. The private regard subscale reflects a person's affective and evaluative judgment of

their race, or their positive or negative affect about Black people and about being Black. A

sample item for the centrality subscale is "I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people"; a

sample item for the private regard subscale is "I am proud to be Black." Participants rated their

endorsement with these items on a Likert scale anchored by 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 7 (*strongly*

agree). Among its initial development and validation samples, these items showed good

construct validity based on their correlations with other subscales (e.g., those high in centrality

felt positively about being Black; reported lower assimilationist views). The Cronbach's alpha in

the validation sample was good for centrality (alpha = .77), but poor for private regard (.60).

Subsequent evaluations of the MIBI have raised questions regarding the factor structure and

reliability of the subscales (Cokley & Helm, 2001; Simmons et al., 2008; Vandiver et al., 2009),

though work with a shortened version of the MIBI showed improved psychometric properties (Martin et al., 2010). The centrality and private regard items utilized here showed high internal consistency (alpha = .92, .90 respectively). Because these subscales were highly correlated (r = .83), I used a composite variable in my subsequent analyses.

Feminist Identification. Participants rated their agreement with a single item, "I identify as a feminist," on a 7-point Likert scale anchored by 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 7 (*strongly agree*). Previous literature has successfully made use of both continuous and dichotomous single-item assessments of feminist identification (Conlin & Heesaker, 2018; Conlin et al., 2021).

Body Appreciation. We assessed participants' feelings of body appreciation using the Body Appreciation Scale-2 (BAS-2; Tylka & Wood-Barcalow, 2015). Participants used a 7-point scale to rank their agreement with ten statements such as "I respect my body" and "I take a positive attitude towards my body;" higher mean scores indicated a greater degree of body appreciation. In support of its construct validity, the Body Appreciation Scale-2 was correlated as expected with body esteem, body shame, and body surveillance, and Cronbach's alpha was high, at .94. Among samples of Black women, Cronbach's alphas have been similarly high, at .89 (Webb et al., 2014), .90 (Dunn et al., 2019), and .92 (Cotter et al., 2015), with expected associations with other body image measures (e.g., body surveillance; disordered eating).

Body Surveillance and Body Shame. Participants responded to the Surveillance and Shame subscale of the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale to capture the extent to which they monitor their appearance and feel shameful about their bodies (McKinley & Hyde, 1996). Participants responded to 16 items (8 per subscale) anchored by 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 7 (*strongly agree*). Sample items include "I often worry whether the clothes I am wearing make me look good" and "When I'm not the size I should be, I feel ashamed." Mean scores were

calculated, with a higher score indicating a greater tendency to monitor one's appearance and feel shameful about one's body. The scale items were originally developed among a sample of 121 women ($M = 20.0$; 85.1% white) and then validated among a second sample of 278 undergraduate women and their middle-aged mothers. Among samples of Black women, the measure has been shown to be both reliable and valid through its associations with self-objectification and body dissatisfaction (e.g., Buchanan et al., 2008; Kelly et al., 2012). Cronbach's α for the current sample was .82.

Internalization of Eurocentric Beauty Ideals. The 12-item Image Acceptance Measure (IAM; Plybon et al., 2003) was used to assess participants degree of internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals, including straight hair, lighter complexion, and smaller body size. In the current study, participants rated their agreement on a 7-point Likert scale anchored from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (strongly agree), such that higher scores indicated greater internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals. Sample items include "Straightened hair looks better than natural hair" and "I think guys prefer girls who have lighter skin." Though unrelated to racial identity in its validation study (Plybon et al., 2003), this construct showed associations with racial centrality in a subsequent study (Avery et al., 2021). The Image Acceptance Measure has demonstrated good internal consistency in other samples, with alphas ranging from .78 to .90 (Avery et al., 2021; Plybon et al., 2003; Townsend et al., 2010). Cronbach's alpha in the current sample was similar, at .89.

Jezebel Stereotype Endorsement. To assess participants' endorsement of the jezebel stereotype, participants responded to 11 items from the Jezebel Stereotype Endorsement Scale (Cheeseborough et al., 2020). Participants responded to the prompt "I think that Black women…"; sample items include "always want to have sex" and "are more promiscuous than

other groups of women." Four items from this scale came from the Stereotypic Roles of Black Women Scale (Thomas et al., 2004) and 7 others were developed based on previous theoretical and empirical research on the Jezebel stereotype. Items were anchored on a 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*almost always*) scale and a mean was computed, such that higher scores reflect greater endorsement of the jezebel stereotype; in support of its construct validity, Jezebel stereotype endorsement was associated with justification of interpersonal violence, both independently and interactively with interpersonal sexual objectification experiences (Cheeseborough et al., 2020). This scale has shown good internal consistency in past research (alpha = .93). Cronbach's alpha in the current sample was .94.

View of Women as Sex Objects. To assess my participants' endorsement of the view that women are sexual objects, I used a 13-item Women as Sex Objects Subscale, which was a revised version of the subscale from the Attitudes Towards Dating and Sexual Relationships Measure (Ward, 2002). Participants responded to items on a 6-point scale anchored by 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 6 (*strongly agree*). Sample items include "It is okay for a guy to stare at the body of an attractive woman he doesn't know" and "The best way for a girl to attract a boyfriend is to use her body and looks." Mean scores are calculated such that higher scores indicate a greater belief that women are sex objects. In its initial scale development among 269 undergraduates aged 18-22 ($M = 20.3$; 68% white), the 7-item version of this measure had adequate internal consistency with alpha of .76; among a sample of Black adolescents, Cronbach's alpha was lower, at .65. Since its initial inception, this scale has been revised to include 13 items; the longer version of the measure used here had much better internal consistency, alpha = .88.

Sex Role Stereotypes. I used the Sex Role Stereotypes subscale of Burt's (1980) Rape Myth Acceptance Scale to assess participants endorsement of traditional gender roles. Sample items include "There is something wrong with a woman who doesn't want to marry and raise a family" and "It is acceptable for a woman to have a career, but marriage and family should come first." These items were anchored on a 7-point scale, in which 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*. In the initial development and validation samples (598 men and women; M_{age} = 42; 60% female; no racial/ethnic information provided), these items showed acceptable internal consistency (alpha = .80); Cronbach's alpha in the current sample was lower, at .66. No other studies have used this subscale of Burt's measure among Black participants, though a few studies have utilized other subscales from this measure in their work (Carmody & Washington, 2001; Varelas & Foley, 1998; West & Rose, 2000). In the current sample, we sought to improve the internal consistency of this measure; examination of the Cronbach's alpha if item deleted results indicated that the alpha would improve with the deletion of item 2, "It is acceptable for the woman to pay for the date" and item 9, "There is nothing wrong with a woman going to a bar alone." To improve the scale reliability, these two items were dropped; the revised internal consistency of the scale was acceptable, alpha = .77.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. To capture global self-esteem, participants responded to the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). Sample items include, "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself" and "I take a positive attitude toward myself." Responses are anchored on a 1 to 4 scale, with 1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*, with higher mean scores reflecting higher self-esteem. The construct validity, internal consistency, and test-retest reliability of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale have been supported in a number of studies since its initial validation, though its factor structure has been debated (Donnellan et al., 2016). Among

samples of Black women, this measure has shown good internal consistency, with alphas ranging from .74-.87 (Hatcher, 2007). Cronbach's alpha in the current sample was similar, at .89.

Symptoms of Depression, Anxiety, and Hostility. To capture mental health symptomatology across three domains, participants responded to the Anxiety, Depression, and Hostility subscales from the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI), an abbreviated version of the Symptom Checklist (SCL-90-R, Derogatis & Melisaratos, 1983). Anchored by the prompt "During the past 7 days, how much were you distressed by," individuals rated the frequency of symptoms such as "Feeling lonely" (depression; 6 items), "Nervousness or shakiness inside" (anxiety; 6 items), and "Temper outbursts that you could not control" (hostility; 5 items). The convergent validity, construct validity, and internal consistency of the BSI has been upheld in both adult and adolescent samples (Molan & Tan, 1998). The BSI was invariant at the factorial level between Black and White samples, though Black women did report higher mean levels of these symptoms compared to White women (Wiesner et al., 2010). In the current sample, each subscale demonstrated good internal consistency, with alphas of .90 for anxiety; .93 for depression; and .86 for hostility.

Marital/Dating Status. I asked participants a single question to assess their relationship status: "What is your current marital status?" Response options included: single, in a relationship and not cohabitating, in a relationship and cohabitating, engaged, married, separated, divorced, and widowed. In my analyses, this variable was analyzed both as a categorical variable within an ANOVA context or dichotomized with single, separated, divorced, and widowed being set equal to 0, and the remaining response options (i.e., partnered) set equal to 1.

Self-perceived Skin Tone. I assessed participants' perceived skin tone using a single self-report item, "Compared to most Black people, what skin color do you believe you have?"

Response options included "very dark brown," "dark brown," "medium brown," "light brown," and "very light brown."

Body Mass Index. As is standard in most body image research, I asked participants to self-report their height and weight and used this information to compute their body mass index using the formula $(weight/height^2) * 703$. I do not include this variable without awareness of its problematic nature, particularly in regards to Black women's bodies. The body mass index is a metric that was normed and developed with samples of predominantly white participants; although it is correlated with white women's body dissatisfaction, Black women often comment on its irrelevance as an indicator of health and wellbeing (Cameron et al., 2018; Davidson & Knafl, 2006). Furthermore, the body mass index has been used systemically as a tool to police and stigmatize Black women's bodies (Sercu & Brake, 2017; Strings, 2019).

Analysis Plan

Descriptive statistics, frequencies, and Pearson correlations were used to develop an understanding of participants' responses to individual items. This approach allowed me to avoid the pitfalls of a mean focused analysis that might have obscured important variability in participants' responses. As part of my main analyses, I first used confirmatory exploratory factor analysis to evaluate the previously validated factor structure among the current sample before using exploratory factor analysis to determine what novel factor solution may be a more appropriate fit for the data. Though participants were limited to answering items that were normed and developed with a sample of predominantly white women, the exploratory factor analysis allowed for a more authentic set of responses to emerge from the data. Third, I used confirmatory factor analysis with the full sample to evaluate this revised solution. Fourth, I used measurement invariance testing to examine age-related differences in the participants' responses

at both the factor and item level. To develop a deeper understanding of the participants'

responses and within group variability, I next moved onto exploring the demographic and

ideological correlates of this novel factor structure using zero-order and partial correlations, as

well as ANOVAs. Such an approach helped me not only understand which participants endorsed

the different facets of enjoyment of sexualization, but also to determine how these different

facets were associated with empowering or traditional gender, race, and body ideologies. Finally,

I used multigroup structural equation modeling to assess the mental health and self-esteem

consequences of enjoyment of sexualization for emerging adult (18-29) and young adult (30-40)

Black women.

Chapter 3 Results

As the first step of my analysis, I examined patterns of missingness within the data. All 493 participants included in the current analysis had complete responses for all 8 items of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale. Missingness on other variables included in the structural equation model (e.g., the mental health and self-esteem outcomes) was treated using full-information maximum likelihood estimation in MPlus. For the demographic, ideological, and body image variables included in the descriptive analysis, no data were imputed; the variable with the largest amount of missingness was body mass index, followed by sex role stereotypes, and endorsement of the jezebel stereotype ($n = 450$; 9.1% missingness for BMI; $n = 468$, 5.1% missingness for sex role stereotypes; $n = 476$; 3.5% missingness for jezebel stereotype endorsement), Given the small amount of missing data, imputation of missing data was deemed unnecessary for these variables.

I ran descriptive statistics and frequencies for each item of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale (See Table 2 and Figure 1). For each item, means fell near the midpoint of the scale, with the most highly endorsed item being, "I feel proud when men compliment the way I look," ($M = 4.99$) and the least highly endorsed item being, "I feel complimented when men whistle at me" ($M = 2.95$). I also examined the skewness and kurtosis of the item response curves. Although there is some variability in how skewness is defined, values greater or less than +/- .96 for skewness and +/- 1.33 for kurtosis indicate that the data is skewed or kurtotic. Based on these cutoff points, none of the items were considered skewed or kurtotic, although item 7, "When I wear revealing clothing, I feel sexy and in control," was the most kurtotic (absolute

value = 1.12). Despite none of the items reaching the cutoff values for skewness, examination of

the frequency tables shows that items 1, 4, and 8 were slightly negatively skewed (a longer tail

on the left of the figure), and items 5 and 6 were slightly positively skewed (a longer tail on the

right of the figure).

Concerning the inter-item correlations (Table 3), each of the items were moderately to

highly correlated (r = .41 to .75), with the lowest correlation between items 1, 7, and 8 ("It is

important that men are attracted to me," "When I wear revealing clothing, I feel sexy and in

control," and "I feel empowered when I look hot") and the highest correlation between item 5 ("I

love showing off my body") and item 7 ("When I wear revealing clothing, I feel sexy and in

control"). Cronbach's alpha for all 8 items showed good internal consistency, with an alpha

value of .90. Exploration of the alpha-if-item deleted results showed that in each case, removal of

any of the items resulted in lower alpha (see Table 5), though this may be a consequence of how

Cronbach's alpha is calculated (i.e., scales with a more items are more internally consistent).

Cronbach's alpha is calculated in such a way that two scales with identical "true" reliability will

differ for scales with a different number of items; the scale with more items will have a higher

alpha. Therefore, it is important to consider what constitutes meaningful changes in alpha when

removing a single item.

The mean of all 8 items in this sample (M = 4.24, SD = 1.41 on a 7-point scale) is slightly

lower than in data collected with predominantly white samples (e.g., Erchull & Liss, 2013; M =

3.82, SD = .87; M = 4.02, SD = .91 on a 6-point scale). Direct comparison with previous data

collected with Black women is challenging because the only other study to collect these data

with adult women created a latent enjoyment of sexualization variable using parcels whose

means ranged from 3.77 to 4.75; these data were also collected from two college campuses rather

than a national sample (Jerald, 2018). Black women in my sample also reported higher enjoyment of sexualization than Black girls in a previous study ($M = 4.24$ versus $M = 3.40$), but this finding is to be expected given developmental differences between the two samples. Though these differences are important to note, collapsing across all 8 items of the scale may or may not be the most accurate way of assessing Black women's enjoyment of sexualization, depending on if factor analysis among this sample supports a unidimensional structure. Furthermore, the high degree of variability in the individual items (as indicated by the standard deviation and the fact that all eight items were significantly different from the mean (see Table 4) suggest the need for a more nuanced analysis.

Examining the Factor Structure of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale

My first research question addressed whether the previously validated factor structure holds among Black women in this sample. Towards this end, I ran a confirmatory factor analysis on one random half of the sample ($n = 253$) to assess the factor structure and psychometric properties of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale. By using confirmatory factor analysis, I gained item-level information (via the loadings) as well as construct level information (via the fit indices) regarding the statistical appropriateness of using these items to assess Black women's enjoyment of sexualization. As was done by the authors in the original development and validation study, all eight items were forced to load on a single factor. Benchmark good-fit criteria typically include a CFI and TLI value greater than .95, an RMSEA value less than .80, and an SRMR value less than .06 (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2015). Although all items loaded highly onto the latent variable ($\geq .61$; see Figure 1), the model fit was poor, ($\chi2$ (20) = 245.85, RMSEA = .21 [90% CI .19, .24]. CFI = .75; TLI = .65, SRMR = .09).

Given this overall poor model fit, I subsequently ran an exploratory factor analysis on the second random half of the sample (n = 240; all remaining participants who were not included in the confirmatory factor analysis) to explore alternative factor solutions. Examination of the Eigenvalues suggested either a one factor or two factor solution was most appropriate; the first Eigenvalue was 4.97 and the second was .96; the third was considerably smaller, at .66. Although Eigenvalues greater than one is a commonly used criteria for determining the number of factors, examination of the loadings, model fit, and improvement in fit between the one and two factor solutions demonstrated that a two-factor solution was more appropriate. Indeed, the chi-square difference test showed that the two-factor solution fit the data significantly better than the one-factor solution, $\chi2$ (7) = 117.18, p = .000. It was also the case that the three-factor solution fit the data significantly better than the two-factor solution $\chi2$ (6) = 16.60, p = .01, but the factor loadings suggested that this factor solution was less appropriate because several items had low loadings (<.40) or had high cross-loadings. For the two-factor solution, model fit was good, with $\chi2(13)$ = 34.96, p = .001; RMSEA = .08, CFI = .97; TLI = .94, and SRMR = .03 (see Figure 2). These analyses suggest the need to modify the factor structure of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale so that it more accurately captures Black women's experiences.

Given my interest in exploring potential differences in this factor structure across age groups, I then examined whether this factor structure fit the data well among the entire sample of 493 women. Although the initial fit of the model among the full sample was not as good as expected, examination of the modification indices suggested that correlations be added between items 1 and 2, items 1 and 3, items 2 and 3; and items 4 and 7, 5 and 8, and 7 and 8. Each of these correlations corresponded to items within each subscale, which were expected to be correlated. Furthermore, examination of the inter-item correlation table (Table 3) shows that

these items were the most highly correlated within each subscale. The addition of these correlations yielded an acceptable model fit, with χ^2 (13) = 84.91, p = .000, RMSEA = .11 [90% CI .09, .13], CFI = .96, TLI = .91, SRMR = .03 (see Figure 3). These factors had good reliability, with Cronbach's alphas of .84 and .89 for the first subscale and second subscale, respectively.

The factors were labeled due to the distinct focus of each of the subscales. Factor 1 represented a Male-Motivated Enjoyment of Sexualization and was comprised of items 1, 2, 3, and 6: "It is important that men are attracted to me," "I feel proud when men compliment the way I look," "I want men to look at me," and "I feel complimented when men whistle at me." Factor 2 represented a Self-Motivated Enjoyment of Sexualization and was comprised of items 4, 5, 7, and 8: "I love to feel sexy," "I love showing off my body," "When I wear revealing clothing, I feel sexy and in control" and "I feel empowered when I look hot." The content of these items clearly differs even in terms of face validity, regarding the motivation for self-sexualizing: The first four items explicitly invoke a male instigator of sexualized attention while the latter four items refer only to one's thoughts and feelings concerning enjoying sexualization. In the confirmatory factor analysis with the full sample, item loadings were all greater than or equal to .65; the lowest loading item was item 6: ("I feel complimented when men whistle at me"), followed by item 1 (loading = .66; "It is important that men are attracted to me"). The highest loading item was item 4 (loading = .82) "I love to feel sexy") followed by item 8 (loading = .80, "I feel empowered when I look hot"), though the remaining three items of each subscale had similarly high factor loadings to one another.

Measurement invariance testing among emerging and young adult women

To address my second research question, I next examined whether this revised factor structure was invariant across age groups. The process of testing measurement invariance is

sequential, with each step being entirely dependent on the results from the preceding steps. In the first step of measurement invariance testing, we assess *configural invariance*, or whether the overall pattern of items to factors is the same between groups. In this case, item loadings are freely estimated between groups, but are specified to load onto the same latent variables for each group. Following the satisfaction of this condition, we test *metric invariance*. In testing *metric invariance*, we force the factor loadings of each indicator on their respective latent variables to be equal between groups (e.g., the factor loading for item 1 should be roughly equivalent for both younger and older women). If model fit does not worsen at this step, we can say that the model shows *weak invariance* between the groups. Finally, we test *scalar* or *factorial invariance*, or if the intercepts of each item are equivalent across groups. In doing so, we examine whether there is any systematic bias in how participants respond to the items. Once again, we examine the changes in overall model fit to determine whether the model demonstrates *strong invariance* between the groups.

I followed the aforementioned procedure in testing invariance between the women in my sample aged 18-29 ($N = 214$; "emerging adult women") and the women in my sample aged 30-40 ($N = 279$; "young adult women"). At a mean level, younger participants reported higher self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization ($M = 4.36$, $SD = 1.69$) than male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization ($M = 4.11$, $SD = 1.50$). This pattern was reversed for older participants, who reported greater male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.40$) than self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization ($M = 4.21$, $SD = 1.58$). For each comparison of relative model fit, I used the Satorra-Bentler chi square different test, which is more appropriate when using maximum likelihood robust estimation in the model to address nonnormality in the data. Using Mplus, I specified that a configural model be run where the items are forced to load on the

same factors for both age groups. The fit of this model was comparable to the fit for the whole sample, with $\chi 2$ (26) = 103.55, *p* = .000, RMSEA = .11 [90% CI .09, .13], CFI = .96, TLI = .91, SRMR = .04 (see Figures 4 and 5). The model fit was not significantly different for the whole sample compared to the two age groups, $\Delta\chi 2$ = 6.13, *p* = .94, suggesting that this two-factor solution was appropriate for both groups of women in our sample. I then tested metric invariance in the sample by constraining the loadings for each indicator to be equal between age groups. Model fit improved somewhat for the metric model compared to the configural model, $\chi 2$ (32) = 110.290, *p* = .000, RMSEA = .10 [90% CI .08, .12], CFI = .96, TLI = .92, SRMR = .04 (see Figure 6), though this change in model fit was not significant, $\Delta\chi 2$ = 5.78, *p* = .49. This nonsignificant change in model fit suggests that the direction and relative magnitude of the loadings were similar across both age groups. Finally, I ran a model to test scalar invariance between the groups, or whether there was a systematic difference in how each group responded to the items. This model fit the data significantly worse, with $\chi 2$ (38) = 136.292, *p* = .000, RMSEA = .10 [90% CI .08, .12], CFI = .94, TLI = .93, SRMR = .05 (see Figure 7). Satorra-Bentler chi square difference testing confirmed this worsened model fit, where $\Delta\chi 2$ = 26.90, p = .0002. This worse model fit suggests that there are systematic differences between how younger and older women respond to the items on the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale. Based on visual inspection of the item intercepts in the scalar model, I saw that older women had a higher intercept value for items 2 and 3 on the scale: "I feel proud when men compliment the way I look" and "I want men to look at me."

To further examine potential age differences in responses to specific items, I ran a MIMIC (multiple indicators and multiple causes) model using the full sample of 493 women to determine if these items exhibited differential item functioning. A MIMIC model allows us to use

a dichotomous variable as a control on certain items in a confirmatory factor analysis. Accordingly, I re-ran the confirmatory factor analysis for the full sample and then examined the modification indices to determine if any additional indicators were exhibiting differential item functioning. Based on these results, I saw that there were age related differences in how the participants responded to items 4 and 8. When including age as a covariate for these four items (items 2, 3, 4, and 8), I saw an improvement in model fit, whereby $\chi 2$ (17) = 99.66, p = .000, RMSEA = .10 [90% CI .08, .12], CFI = .96, TLI = .91, SRMR = .04, suggesting that accounting for age related differences in how participants endorsed these items was important for improving the statistical fit of the model to the data. Two tailed independent sample t-tests somewhat validated this differential item functioning; for item 4, t(491) = -1.67, p = .10; for item 8, t(491) = 2.12, p = .03. (Note that for the single tailed t-test, both items showed a significant difference). Here, older participants showed greater endorsement of item 4, "I love to feel sexy" (M = 5.04, SD = 1.75 versus M = 4.75, SD = 1.89), but younger participants showed greater endorsement of item 8, "I feel empowered when I look hot" (M = 4.83, SD = 1.84 versus M = 4.48, SD = 1.85). Taken together, these results provide some insight in to the second research question regarding age-related differences in the factor structure and item endorsement of the Enjoyment of Sexualization scale for women of different ages: Though the factor structure was invariant between age groups, participants in each age group showed a different degree of endorsement for numerous items.

Convergence from open-ended survey questions

To help verify the novel factor structure revealed by my quantitative analysis, I performed an informal, cursory textual analysis of two of four open-ended survey questions. The questions I focus on here are "How important to you is it to look sexy, and why?" and "How

important is it to you to look attractive, and why?" Preliminary analysis of these data revealed several themes, including a strong emphasis from some participants about looking sexy to attract prospective partners or confirm desirability with an existing partner. Out of 480 responses that answered why it was important to look sexy, 168 (35.0%) made explicit reference to a partner (actual or prospective) or to receiving male attention (wanted or unwanted). Examples of participants' responses that fell under this code include, "It's only important to me to look sexy for my husband" and "Not really that important because not really looking for a man." Here, participants' perceived importance of sexiness was a direct corollary of seeking a partner (or not) and the desire to confirm an existing male partner's attraction. These responses stand in contrast to participants who professed a desire to look sexy for themselves; 82 participants (17%) made reference to feeling more confident when they looked sexy or that looking sexy made them feel good. For example, two participants explained, "A little because I want to look good for me, myself, and I" and "It is important that I am sexy to myself when I look in the mirror." Men are notably absent from these participants' descriptions of their motivations for looking sexy. For this theme, it is also important to consider participants for whom sexiness was not important. For example, one participant explained, "It's not [important]. I believe that beauty starts within." Finally, it was evident in the data that some participants rejected the male gaze out of physical safety concerns, with one participant noting, "Not important [to look sexy] because it attracts the wrong kind of attention." Here, the participant notes that the gaze can be quite predatory.

Other themes that I identified in my overview of the data included an association between long-term health practices and looking attractive, and between short-term beauty practices and looking sexy. For example, participants called upon practices such as drinking water, exercising, and maintaining personal hygiene as what they do to look attractive, but talked about styling

their hair in a unique way and wearing tight clothes to look sexy. (Of note, some participants emphasized hair care in descriptions of attractiveness as part of a long-term routine, which contrasted with participants who explained styling their hair in a new way for a special occasion). Other themes included impression management and the idea of dressing a certain way (not "over the top," as per one participant's words) as a way of challenging negative stereotypes about their group. For these participants, external pressures to look attractive seemed associated with awareness of their own hypervisibility in a space; this hypervisibility was further echoed by other participants who brought up the idea of taking special care not to look sexy and to always look professional. Interestingly, it seems that for some participants, looking attractive was viewed as a worthy investment of one's time and effort, whereas looking sexy was met with some animosity, as indicated by longer responses to questions about attractiveness and dismissive, brief responses to questions about sexiness. This preliminary review of the open-ended responses corroborates the distinction between male and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization identified in my factor analysis, while also providing insight into how Black women conceptualize their efforts to look beautiful and to look sexy, and for whom they engage in these different behaviors.

Exploring demographic and ideological correlates of enjoyment of sexualization

Towards addressing my third research question regarding the demographic and ideological correlates of this novel factor structure for the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale, I ran a series of t-tests and ANOVAs to determine how each facet was linked to different demographic variables. I included age, sexual orientation, educational attainment, socioeconomic status, geographic location, marital status, body mass index, and skin tone as variables of interest. I used ANOVAs to test for differences in participants' responses across sexual

58

orientation, geographic location, and marital status and correlations to test for differences in participants' responses across age, education, income, body mass index, and skin tone.

To begin, analysis of variance testing showed that there was a significant omnibus difference for marital status and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization ($F(6, 486) = 3.56$, $p = .002$), but not male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization ($F(6, 486) = 1.50$, $p = .18$). Tukey post-hoc tests indicated that this difference was driven by the difference between single and engaged participants in our sample, with engaged participants reporting higher self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization than single participants ($M_{diff} = 1.18$), though this difference was not significant ($p = .06$). For sexual orientation, analysis of variance testing indicated an omnibus difference for participants' responses for male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization ($F(3, 489) = 3.19$, $p = .02$) but not self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization ($F(3, 489) = 1.32$, $p = .27$). Tukey post-hoc testing indicated a significant difference between exclusively and predominantly heterosexual participants ($M_{diff} = .76$, $p = .01$), with exclusively heterosexual participants reporting greater male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, and a significant difference between predominantly heterosexual and bisexual participants ($M_{diff} = .79$), with predominantly heterosexual participants reporting greater male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization. There were no differences in participants' responses to either subscale based on geographic location.

I next ran bivariate correlations to examine the association between participants' responses on the enjoyment of sexualization subscales and their age, education, body mass index, and skin tone. Consistent with the measurement invariance testing, older participants reported greater endorsement of male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, though there was no significant association with self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization. Interestingly, exploring marital status differences within a dichotomous framework (where 0 = single and 1 = partnered)

highlighted that partnered participants reported greater male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization. Also of note, participants who reported greater religiosity also reported greater male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, though this variable was unrelated to their self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization. None of the other demographic variables were significantly associated with male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization or with self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization (See Table 6 for full information).

I next sought to deepen my understanding of the factor structure I identified by exploring the ideological and body image correlates of these novel facets of enjoyment of sexualization. To explore this next part of my third research question, I ran a series of zero-order and partial correlations to better understand how these different facets of enjoyment of sexualization were linked to Black women's racial identity, body beliefs, and gender ideologies (see Tables 6, 7, and 8). For this analysis, I included racial identity (a composite of racial centrality and private regard), feminist identification, jezebel stereotype endorsement, internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals, body appreciation, body surveillance and shame, the view of women as sexual objects, and the endorsement of traditional sex role stereotypes. The results demonstrate that male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization was linked to stronger feminist identification, greater endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype, greater endorsement of Eurocentric beauty ideals, more body surveillance and shame, and greater endorsement of the view of women as sexual objects and of traditional gender roles. This facet of enjoyment of sexualization was unrelated to the racial identity composite variable and body appreciation. To further explore the correlation between male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization and internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals, I created separate variables for items reflecting an internalization of that belief that straight hair, lighter skin tone, and smaller body size are more attractive. In this case, male-

60

motivated enjoyment of sexualization was most strongly linked to internalizing Eurocentric

ideals about hair (r = .44), followed by skin tone (r = .35), and body size (r = .30).

For self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, results were generally similar: women

who reported higher levels of self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization also identified more

strongly as a feminist, offered stronger endorsement of the Jezebel stereotype, offered greater

endorsement of Eurocentric beauty ideals, reported more body surveillance and shame, and

offered greater support of women as sexual objects and traditional gender role stereotypes.

However, in contrast to male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, women who reported greater

self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization also reported higher racial identity and more body

appreciation. For self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, women showed stronger feminist

identification and weaker endorsement of all other ideologies assessed than for male-motivated

enjoyment of sexualization. Although age was significantly related to women's endorsement of

several individual items in both subscales, the pattern of partial correlations controlling for age

was nearly identical to the pattern of zero order correlations not controlling for age.

Exploring the consequences of male and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization

Towards exploring my fourth research question concerning consequences for women's

well-being, I conducted a series of multigroup modeling analyses to examine how the two

enjoyment of sexualization factors were related to self-esteem, depression, anxiety, and hostility

for Black women. I first began by testing this model for the full sample, specifying a latent

variable for male and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization factors. I also used manifest

indicators for each of my mental health outcomes, including anxiety, depression, and hostility, as

well as self-esteem. This model fit the data well, $\chi2$ (126) = 261.42, p = .000, RMSEA= .07

[90% CI .06, .08], CFI = .96, TLI = .95, SRMR = .06 (see Figure 9). Examination of the path

61

coefficients showed a distinct pattern of results. Participants who reported greater male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization also reported greater symptoms of anxiety, depression, and hostility, as well as worsened self-esteem. In contrast, participants' endorsement of self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization was unrelated to their symptoms of anxiety, depression, and hostility, and was actually associated with higher self-esteem.

Having confirmed that the 2-factor structure was invariant at both the configural and metric levels in earlier analyses, I felt comfortable moving forward to the multigroup structural model examining the consequences of enjoyment of sexualization, which would also attend to age related differences between older and young women in this sample. Similar to the procedure for testing measurement invariance, multigroup modeling examines changes in model fit after imposing increasingly strict equality constraints on the data. In step one of the multigroup model, no equality constraints are imposed on the data, and associations between the variables are estimated for each group separately. In step two of this procedure, equality constraints are placed on all the regressive paths on the model (e.g., the path between male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization and self-esteem is forced to be equal for both younger and older women). In the third step of multigroup modeling, equality constraints are also imposed on correlations within the data (e.g., latent variables are forced to correlate to the same degree in both samples; item level correlations are forced to be equal between groups). At each stage of the process, model fit is examined; if imposing the equality constraints worsen the model, we have some evidence that the structural paths between the variables of interest differ between groups and should be estimated separately.

Per this procedure, I first estimated a structural model for both groups of women separately, imposing no equality constraints on any of the paths in the model. This model

provided good fit to the data, χ^2 (108) = 245.69, p = .000, RMSEA= .07 [90% CI .06, .08], CFI =

.96, TLI = .94, SRMR = .05. I then imposed equality constraints on the regressive paths in the

model, a procedure that yielded near identical model fit, χ^2 (118) = 258.91, p = .000, RMSEA=

.07 [90% CI .06, .08], CFI = .96, TLI = .95, SRMR = .06. In the final step of multigroup

modeling, I also included equality constraints on all correlations included in the model, which

again yielded similar fit; χ^2 (126) = 261.424, p = .000, RMSEA= .07 [90% CI .06, .08], CFI =

.96, TLI = .95, SRMR = .06. Satorra-Bentler chi-square difference testing showed that none of

the models were significantly different from one another; unconstrained versus partially

constrained $\Delta\chi^2$ = 13.01, p = .22; partially constrained versus fully constrained $\Delta\chi^2$ = 4.70, p =

.79. The lack of significant differences between the unconstrained, partially constrained, and

fully constrained model suggests that models where these paths are estimated separately or

forced to be equal between groups fit the data equally well.

In examining the path estimates, I see different patterns of results for each age group of

women. For the younger group, there are no significant associations between the study variables,

except for a positive association between self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization and self-

esteem. For older women, male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization was linked to more

anxiety, more depression, more hostility, and lower self-esteem. In contrast, self-motivated

enjoyment predicted higher self-esteem, but no other outcomes (see Figures 10 and 11). When

constraining the paths to be equal between groups, I see the same pattern of results as was

identified among the older women: that male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization is linked to

worsened mental health across all outcomes, and that self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization

is linked to only to higher self-esteem (see Figure 12). Thus, although a different pattern of

results emerges for the younger and older women in my sample, these models are statistically

equivalent, indicating that age, as conceptualized in this model, may not meaningfully

differentiate the consequences of enjoyment of sexualization for women of different ages.

Chapter 4 Discussion

Though previous literature has debated the consequences of enjoyment of sexualization, most of this work has focused on predominantly white samples. For Black women who contend with a host of negative historical and present-day stereotypes, deriving a sense of empowerment from sexualization while maintaining a sense of bodily autonomy may be particularly challenging. Furthermore, psychometric analysis can provide insight into how enjoyment of sexualization operates as a statistical construct among Black women, given that they were underrepresented in the development and validation samples of the scale (Liss et al., 2011). The few studies examining enjoyment of sexualization among Black women yielded somewhat equivocal results, with one study demonstrating that enjoyment of sexualization was linked directly to more sexual agency but indirectly to less sexual agency (Jerald, 2018), and the other demonstrating that enjoyment of sexualization was linked to worsened anxiety, depression, and hostility for Black girls (Grower et al., 2020).

To address this relative scarcity of research, I explored Black women's experiences of enjoyment of sexualization using psychometric theory and structural equation modeling, and grounded the analyses within the assumptions of intersectionality and Black feminist thought. In contrast to the original development and validation studies on the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale that framed it as one unified construct, I identified two separate factors: a male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization factor and a self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization factor. Though these factors appeared to capture two distinct motives for self-sexualization, my efforts to document distinct predictors of these two factors were less fruitful. Though age, marital status,

and religiosity showed small correlations with male- and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, none of the other demographic variables were associated with either facet of enjoyment of sexualization; both facets of enjoyment of sexualization were correlated similarly with the body and ideological correlates assessed here; and differences between the subscales emerged only for racial identity and body appreciation. However, the two scales *were* associated with different consequences. Women who reported greater male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization also reported more mental health symptomatology and lower self-esteem, whereas women who reported greater self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization reported higher self-esteem; self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization was unrelated to women's mental health symptomatology.

Contextualizing findings relative to prior work with the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale

I would like to begin by comparing the findings of the current study with prior research examining the correlates of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale. Previous literature examining women's enjoyment of sexualization has demonstrated a complex set of associations. Among the predominantly white validation sample for the initial study, the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale was positively associated with both hostile and benevolent sexism and with traditional gender norms; when women who reported enjoying sexualization also engaged in self-objectification, they reported more negative eating attitudes (Liss et al., 2011). Subsequent studies indicated that enjoyment of sexualization was linked to greater subjective feelings of empowerment but less awareness of social injustice and continued gender inequity (Erchull & Liss, 2013); more symptoms of depression, anxiety, and hostility (Grower et al., 2020); greater likelihood to have faked an orgasm with a partner (Erchull & Liss, 2014), and lower relationship satisfaction (Ramsey et al., 2015); but also greater sexual self-esteem (Erchull & Liss, 2014;

Grower & Ward, 2021). Getting a clear sense of the implications of enjoyment of sexualization is difficult given these equivocal findings, though there is somewhat more evidence that enjoyment of sexualization is linked to negative outcomes, except in a few key domains (i.e., sexual self-esteem). Because the current study identified a novel factor structure for the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale among Black women, drawing direct parallels between past literature and the current study is somewhat challenging; accordingly, I both contextualize the findings in past research but also highlight their novelty in the subsequent discussion.

For the original Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale, Erchull and colleagues developed their scale among a sample of 212 undergraduate women from a small liberal arts college. The sample was predominantly white (83.5%), predominantly heterosexual (97.2%), and from largely middle or upper-middle class socioeconomic backgrounds (49.1% and 42.5% respectively); no other demographic information is provided for the initial development sample. Of the initial 12 items, 8 were retained and loaded onto one factor, accounting for 41.7% of the variance; unfortunately, no fit statistics were provided for this model. In the validation sample, participants were 227 women recruited from Facebook postings and were aged 18-25 ($M_{age} = 21.37$, $SD = 2.36$); they self-identified as predominantly white (81.8%; other racial/ethnic information not reported). They came from well-educated backgrounds, with 85.2% of the sample receiving their bachelor's degree or having completed at least some college education. The fit indices for the one-factor CFA model suggested adequate to good fit, with RMSEA = .10, CFI = .93, and SRMR = .05. Given the lack of diversity (across multiple demographic indicators) in the sample, it is unsurprising that the fit indices in the current study were poor when compared to the item loadings in the original validation sample.

Psychometric analysis of enjoyment of sexualization among Black women

In the current study, I identified a novel two-factor solution that demonstrated Black women's responses to these items differed based on if their enjoyment of sexualization was motivated by men or not. These findings serve as one of the first quantitative investigations into Black women's experiences of sexualization, and the first to do so using psychometric theory. Statistically speaking, these results follow from previous literature that has examined the psychometric properties of other body image measures among samples of Black girls and women (Burnett et al., 2020; Epperson et al., 2013; Kashubeck-West et al., 2013; Warren, 2014). For example, Kashubeck-West and colleagues explored the factor structure and psychometric properties of the Multidimensional Body Self-Relations Questionnaire, the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Questionnaire, and the Body Dissatisfaction subscale of the Eating Disorder Inventory. In each case, the previously validated factor structure fit the data poorly, even though the items had good discriminant and convergent validity, and good internal consistency (Kashubeck-West et al., 2013). Similarly, items in this analysis often loaded or cross-loaded in unexpected ways onto the same factors as were originally identified or loaded onto entirely new factors that departed from the previously validated structure. As such, the fact that the previously validated one-factor solution fit the data poorly follows from previous literature exploring the psychometric properties of other body image scales among samples of Black girls and women.

The differentiation between male and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization also follows from the broader literature exploring Black women's body image. Across numerous studies on body image more broadly, Black women comment on experiences of sexualization and the reduction of their selves into hypersexualized caricatures (Awad et al., 2015; Capodilupo & Kim, 2014; Crooks et al., 2019; Halliday, 2021; Kelch-Oliver & Ancis, 2011). Regarding my

psychometric evaluation of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale, Black women in my study differentiated their responses concerning enjoyment of sexualization based on if their enjoyment of sexualization was self-motivated or motivated by the approval of men. This finding has precedent in the qualitative literature, wherein Black women comment upon the powerful influence of men in cultivating their body image and perpetuating unrealistic beauty standards related to sexualization (Capodilupo & Kim, 2014). In several studies, Black women explicitly relate these images and the impact of men's expectations of their body to the internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals and the propagation of fraught historical narratives in the present day. Past literature has also illustrated that Black women worry about being fetishized by romantic partners and men in general (Crooks et al., 2019; Silvestrini, 2020); similarly, investigations of interpersonal sexual objectification experiences indicate that attention from men may contribute to physical safety concerns and stress brought about from gendered racial microaggressions (Lewis & Neville, 2015; Lewis et al., 2016; Watson et al., 2015).

These findings were echoed in the open-ended survey responses, as well. In response to questions concerning the importance of sexiness and their motivations for looking sexy, participants often noted the desire to attract a male partner or the enjoyment of being found sexy by their current partner as a reason for why it was important to them to look sexy. Other participants indicated they avoided looking sexy because it attracted the "wrong kind of attention," underscoring the dual nature of the male gaze as both desirable (for affirming attractiveness or self-worth rooted in attractiveness) but also predatory, presenting physical safety concerns (e.g., Watson et al., 2012). In line with the results reviewed above and with previous literature, some participants made note of wanting to look sexy "for themselves," referring instead to positive feelings (e.g., boosted confidence, self-esteem) they experienced

from looking sexy. Finally, some participants dismissed the importance of sexiness, instead intimating that beauty comes from within or that physical appearance was unimportant to their overall self-concept. As a whole, these open-ended results bolster the validity of the two-factor solution identified through the factor analysis data, indicating that at least for these participants, male and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization seem to be related but distinct constructs, as substantiated by a .66 correlation between the factors in the analysis.

Though my analyses identified a novel two-factor solution for the enjoyment of sexualization scale, item level information regarding these subscales is also insightful. When I examined the previously validated one-factor solution among the current sample, every item differed from the overall scale mean, suggesting that mean level analysis with these items in their current form may not be the most meaningful way of determining Black women's feelings about sexualization. The fact that so many items differed from the mean (and also from each other, often in different directions) provides an explanation for the poor fit identified in the original one factor structure solution. For this scale, the two most highly agreed upon items were "I feel proud when men compliment the way I look" and "I feel empowered when I look hot." The high degree of agreement for the first item may be a consequence of our change to its wording – from feeling empowered when "I look beautiful" to when "I look hot." Given that previous research has shown Black women enjoy expressing themselves through their personal style, this item may have resonated with participants. Regarding the other item, it may be the case that women in this sample are deriving a sense of self-esteem from being complimented, or that such compliments serve as a form of validation for the effort they put into their appearance.

At a mean level in this sample, participants endorsed self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization to a greater extent than male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, though this

difference was not statistically significant ($M_{\text{diff}} = .10$). Yet, older participants reported greater endorsement than younger participants of two out of four male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization items (e.g., "It is important to me that men are attracted to me"). These age-related differences in participants' endorsement of male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization may reflect several contextual factors. One possible explanation is that these age-related differences in endorsement reflect generational differences in how participants view sexualized attention from men; older women may have been socialized to believe that sexualized attention from men was normal, their own responsibility, or that the negative effects of this sexualized attention were minimal (Crooks et al., 2019; Leath et al., 2021). Another possible explanation comes from potential developmental differences in participants' orientations towards sexualized male attention. Because the cultural standard of beauty and sexiness is a young woman, younger participants in my sample may be more frequent targets of unwanted sexualized attention from men. In contrast, perhaps older participants either enjoy said attention because it comes from established male partners where equality and consent are central to the interaction (Bartlett, 2019) or because single women in this age range may experience more external pressure to secure a partner and thus find male attention validating to their continued sexual attractiveness. Finally, it may also be the case that younger and older participants have internalized cultural sexualization differently, though this proposition is beyond the scope of the current paper.

The demographic, ideological, and body image correlates of enjoyment of sexualization

Results regarding the demographic and ideological correlates of these facets of enjoyment of sexualization are also worthy of further discussion. First, it is fascinating several demographic variables were uncorrelated with either of the facets of enjoyment of sexualization identified here. On the one hand, this outcome may indicate a true absence of difference across

demographic factors such as socioeconomic status, employment status, and education. On the other hand, these demographic characteristics may not be the most meaningful way to capture intragroup variation or the intersection of different identities. For example, as alluded to previously, perhaps women of varied marital statuses report male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization to similar degrees, but single women do so out of a desire to attract potential romantic partners, while partnered women do so out of a desire to receive confirmation of their current partner's continued attraction to them. Another example wherein these demographic variables may not be sufficient to capture intragroup variation is the nonsignificant correlation between enjoyment of sexualization and skin tone. Perhaps, assessing other variables, such as experiences of colorism, would be more informative. A final potential explanation for these null results is that there was insufficient heterogeneity in some of the demographic factors to capture underlying differences.

Understanding the pattern of ideological correlates with the two components of enjoyment of sexualization requires further unpacking. First, it is simplest to discuss differences observed in associations between the two subscales. Here, the data demonstrated that higher self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, but not higher male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, was associated with greater racial identity and body appreciation. Speculating on the association between racial identity and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, it may be the case that women who report higher private regard and racial centrality have rejected externally defined images of Black women, feeling instead that they are able to reclaim a sense of personal agency over their bodies. Similarly, participants with higher body appreciation may be better positioned to be "sexy for themselves" (Lamb & Plocha, 2015; Ringrose et al., 2019). This positive association contrasts with the null finding between racial identity, body

appreciation, and male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, suggesting that despite a correlation between the two subscales, participants may distinguish between them in practice. Future research should explore racial identity and body appreciation as moderators of the association between enjoyment of sexualization and other outcome variables, as these variables have been demonstrated in the literature to have a meaningful impact on Black women's body image more broadly (e.g., Awad et al., 2021; Dunn et al., 2019).

For all other ideological correlates tested as part of this study, the observed associations were similar for both male and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization. Both male-motivated and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization were associated with greater feminist identification, awareness of the jezebel stereotype, internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals, body surveillance and shame, the view of women as sexual objects, and traditional sex role stereotypes. Of note, however, is that these associations differed in magnitude: for male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, women showed greater endorsement of particularly problematic ideological and body correlates (e.g., internalization of Eurocentric beauty ideals; body shame; view of women as sexual objects) when compared to self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization. In contrast, participants who reported greater self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization reported a relatively stronger self-identification as a feminist. These results may belie the fact that Black women contend with many competing ideals regarding their behavior and appearance, while also constructing a meaningful identity for themselves as Black women. One finding of particular note here is the association between feminist identification and both forms of enjoyment of sexualization; previous research has demonstrated that Black women who show greater endorsement of feminine appearance also report greater feminist identification;

therefore, correlations observed here, particularly for self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, may be tapping into this underlying association (Cole & Zucker, 2007).

Furthermore, the three qualitative studies that directly focused on understanding Black girls' experiences of sexualization found that Black girls struggled with self-sexualizing in a way that was empowering, often feeling compelled to sexualize due to external pressures or finding their efforts and self-motivated empowerment were coopted by others (Lamb et al., 2016; Lamb & Plocha, 2015; Ringrose et al., 2021). These struggles harken back to the concern raised by many scholars that deriving empowerment from sexualization represents a commodified vision of female empowerment rather than a transformative vision of empowerment resulting in systemic changes in inequalities between genders (Levy, 2006). Yet my results highlight that the distinction between male-motivated and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization has continued relevance for adult Black women and contributes to the larger discussion concerning deriving empowerment from sexualization. Taken together, these findings suggest that sexualization motivated by one's own desire to do so could be empowering for Black women, but that sexualization that is grounded in the desire for male validation is not. This result coalesces with the findings concerning Black women's experiences of objectification, which generally support the theoretically proposed negative consequences of chronic sexual objectification (Buchanan et al., 2008; Mitchell & Mazzeo, 2009; Schaefer et al., 2018). At its core, sexual objectification is understood to be the product of a patriarchal Western society that reduces women to their sexual body parts and denies them their personhood; the male gaze, explicit or implicit, is what motivates women's self-objectification and the subsequent negative consequences. It would follow that enjoyment of sexualization items that explicitly implicate the male gaze may be similarly linked to negative mental health and self-esteem consequences.

Exploring the mental health and self-esteem consequences of enjoyment of sexualization

The findings regarding the mental health consequences of participants' endorsement of self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization items also needs to be contextualized. First, the findings regarding self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization and self-esteem follows from prior quantitative literature that found enjoyment of sexualization may lead to increases in self-esteem in general, or sexual self-esteem, in particular (Liss et al., 2014; Grower & Ward, 2021). Given the importance of appearance to women's self-esteem (Noser & Ziegler-Hill, 2014), feeling empowered or "sexy and in control" when wearing tight clothing may boost participants' overall self-esteem. These findings also follow from qualitative literature wherein Black women comment extensively on the importance of confidence and personal style in rendering someone beautiful; the behavioral items included in this subscale may be tapping into that underlying dimension of Black women's body image (Cameron et al., 2018; Hesse-Biber et al., 2004; Kelch-Oliver & Ancis, 2011; Parker et al., 1995). The null association between self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization and symptoms of anxiety, depression, and hostility stand at odds with prior research that showed enjoyment of sexualization was linked with anxiety, depression, and hostility (Grower at al., 2021). However, these findings may not be as contradictory as they first appear since this prior study did not differentiate between self- and male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization. Notably, the 8-item mean of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale is correlated with anxiety ($r = .12$) and hostility ($r = .22$), but not depression ($r = .07$) or self-esteem ($r = .04$), perhaps suggesting that some effects are strengthened, and others attenuated when looking at associations between enjoyment of sexualization, mental health, and self-esteem. In addition, this prior work was conducted with adolescent girls, who may experience particularly pernicious effects of sexualization because of the developmental inappropriateness of receiving sexualized

attention from others and because the overemphasis on appearance comes at a time when they are developing a sense of self grounded in other competencies (Grower et al., 2021).

Relatedly, it is worth addressing the interesting age-related effects observed in this model. Although younger and older women showed distinct associations between their enjoyment of sexualization, mental health, and self-esteem, these models were found to be statistically equivalent. It is important to note that these statistical results should not diminish the importance or relevance of age in this analysis. First, it may be the case that the use of a dichotomous age variable, which collapsed across women of many different ages, impacted the findings identified here. The use of a continuous age variable, incorporated in the analysis, may have been informative. Second, exploration of ageism or important developmental events (e.g., childbirth) could enrich the field's understanding of this phenomenon. For example, capturing women's age-related body changes, the influence of having children, or the role of body comfort in the context of an ongoing, long-term partnership could help elucidate the role of age in differentiating the consequences of male- and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization.

Limitations and Future Directions

Though this study makes a valuable contribution to the literature, it is not without its limitations. First and foremost, I want to acknowledge the historical context which has given rise to the present project. I am one of many white scholars that has benefited from the popularization of intersectional work within recent years, especially the proliferation of so-called "weak intersectionality" (Grzanka, 2020; McCormick-Huhn et al., 2019). From an intersectional perspective, the work presented here is flawed due to its reliance on quantitative methods used to examine measures that were normed and developed with samples of predominantly white women. I regret to contribute to the body of intersectional work that fails to subvert many of the

disciplinary norms of psychology, but hope that the unabashed admission of this issue, refusal to understand Black women's experience in monolithic ways, and politicized contextualization of the findings with an eye towards creating social change help to somewhat offset this limitation. Furthermore, though the use of pre-existing measures may be a reasonable first step in this line of work given the scarcity of other quantitative studies, the use of this measure, even in its psychometrically re-evaluated form, may overlook or silence important aspects of Black women's experiences. Future research should take a dual approach in addressing these shortcomings by using qualitative methods to explicitly ask about Black women's experiences of sexualization to inform the development of new measures that are more sensitive to the ways in which Black women's experience and enjoy sexualization. Though my preliminary analysis of the open-ended survey responses did substantiate the distinction between male and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization identified in the quantitative data, this analysis should be replicated with more robust and rigorous qualitative methods. It is also important to note that definitive information regarding the revised factor structure of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale cannot be provided from a single study; instead, it is essential that future work re-examine this measure among other samples, especially given the overrepresentation of highly educated individuals in this sample. Finally, findings from the current study seem to emphasize the role of context in Black women's enjoyment of sexualization, and future research should take this context into consideration when developing novel items. For example, it may be pertinent to differentiate between women's enjoyment of sexualization in public or in private, by oneself or with a romantic partner, in professional settings or with friends, and so on.

Another notable limitation of this study was its variable-centered analysis, which did not include more direct assessments of the structures of power that inform Black women's

experiences. The current study was conceptualized with variables of interest as its focus, not intersectionality; instead, intersectionality was imposed as a framework for understanding variable-focused associations observed in the data after the fact. As mentioned previously, intersectional work should understand multiply marginalized individuals' experiences as a product of systems of power that confer advantage and disadvantage rather than a product of the identities themselves, and thus future studies should incorporate the systemic nature of these phenomena in a way that goes beyond conceptual framing. For example, incorporating assessments of racism, sexism, gendered racism, or ageism, would be one way to more meaningfully capture the influence of systems of power within this analysis. Though objectification theorists posited that "individual difference" factors such as race, class, and sexual orientation would differentiate women's experiences of sexual objectification, more work needs to be done to clarify what it would mean to apply intersectionality to testing the tenets of objectification theory. Previous work has made important steps in the right direction with Black women by incorporating measures of skin tone surveillance and dissatisfaction (Buchanan et al., 2008), tapping into experiences of gendered racial microaggressions (Lewis et al., 2016), and assessing contextual variables such as fear of crime as contributing to Black women's general hypervigilance, which in turn might inform their experiences of sexual objectification (Watson et al., 2012). The extension of this work to studies examining the impact of enjoyment of sexualization are also merited.

A final limitation worthy of note is the exclusion of other relevant identities and power structures in the current analysis. Though I aimed to contextualize and examine race, gender, and age in this study, future research should consider the role of other relevant identity statuses and the power structures wherein they operate. For example, previous work on objectification and

sexualization has demonstrated significant differences between heterosexual and lesbian women (Erchull & Liss, 2015; Haines et al., 2008; Mason et al., 2018). These differences were echoed here, whereby exclusively heterosexual, predominantly heterosexual, and bisexual women each endorsed the two subscales of the enjoyment of sexualization scale to a different extent. Given the profound differences in consequences between self- and male-motivated enjoyment of sexualization, future research should consider how enjoyment of sexualization as a construct operates among Black queer women who are not only contending with harmful historical stereotypes but for whom a male instigator of sexualization may be less relevant. Furthermore, understanding how gender identity and gender presentation may further differentiate women's motivations for self-sexualizing would be important; for example, Flores and colleagues identified that for transgender women, engaging in sexual objectification was one means whereby they were able to "pass" and be accepted as their chosen gender identity (Flores et al., 2018). The desire to examine the interplay of different systems of power is not intended to exclusively highlight differences between these groups. Following from previous intersectional work, research that is motivated by identifying difference may unintentionally reinforce the idea of one group as the norm; in addition, similarities between groups are also worthy of investigation, with particular emphasis on understanding how systems of power may motivate individuals to engage in similar behavior but for different reasons (Cole, 2009; McCormick-Huhn et al., 2019).

Aside from addressing these notable limitations, future research should also investigate other outcomes of enjoyment of sexualization. Though sexualization is a larger umbrella term that encompasses objectification, it would behoove future researchers to explicitly test the assumption that objectification (and perhaps its correlates and consequences) is subsumed in

tests of sexualization. For example, future research should explore how enjoyment of sexualization is linked to disordered eating and sexual dysfunction, especially considering previous links between enjoyment of sexualization to sexual esteem, feelings of entitlement to sexual pleasure, and sexual assertiveness (Jerald, 2018; Grower et al., 2021). It would also be meaningful to explore the role of the ideological correlates assessed here as predictors, mediators, or moderators in models exploring the consequences of enjoyment of sexualization for Black women. Racial identity or body appreciation, two correlates that were differentially associated with the male and self-motivated enjoyment of sexualization factors, may serve as intriguing first variables to explore further. In particular, it would be fruitful to examine the consequences of enjoyment of sexualization for Black women, while also incorporating other ideological and body beliefs, using longitudinal data that would allow researchers to determine causality of the observed relationships. Finally, given the impact of Black men on Black women's body image and the omnipresence of the white patriarchal gaze, future research should investigate who Black women imagine to be the perpetrators of sexualized male attention when responding to these items.

Practical Implications

These findings have important practical implications. Within psychological research, scholars must exercise caution in misapplying measures normed and developed with predominantly white samples to participants occupying different social locations. Researchers should psychometrically reevaluate the factor structure of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale when using it with other samples of Black women; this is necessary even given the novel factor structure identified here, as the observed psychometric properties of the scale may differ as other sample characteristics change. The overreliance on previously validated quantitative measures

can stifle qualitative data collection, which is valuable in its own right and could serve as the springboard for the development of culturally relevant measures necessary to more accurately capture Black women's experiences quantitatively. The results of this study also serve as a call to action to researchers working within psychology more broadly and to developmental psychologists, in particular, who have largely neglected the issue of sexualization for Black women and girls. The urgency of this developmental question cannot be understated, as young Black girls, who begin puberty at an earlier age than their white peers, often face "adultification"—the imposition of developmentally inappropriate norms and expectations that can impede healthy development (Epstein et al., 2017). The near-complete absence of Black girls in this literature demands that developmental psychologists bear witness to their experiences.

Findings for the current study also have important implications for practice. Whereas it is impossible to escape the patriarchal gaze that renders enjoyment of sexualization so deleterious for many women, the results reviewed here call for more nuance in understanding Black women's motivations for self-sexualizing. Furthermore, the findings underscore the need for spaces wherein Black women can reclaim agency of their bodies and experience the ownership that can come from "being sexy for oneself" (Halliday, 2021; Lamb & Plocha, 2015; Lamb et al., 2016). Black women deserve spaces wherein confidence in their bodies and appearance are not accompanied by a male gaze that seeks to reduce them to a collection of body parts or define them by their sexuality alone. However, the creation of such spaces does not eradicate the larger institutions that uphold patriarchy and gendered racism; as such, researchers and practitioners alike need to consider how they can create such spaces while also working to dismantle larger structural inequalities through tailored interventions targeting both men and women and the creation of policies that protect Black women. Given that society at large often represents Black

women in ways that are both sexualizing and dehumanizing and that the internalization of these representations can act as the precursors of sexualized aggression and domestic violence (Cheeseborough et al., 2019; Moss et al., 2021), efforts to educate young women and men regarding the negative consequences of these portrayals could be quite valuable.

Conclusion

The current dissertation demonstrated the value of using psychometrics to interrogate how pre-existing measures developed with predominantly white samples may not accurately reflect the reality of women who are not white and highlights the importance of thoughtfully considering how measures may need to be adapted to accurately capture the experience of Black women. Our findings suggest that Black women's motivations for self-sexualization matter for understanding the consequences of enjoyment of sexualization, underscoring the importance of centering their subjective experience in future research, both qualitative and quantitative. That said, it is crucial to remember that Black women are not a monolithic group, and that care should be taken to understand the variability of their experiences. Furthermore, although society may sexualize Black women, the *enjoyment* of sexualization should be something that a woman chooses, not something imposed upon her. Empowering women to embrace their sexuality in a safe and consensual manner is something worthy of consideration for researchers, practitioners, and laypeople alike.

References

Allen, J., & Gervais, S. J. (2012). The drive to be sexy: Prejudice and core motivations in women's self-sexualization. In *The psychology of prejudice: Interdisciplinary perspectives on contemporary issues* (pp. 77-112). Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

American Psychological Association. (2007). Report of the APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls.

Appleford, K. (2016). 'This big bum thing has taken over the world': Considering black women's changing views on body image and the role of celebrity. *Critical Studies in Fashion & Beauty, 7*(2), 193-214. https://doi.org/10.1386/csfb.7.2.193_1

Armstrong, A. (2020). *Colored and Invisible: The Influence of Strength on Depression in Black Women* (Doctoral dissertation, Fielding Graduate University).

Ashley, R. R. (2021). # ModernBaartmans: Black Women's Reimagining of Saartjie Baartman. *Journal of Black Studies*, *52*(7), 667-687. https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1177/00219347211006483

Ata, R. N., & Thompson, J. K. (2010). Weight bias in the media: A review of recent research. *Obesity Facts*, *3*(1), 41-46. https://doi.org/10.1159/000276547

Attwood, F. (2006). Sexed up: Theorizing the sexualization of culture. *Sexualities*, *9*(1), 77–94. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460706053336

Aubrey, J. S., Gamble, H., & Hahn, R. (2017). Empowered sexual objects? The priming influence of self-sexualization on thoughts and beliefs related to gender, sex, and

power. *Western Journal of Communication*, *81*(3), 362-384.

https://doi.org/10.1080/10570314.2016.1257822

Avery, L. R., Stanton, A. G., Ward, L. M., Cole, E. R., Trinh, S. L., & Jerald, M. C. (2021).

"Pretty hurts": Acceptance of hegemonic feminine beauty ideals and reduced sexual well-

being among Black women. *Body Image*, *38*(1), 181-190.

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2021.04.004

Awad, G. H., Kashubeck-West, S., Bledman, R. A., Coker, A. D., Stinson, R. D., & Mintz, L. B.

(2020). The role of enculturation, racial identity, and body mass index in the prediction of

body dissatisfaction in African American women. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *46*(1), 3-

28. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798420904273

Awad, G. H., Norwood, C., Taylor, D. S., Martinez, M., McClain, S., Jones, B., Holman, A.,

Chapman-Hilliard, C. (2015). Beauty and body image concerns among African American

college women. *Journal of Black Psychology, 41*(6), 540–564.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798414550864

Baker, C. N. (2005). Images of women's sexuality in advertisements: A content analysis of

Black- and White-oriented women's and men's magazines. *Sex Roles, 52*(1-2), 13-27.

https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-005-1190-y

Banister, P., Bunn, G., & Burman, E. (2011). *Qualitative methods in psychology: A research

guide: A research guide*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

Barnett, M., Maciel, I., & Gerner, M. (2018). Enjoyment of sexualization and feminism:

Relationships with sexual self-schema and psychosexual health. *Sexuality & Culture*,

22(3), 669–684. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-018-9515-5

Bay-Cheng, L. Y. (2019). Agency is everywhere, but agency is not enough: A conceptual

    analysis of young women's sexual agency. *The Journal of Sex Research*, *56*(4–5), 462–

    474. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2019.1578330

Bigler, R. S., Tomasetto, C., & McKenney, S. (2019). Sexualization and youth: Concepts,

    theories, and models. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *43*(6), 530-540.

    https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025419870611

Boero, N. (2013). Obesity in the media: social science weighs in. *Critical Public Health*, *23*(3),

    371-380. https://doi.org/10.1080/09581596.2013.783686

Bogaert, A. F., & Brotto, L. A. (2014). Object of desire self-consciousness theory. *Journal of Sex*

    & Marital Therapy, *40*(4), 323-338. https://doi.org/10.1080/0092623X.2012.756841

Brochu, P. M., Pearl, R. L., Puhl, R. M., & Brownell, K. D. (2014). Do media portrayals of

    obesity influence support for weight-related medical policy? *Health Psychology*, *33*(2),

    197. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0032592

Brown, L. C., Williams, B. M., & Williams, Q. S. (2021). Melanin messages: Black college

    women's experiences and reflections on navigating colorism. *Journal of Diversity in*

    Higher Education. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000347

Bucchianeri, M. M., Arikian, A. J., Hannan, P. J., Eisenberg, M. E., & Neumark-Sztainer, D.

    (2013). Body dissatisfaction from adolescence to young adulthood: Findings from a 10-

    year longitudinal study. *Body Image*, *10*(1), 1-7.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2012.09.001

Buchanan, T. S., Fischer, A. R., Tokar, D. M., & Yoder, J. D. (2008). Testing a culture-specific

    extension of objectification theory regarding African American women's body image.

The Counseling Psychologist, 36(5), 697-718.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000008316322

Burnette, C. B., Boutté, R. L., Sosnowski, D. W., & Mazzeo, S. E. (2020). Measurement

invariance of the SATAQ-4 in Black and White undergraduate women. *Body image*, *32*,

85-93. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2019.11.004

Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social

Psychology*, *38*(2), 217-230. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.38.2.217

Calogero, R. M., & Siegel, J. A. (2019). Widening understandings of women's sexual desire: A

social–ecological lens. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *48*(6), 1693-1698.

https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-018-1351-z

Calogero, R. M., Tantleff-Dunn, S. & Thompson, J. K. (Eds.). (2011). *Self-objectification in

women: Causes, consequences, and counteractions.* Washington, DC: American

Psychological Association

Cameron, N. O., Muldrow, A. F., & Stefani, W. (2018). The weight of things: Understanding

African American women's perceptions of health, body image, and

attractiveness. *Qualitative Health Research*, *28*(8), 1242-1254.

https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732317753588

Campo, S., & Mastin, T. (2007). Placing the burden on the individual: overweight and obesity in

African American and mainstream women's magazines. *Health Communication*, *22*(3),

229-240. https://doi.org/10.1080/10410230701626885

Capodilupo, C. M. (2015). One size does not fit all: Using variables other than the thin ideal to

understand Black women's body image. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority

Psychology, 21*(2), 268-278. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037649

Capodilupo, C. M., & Kim, S. (2014). Gender and race matter: The importance of considering intersections in Black women's body image. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 61*(1), 37-49. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0034597

Carmody, D. C., & Washington, L. M. (2001). Rape myth acceptance among college women: The impact of race and prior victimization. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *16*(5), 424-436. https://doi.org/10.1177/088626001016005003

Carr, E. R., Szymanski, D. M., Taha, F., West, L. M., & Kaslow, N. J. (2014). Understanding the link between multiple oppressions and depression among African American women: The role of internalization. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 38*(2), 233-245. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313499900

Cheeseborough, T., Overstreet, N., & Ward, L. M. (2020). Interpersonal sexual objectification, Jezebel stereotype endorsement, and justification of intimate partner violence toward women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *44*(2), 203-216. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684319896345

Choi, D., & DeLong, M. (2019). Defining female self-sexualization for the twenty-first century. *Sexuality & Culture, 23*(1), 1-22. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-019-09617-3

Cokley, K. O., & Helm, K. (2001). Testing the construct validity of scores on the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, *34*(2), 80-95. https://doi.org/10.1080/07481756.2001.12069025

Cole, E. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *The American Psychologist*, *64*, 170–180. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014564

Cole, E. R. (2020). Opening doors for the insurgent. In S. Fenstermaker & A. J. Stewart (Eds.),

    Gender, Considered: Feminist Reflections Across the US Social Sciences (pp. 9–28).

    Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48501-6_2

Cole, E. R., & Zucker, A. N. (2007). Black and white women's perspectives on femininity.

    Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13(1), 1–9.

    https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.13.1.1

Collective, T. C. R. (2014). A Black feminist statement. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, *42*(3/4),

    271–280.

Collins, P. H. (2002). Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of

    empowerment. New York: Routledge.

Conlin, S. E., Douglass, R. P., & Moscardini, E. H. (2021). Predicting transphobia among

    cisgender women and men: The roles of feminist identification and gender

    conformity. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health*, *25*(1), 5-19.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/19359705.2020.1780535

Conlin, S. E., & Heesacker, M. (2018). Feminist men?: Examining men's feminist self-

    identification, activism and the impact of language. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *27*(8),

    928-942. https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2017.1371007

Cotter, E. W., Kelly, N. R., Mitchell, K. S., & Mazzeo, S. E. (2015). An investigation of body

    appreciation, ethnic identity, and eating disorder symptoms in Black women. *Journal of*

    Black Psychology, *41*(1), 3-25. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798413502671

Crais, C., & Scully, P. (2021). Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus. Princeton University

    Press.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence

    against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241-1299.

    https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039

Crooks, N., King, B., Tluczek, A., & Sales, J. M. (2019). The process of becoming a sexual

    Black woman: A grounded theory study. *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive*

    Health, *51*(1), 17-25. https://doi.org/10.1363/psrh.12085

Daniels, E. A., Zurbriggen, E. L., & Ward, L. M. (2020). Becoming an object: A review of self-

    objectification in girls. *Body Image*, *33*, 278-299.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2020.02.016

Davidson, M., & Knafl, K. A. (2006). Dimensional analysis of the concept of obesity. *Journal of*

    Advanced Nursing, *54*(3), 342-350. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2006.03812.x

Davies, A. E., Burnette, C. B., & Mazzeo, S. E. (2021). Testing a moderated mediation model of

    objectification theory among black women in the United States: The role of protective

    factors. *Sex Roles*, *84*(1), 91-101. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01151-z

Davis, S. M., & Afifi, T. D. (2019). The strong Black woman collective theory: Determining the

    prosocial functions of strength regulation in groups of Black women friends. *Journal of*

    Communication, *69*(1), 1-25. https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1093/joc/jqy065

Dawson, G. A., Karl, K. A., & Peluchette, J. V. (2019). Hair matters: Toward understanding

    natural Black hair bias in the workplace. Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies,

    26, 389-401. https:// doi.org/10.1177/1548051819848998

Deloitte. (2018). *Missing pieces report: The 2018 board diversity census of women and*

    minorities on Fortune 500 boards. Retrieved

from https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/us/Documents/center-for-board-

effectiveness/us-cbe-missing-pieces-report-2018-board-diversity-census.pdf

Derbew, S. (2019). (Re)membering Sara Baartman, Venus, and Aphrodite. *Classical Receptions Journal, 11*(3), 336-354. https://doi.org/10.1093/crj/clz008

Derogatis, L. R., & Melisaratos, N. (1983). The Brief Symptom Inventory: an introductory report. *Psychological Medicine, 13*(3), 595-605. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291700048017

De Wilde, M., Carrier, A., Casini, A., & Demoulin, S. (2021). The drawback of sexual empowerment: Perceiving women as emancipated but still as sexual objects. *Sex Roles*, *84*(9), 626–643. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01192-4

Dodson, R. E., Cardona, B., Zota, A. R., Flint, J. R., Navarro, S., & Shamasunder, B. (2021). Personal care product use among diverse women in California: Taking Stock Study. *Journal of Exposure Science & Environmental Epidemiology*, *31*(3), 487-502. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41370-021-00327-3

Donahoo, S., & Smith, A. D. (2019). Controlling the crown: Legal efforts to professionalize black hair. *Race and Justice*, *12*(1), 182-203. https://doi.org/10.1177/2153368719888264

Donnellan, M.B., Ackerman, R.A., & Brecheen, C. (2016). Extending structural analyses of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale to consider criterion related validity: Can composite self-esteem scores be good enough? *Journal of Personality Assessment, 98*(2), 169-177. https://doi.org/10.1080/00223891.2015.1058268

Dotson, K. (2011). Tracking epistemic violence, tracking practices of silencing. *Hypatia*, *26*(2), 236–257. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2011.01177.x

Dunn, C. E., Hood, K. B., & Owens, B. D. (2019). Loving myself through thick and thin:

    Appearance contingent self-worth, gendered racial microaggressions and African

    American women's body appreciation. *Body Image*, *30*(1), 121-126.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2019.06.003

Epperson, A. E., Depaoli, S., Song, A. V., Wallander, J. L., Elliott, M. N., Cuccaro, P., ... &

    Schuster, M. (2016). Perceived physical appearance: Assessing measurement equivalence

    in Black, Latino, and White Adolescents. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology, 42*(2), 142-

    152. https://doi.org/10.1093/jpepsy/jsw047

Epstein, R., Blake, J., & Gonzalez, T. (2017). Girlhood interrupted: The erasure of Black girls'

    childhood. Georgetown Law Center on Poverty and Inequality. Retrieved from

    http://www.law.georgetown.edu/academics/centers-

    institutes/povertyinequality/upload/girlhood-interrupted.pdf

Erchull, M. J., & Liss, M. (2013). Feminists who flaunt it: Exploring the enjoyment of

    sexualization among young feminist women. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*,

    43(12), 2341–2349. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12183

Erchull, M. J., & Liss, M. (2014). The object of one's desire: How perceived sexual

    empowerment through objectification is related to sexual outcomes. *Sexuality &*

    Culture, *18*(4), 773-788. https://doi.org/ 10.1007/s12119-013-9216-z

Erchull, M. J., & Liss, M. (2015). Clinical outcomes of enjoying sexualization among lesbian

    women. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *62*(3), 340-352.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2014.972808

Farrell, A. E. (2011). *Fat shame: Stigma and the fat body in American culture*. NYU Press.

Flores, M. J., Watson, L. B., Allen, L. R., Ford, M., Serpe, C. R., Choo, P. Y., & Farrell, M. (2018). Transgender people of color's experiences of sexual objectification: Locating sexual objectification within a matrix of domination. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *65*(3), 308-323. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/cou0000279

Foulkes, L., & Blakemore, S. J. (2016). Is there heightened sensitivity to social reward in adolescence? *Current Opinion in Neurobiology*, *40*(1), 81-85. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.conb.2016.06.016

Franzoi, S. L., & Shields, S. A. (1984). The Body Esteem Scale: Multidimensional structure and sex differences in a college population. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *48*(2), 173-178. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa4802_12

Fredrickson, B. L., & Roberts, T. A. (1997). Objectification theory: Toward understanding women's lived experiences and mental health risks. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*(2), 173-206. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00108.x

Gautier, S.W. (2021). Black beauty: Womanist consciousness as a protective factor in Black women's body image satisfaction. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *47*(8), 631-656. https://doi.org/10.1177/00957984211034960

Gaztambide-Fernández, R., & Angod, L. (2019). Approximating Whiteness: Race, class, and empire in the making of modern elite/White subjects. *Educational Theory*, *69*(6), 719-743. https://doi.org/10.1111/edth.12397

Gentles-Peart, K. (2018). Controlling beauty ideals: Caribbean women, thick bodies, and white supremacist discourse. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, *46*(1/2), 199-214. https://doi.org/10.1353/wsq.2018.0009.

Gentles-Peart, K. (2020). "Fearfully and wonderfully made": Black Caribbean women and the

decolonization of thick Black female bodies. *Feminism & Psychology, 30*(3), 306-323.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353520912983

Gilbert, S. C., Crump, S., Madhere, S., & Schutz, W. (2009). Internalization of the thin ideal as a

predictor of body dissatisfaction and disordered eating in African, African-American, and

Afro-Caribbean female college students. *Journal of College Student Psychotherapy,

23*(3), 196-211. https://doi.org/10.1080/87568220902794093

Gill, R. (2008). Empowerment/sexism: Figuring female sexual agency in contemporary

advertising. *Feminism & Psychology*, *18*(1), 35-60.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353507084950

Gill, R. (2012). Media, empowerment and the 'sexualization of culture' debates. *Sex Roles*,

66(11–12), 736–745. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-0107-1

Gordon, M. K., & Ward, L. M. (2000). I'm beautiful, therefore I'm worthy: Assessing

associations between media use and adolescents' self-worth. In biennial meeting of the

Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.

Gordon-Chipembere, N. (2011). *Representation and Black Womanhood: The Legacy of Sarah

Baartman*. Springer.

Grabe, S., & Hyde, J. S. (2006). Ethnicity and body dissatisfaction among women in the United

States: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 132*(4), 622-640.

https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.132.4.622

Gregus, S. J., Rummell, C. M., Rankin, T. J., & Levant, R. F. (2014). Women's experiences of

sexual attention: A cross-sectional study of US university students. *International Journal

of Sexual Health*, *26*(4), 239-257. https://doi.org/10.1080/19317611.2014.885922

Grippo, K. P., & Hill, M. S. (2008). Self-objectification, habitual body monitoring, and body

    dissatisfaction in older European American women: Exploring age and feminism as

    moderators. *Body Image*, *5*(2), 173-182. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2007.11.003

Grower, P., & Ward, L. M. (2021). Differentiating contributions of self-objectification and self-

    sexualization to young women's sexual agency. *Body Image*, *38*, 63–71.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2021.03.005

Grower, P., Ward, L. M., & Beltz, A. M. (2019). Downstream consequences of pubertal timing

    for young women's body beliefs. *Journal of Adolescence*, *72*(1), 162-166.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2019.02.012

Grower, P., Ward, L. M., & Rowley, S. (2021). Beyond objectification: Understanding the

    correlates and consequences of sexualization for Black and White adolescent

    girls. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *31*(2), 273-281.

    https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12598

Grzanka, P. R. (2018). Intersectionality and feminist psychology: Power, knowledge, and

    process. In *APA handbook of the psychology of women: History, theory, and

    battlegrounds, Vol. 1* (pp. 585–602). American Psychological Association.

    https://doi.org/10.1037/0000059-030

Grzanka, P. R. (2020). From buzzword to critical psychology: An invitation to take

    intersectionality seriously. *Women & Therapy*, *43*(3–4), 244–261.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2020.1729473

Haines, M. E., Erchull, M. J., Liss, M., Turner, D. L., Nelson, J. A., Ramsey, L. R., & Hurt, M.

    M. (2008). Predictors and effects of self-objectification in lesbians. *Psychology of Women

    Quarterly*, *32*(2), 181-187. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2008.00422.x

Halliday, A. S. (2020). Twerk sumn!: Theorizing Black girl epistemology in the body. *Cultural Studies*, *34*(6), 874–891. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2020.1714688

Hamilton, A. (2021). Untangling discrimination: The CROWN Act and protecting Black hair. *University of Cincinnati Law Review 89*(2), 483–508.

Hamilton, L. T., Armstrong, E. A., Seeley, J. L., & Armstrong, E. M. (2019). Hegemonic femininities and intersectional domination. *Sociological Theory*, *37*(4), 315-341. https://doi.org/10.1177/0735275119888248

Hatcher, J. (2007). The state of measurement of self-esteem of African American women. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing, 18*(3), 224– 232. https://doi.org/10.1177/1043659607301299

Hazell, V., & Clarke, J. (2008). Race and gender in the media: A content analysis of advertisements in two mainstream Black magazines. *Journal of Black Studies, 39*(1), 5-21. 10.1177/0021934706291402

Henderson, C. E. (2014). AKA: Sarah Baartman, The Hottentot Venus, and Black Women's Identity. *Women's Studies*, *43*(7), 946–959. https://doi.org/10.1080/00497878.2014.938191

Hesse-Biber, S., Livingstone, S., Ramirez, D., Barko, E. B., & Johnson, A. L. (2010). Racial identity and body image among Black female college students attending predominately White colleges. *Sex Roles, 63*(9-10), 697-711. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9862-7

Higginbotham, E. (1997). The Black church: A gender perspective. In Raboteau, A.J. & Fulop, T.E. (Eds.) *African American religion: Interpretive essays in history and culture* (pp. 201-225). Routledge.

Hobson, J. (2018a). Remnants of Venus: Signifying Black beauty and sexuality. *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly*, *46*(1–2), 105–120. https://doi.org/10.1353/wsq.2018.0015

Hobson, J. (2018b). *Venus in the dark: Blackness and beauty in popular culture* (Second edition). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Hockey, A., Barlow, F. K., Shiels, A. L., & Donovan, C. L. (2021). Body dissatisfaction in midlife women: The applicability of the tripartite influence model. *Body Image*, *39*(1), 202-212. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2021.08.006

Hoxworth, K. (2017). The many racial effigies of Sara Baartman. *Theatre Survey*, *58*(3), 275-299. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0040557417000254

Hu, L. T., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, *6*(1), 1-55. https://doi.org/10.1080/10705519909540118

Jefferson, D. L., & Stake, J. E. (2009). Appearance self-attitudes of African American and European American women: Media comparisons and internalization of beauty ideals. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 33*(4), 396-409. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2009.01517.x

Infanger, M., Rudman, L. A., & Sczesny, S. (2016). Sex as a source of power? Backlash against self-sexualizing women. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *19*(1), 110–124. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430214558312

Jacobi, C., & Fittig, E. (2010). Psychosocial risk factors for eating disorders. In Robinson, A., & Agras, S.W. (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Eating disorders*, (pp. 123-136). Oxford University Press.

Jerald, M. (2018). *Respectable Women: Exploring the Influence of the Jezebel Stereotype on Black Women's Sexual Well-Being* (Doctoral dissertation).

Jones, B. A., & Griffiths, K. M. (2015). Self-objectification and depression: An integrative systematic review. *Journal of Affective Disorders, 171*(1), 22-32. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2014.09.011

Jones, M. K., Harris, K. J., & Reynolds, A. A. (2021). In their own words: The meaning of the strong Black woman schema among Black US college women. *Sex Roles*, *84*(5), 347-359. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01170-w

Kalof, L. (2000). Ethnic differences in female sexual victimization. *Sexuality and Culture*, *4*(4), 75–98. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-000-1005-9

Kashubeck-West, S., Coker, A. D., Awad, G. H., Stinson, R. D., Bledman, R., & Mintz, L. (2013). Do measures commonly used in body image research perform adequately with African American college women? *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 19*(3), 357-368. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031905

Kelch-Oliver, K., & Ancis, J. R. (2011). Black women's body image: An analysis of culture-specific influences. *Women & Therapy, 34*(4), 345-358. https://doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2011.592065

Kelly, N. R., Mitchell, K. S., Gow, R. W., Trace, S. E., Lydecker, J. A., Bair, C. E., & Mazzeo, S. (2012). An evaluation of the reliability and construct validity of eating disorder measures in white and black women. *Psychological Assessment, 24*(3), 608-617. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0026457

Kilpela, L. S., Becker, C. B., Wesley, N., & Stewart, T. (2015). Body image in adult women:

    Moving beyond the younger years. *Advances in Eating Disorders: Theory, Research and*

    Practice, *3*(2), 144-164. https://doi.org/10.1080/21662630.2015.1012728

Kline, R. B. (2015). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling*. Guilford

    Publications.

Lam, C. B., McHale, S. M., & Crouter, A. C. (2014). Time with peers from middle childhood to

    late adolescence: Developmental course and adjustment correlates. *Child*

    Development, *85*(4), 1677-1693. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12235

Lamb, S., Farmer, K. M., Kosterina, E., Lambe Sariñana, S., Plocha, A., & Randazzo, R. (2016).

    What's sexy? Adolescent girls discuss confidence, danger, and media influence. *Gender*

    and Education, 28(4), 527-545. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/09540253.2015.1107528.

Lamb, S., & Plocha, A. (2015). Pride and sexiness: Girls of color discuss race, body image, and

    sexualization. *Girlhood Studies*, *8*(2), 86-102. 10.3167/ghs.2015.080207.

LeBesco, K. (2011). Neoliberalism, public health, and the moral perils of fatness. *Critical Public*

    Health, *21*(2), 153-164. https://doi.org/10.1080/09581596.2010.529422

Lewis, J. A., & Neville, H. A. (2015). Construction and initial validation of the Gendered Racial

    Microaggressions Scale for Black women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 62*(2),

    289-302. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000062

Lewis, J. A., Mendenhall, R., Harwood, S. A., & Browne Huntt, M. (2016). "Ain't I a woman?"

    Perceived gendered racial microaggressions experienced by Black women. *The*

    Counseling Psychologist, *44*(5), 758-780. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000016641193

Lewis-Smith, H. (2014). Ageing, anxiety and appearance: exploring the body image of women in

    midlife. *Journal of Aesthetic Nursing, 3*(3), 134-135.

    https://doi.org/10.12968/joan.2014.3.3.134

Levy, A. (2006). *Female chauvinist pigs: Women and the rise of raunch culture*. New York, NY:

    Free Press.

Liss, M., Erchull, M. J., & Ramsey, L. R. (2011). Empowering or oppressing? Development and

    exploration of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale. *Personality and Social Psychology*

    Bulletin, 37(1), 55-68. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167210386119

Litchfield, C., Kavanagh, E., Osborne, J., & Jones, I. (2018). Social media and the politics of

    gender, race and identity: The case of Serena Williams. *European Journal for Sport and*

    Society, *15*(2), 154-170. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2018.1452870

Lovering, M. E., Rodgers, R. F., George, J. E., & Franko, D. L. (2018). Exploring the tripartite

    influence model of body dissatisfaction in postpartum women. *Body Image*, *24*(1), 44-54.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2017.12.001

Lyons, A. P. (2018). The two lives of Sara Baartman: Gender,"race," politics and the

    historiography of mis/representation. *Anthropologica*, *60*(1), 337-346. https://doi.org/

    10.3138/anth.60.1.a05.

Markland, D., & Oliver, E. J. (2008). The Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance

    Questionnaire-3: A confirmatory factor analysis. *Body Image*, *5*(1), 116-121.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2007.10.001

Martin, P., Wout, D., Nguyen, H. X., Gonzalez, R., & Sellers, R. M. (2010). Investigating the

    psychometric properties of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity in two

    samples: The Development of the MIBI-S. Unpublished Manuscript.

Mason, T. B., Lewis, R. J., & Heron, K. E. (2018). Disordered eating and body image concerns
    among sexual minority women: A systematic review and testable model. *Psychology of
    Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity, 5*(4), 397–422.
    https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000293

Mattis, J. S., Palmer, G. J. M., & Hope, M. O. (2019). Where our bright star is cast: Religiosity,
    spirituality, and positive Black development in urban landscapes. *Religions, 10*(12), 1-24.
    https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10120654

Mbilishaka, A. M., Clemons, K., Hudlin, M., Warner, C., & Jones, D. (2020). Don't get it
    twisted: Untangling the psychology of hair discrimination within Black
    communities. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *90*(5), 590-599.
    https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000468

McCormick-Huhn, K., Warner, L. R., Settles, I. H., & Shields, S. A. (2019). What if psychology
    took intersectionality seriously? Changing how psychologists think about participants.
    Psychology of Women Quarterly, *43*(4), 445–456.
    https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684319866430

McKinley, N. M. (1999). Women and objectified body consciousness: Mothers' and daughters'
    body experience in cultural, developmental, and familial context. *Developmental
    Psychology, 35*(3), 760–769. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.35.3.760

McKinley, N. M. (2006). The developmental and cultural contexts of objectified body
    consciousness: A longitudinal analysis of two cohorts of women. *Developmental
    Psychology, 42*(4), 679–687. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.4.679

McKinley, N. M., & Hyde, J. S. (1996). The Objectified Body Consciousness Scale: Development and validation. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 20*(2), 181-215. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.1996.tb00467.x.

Meltzer, A. L. (2020). Women can benefit from sexual and physical valuation in the context of a romantic relationship. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *46*(2), 243-257. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167219854443

Mitchell, K. S., & Mazzeo, S. E. (2009). Evaluation of a structural model of objectification theory and eating disorder symptomatology among European American and African American undergraduate women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 33*(4), 384-395. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2009.01516.x

Moradi, B., & Huang, Y. P. (2008). Objectification theory and psychology of women: A decade of advances and future directions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 32*(4), 377-398. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2008.00452.x

Morlan, K. K. & Tan, S.Y. (1998). Comparison of the Brief Psychiatric Rating Scale and the Brief Symptom Inventory. *Journal of Clinical Psychology 54*(7), 885-894. https://doi.org/10.1002/(sici)1097-4679(199811)54:7<885::aid-jclp3>3.0.co;2-e

Moss, L., Ward, L. M., & Overstreet, N. (in press). Do objectification, gender beliefs, or racial stereotypes mediate associations between Black adults' media use and acceptance of intimate partner violence? *Psychology of Violence.* Advance online publication.

Murnen, S. K., & Smolak, L. (2013). "I'd rather be a famous fashion model than a famous scientist": The rewards and costs of internalizing sexualization. In E. L. Zurbriggen & T.-A. Roberts (Eds.), *The sexualization of girls and girlhood: Causes, consequences, and resistance* (pp. 235–253). Oxford University Press.

Nelson, T., Shahid, N. N., & Cardemil, E. V. (2020). Do I really need to go and see somebody?

   Black women's perceptions of help-seeking for depression. *Journal of Black*

   Psychology, *46*(4), 263-286. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798420931644

Noll, S. M., & Fredrickson, B. L. (1998). A mediational model linking self-objectification, body

   shame, and disordered eating. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 22*(4), 623-636.

   https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1998.tb00181.x

Noser, A., & Zeigler-Hill, V. (2014). Investing in the ideal: Does objectified body consciousness

   mediate the association between appearance contingent self-worth and appearance self-

   esteem in women? *Body Image*, *11*(2), 119-125.

   https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2013.11.006

Nussbaum, M. C. (1995). Objectification. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, *24*(4), 249-291.

   https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1088-4963.1995.tb00032.x

Ortiz, S. Y., & Roscigno, V. J. (2009). Discrimination, women, and work: Processes and

   variations by race and class. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *50*(2), 336-359.

Parker, S., Nichter, M., Nichter, M., Vuckovic, N., Sims, C., & Ritenbaugh, C. (1995). Body

   image and weight concerns among African American and white adolescent females:

   Differences that make a difference. *Human Organization 54*(2), 103-114.

   https://doi.org/0018-7259/95/020103-12$1.70/1

Phelan, S. M., Burgess, D. J., Yeazel, M. W., Hellerstedt, W. L., Griffin, J. M., & van Ryn, M.

   (2015). Impact of weight bias and stigma on quality of care and outcomes for patients

   with obesity. *Obesity Reviews*, *16*(4), 319-326. https://doi.org/10.1111/obr.12266

Pope, M., Corona, R., & Belgrave, F. Z. (2014). Nobody's perfect: A qualitative examination of

    African American maternal caregivers' and their adolescent girls' perceptions of body

    image. *Body Image*, *11*(3), 307-317. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2014.04.005

Plybon, L. E., Pegg, P. O., & Reed, M. (2003). The image acceptance measure: A validation

    study. Poster presented at the Biannual Society for Research in Child Development,

    Tampa, FL.

Poran, M. A. (2006). The politics of protection: Body image, social pressures, and the

    misrepresentation of young Black women. *Sex Roles, 55*(11-12), 739-755.

    https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9129-5

Quinn, D. M., Chaudoir, S. R., & Kallen, R. W. (2011). Performance and flow: A review and

    integration of self-objectification research. In R. M. Calogero, S. Tantleff-Dunn, & J. K.

    Thompson (Eds.), *Self-objectification in women: Causes, consequences, and*

    counteractions (pp. 119–138). American Psychological Association.

    https://doi.org/10.1037/12304-006

Quittkat, H. L., Hartmann, A. S., Düsing, R., Buhlmann, U., & Vocks, S. (2019). Body

    dissatisfaction, importance of appearance, and body appreciation in men and women over

    the lifespan. *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, *10*(1), 1-12.

    https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyt.2019.00864

Rakhkovskaya, L. M., & Warren, C. S. (2014). Ethnic identity, thin-ideal internalization, and

    eating pathology in ethnically diverse college women. *Body Image, 11*(4), 438-445.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2014.07.003

Ramsey, L. R., & Hoyt, T. (2015). The object of desire: How being objectified creates sexual

pressure for women in heterosexual relationships. *Psychology of Women Quarterly,*

39(2), 151-170. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684314544679

Ramsey, L. R., Marotta, J. A., & Hoyt, T. (2017). Sexualized, objectified, but not satisfied:

Enjoying sexualization relates to lower relationship satisfaction through perceived partner

objectification. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 34*(2), 258-278.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407516631157

Raspovic, A. M., Hart, L. M., Zali, Y., & Prichard, I. (2021). Body image profiles and exercise

behaviours in early motherhood: A latent profile analysis. *Journal of Health Psychology*.

Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/13591053211019114

Reed, T. D., & Neville, H. A. (2014). The influence of religiosity and spirituality on

psychological well-being among Black women. *Journal of Black Psychology, 40*, 384-

401. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798413490956

Regehr, K. (2012). The rise of recreational burlesque: Bumping and grinding towards

empowerment. *Sexuality & Culture*, *16*(2), 134–157. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-011-

9113-2

Ringrose, J., Tolman, D., & Ragonese, M. (2019). Hot right now: Diverse girls navigating

technologies of racialized sexy femininity. *Feminism & Psychology*, *29*(1), 76-95.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353518806324

Robbins, A. R., & Reissing, E. D. (2018a). Appearance dissatisfaction, body appreciation, and

sexual health in women across adulthood. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *47*(3), 703-714.

https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-017-0982-9

Robbins, A. R., & Reissing, E. D. (2018b). Out of "objectification limelight"? The contribution

    of body appreciation to sexual adjustment in midlife women. *The Journal of Sex*

    Research, *55*(6), 758-771. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2017.1372352

Roberts, T.-A., Calogero, R. M., & Gervais, S. J. (2018). Objectification theory: Continuing

    contributions to feminist psychology. In C. B. Travis & J. W. White (Eds.), *Handbook of*

    the psychology of women: Vol 1. History, theory, and battlegrounds (pp. 249–271).

    Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Roberts, A., Cash, T. F., Feingold, A., & Johnson, B. T. (2006). Are black-white differences in

    females' body dissatisfaction decreasing? A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Consulting*

    and Clinical Psychology, 74(6), 1121-1131. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-

    006X.74.6.1121

Robinson, C. L. (2011). Hair as race: Why "good hair" may be bad for Black females. *Howard*

    Journal of Communications, *22*(4), 358-376.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2011.617212

Rogers, L.O, Versey, H. S., & Cielto, J. (2021). "They're always gonna notice my natural hair":

    Identity, intersectionality and resistance among Black girls. *Qualitative Psychology*.

    Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/qup0000208

Rosario, R. J., Minor, I., & Rogers, L. O. (2021). "Oh, you're pretty for a dark-skinned girl":

    Black adolescent girls' identities and resistance to colorism. *Journal of Adolescent*

    Research, *36*(5), 501-534. https://doi.org/10.1177/07435584211028218

Rosenberg, M. (1965). *Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE). Acceptance and Commitment*

    Therapy. Measures Package, *61*(52), 18.

Rubin, L. R., Fitts, M. L., & Becker, A. E. (2003). "Whatever feels good in my soul": Body

    ethics and aesthetics among African American and Latina women. *Culture, Medicine and*

    Psychiatry, 27(1), 49-75. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:102367982

Rucker III, C. E., & Cash, T. F. (1992). Body images, body-size perceptions, and eating

    behaviors among African-American and white college women. *International journal of*

    Eating Disorders, 12(3), 291-299. https://doi.org/10.1002/1098-

    108X(199211)12:3<291::AID-EAT2260120309>3.0.CO;2-A

Sabik, N. J., Matsick, J. L., McCormick-Huhn, K., & Cole, E. R. (2021). Bringing an

    intersectional lens to "open" science: An analysis of representation in the reproducibility

    project. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. https://doi.org/10.1177/03616843211035678

Sáez, G., Riemer, A. R., Brock, R. L., & Gervais, S. J. (2019). Objectification in heterosexual

    romantic relationships: Examining relationship satisfaction of female objectification

    recipients and male objectifying perpetrators. *Sex Roles*, 1-15.

    https://doi.org/10.1007.2Fs11199-018-0990-9

Samuels, K. L., Maine, M. M., & Tantillo, M. (2019). Disordered eating, eating disorders, and

    body image in midlife and older women. *Current Psychiatry Reports*, *21*(8), 1-9.

    https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-019-1057-5

Schaefer, L. M., & Thompson, J. K. (2018). Self-objectification and disordered eating: A meta-

    analysis. *International Journal of Eating Disorders, 51*(6), 483-502.

    https://doi.org/10.1002/eat.22854

Schaefer, L. M., Burke, N. L., Calogero, R. M., Menzel, J. E., Krawczyk, R., & Thompson, J. K.

    (2018). Self-objectification, body shame, and disordered eating: Testing a core

mediational model of objectification theory among White, Black, and Hispanic women.

Body Image, 24(1), 5-12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2017.10.005

Schaefer, L. M., Thibodaux, L. K., Krenik, D., Arnold, E., & Thompson, J. K. (2015). Physical

appearance comparisons in ethnically diverse college women. *Body Image, 15*(1), 153-

157. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2015.09.002

Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. A., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. A. (1997).

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity: A preliminary investigation of reliability

and construct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *73*(4), 805-815.

Sercu, C., Bracke, P. (2017). Stigma, social structure, and the biomedical framework: Exploring

the stigma experiences of inpatient service users in two Belgian psychiatric hospitals.

Qualitative Health Research, 27(1), 1249–1261.

https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732316648112

Settles, I., Warner, L., Buchanan, N., & Jones, M. (2020). Understanding psychology's

resistance to intersectionality theory using a framework of epistemic exclusion and

invisibility. *Journal of Social Issues*, *76*. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12403

Shin, R. Q., Welch, J. C., Kaya, A. E., Yeung, J. G., Obana, C., Sharma, R., Vernay, C. N., &

Yee, S. (2017). The intersectionality framework and identity intersections in the Journal

of Counseling Psychology and The Counseling Psychologist: A content analysis. *Journal

of Counseling Psychology*, *64*(5), 458–474. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000204

Silvestrini, M. (2020). "It's not something I can shake": The effect of racial stereotypes, beauty

standards, and sexual racism on interracial attraction. *Sexuality & Culture*, *24*(1), 305-

325. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-019-09644-0

Simmons, C., Worrell, F. C., & Berry, J. M. (2008). Psychometric properties of scores on three

Black racial identity scales. *Assessment*, *15*(3), 259-276.

https://doi.org/10.1177/1073191108314788

Smith, S. (2013). And still more drama! A comparison of the portrayals of African American

women and African American men on BET's College Hill. *Western Journal of Black

Studies, 37*(1), 39-47. https://doi.org/ 10.1177/0095798404266061

Smith, J. K., Liss, M., Erchull, M. J., Kelly, C. M., Adragna, K., & Baines, K. (2018). The

relationship between sexualized appearance and perceptions of women's competence and

electability. *Sex Roles*, *79*(11–12), 671–682. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0898-4

Smolak, L., Murnen, S. K., & Myers, T. A. (2014). Sexualizing the self: What college women

and men think about and do to be "sexy". *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 38*(3), 379-

397. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684314524168

Shuttlesworth, M. E., & Zotter, D. (2011). Disordered eating in African American and Caucasian

women: The role of ethnic identity. *Journal of Black Studies, 42*(6), 906-922.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934710396368

Silvestrini, M. (2019). "It's not something I can shake": The effect of racial stereotypes, beauty

standards, and sexual racism on interracial attraction. *Sexuality & Culture*, 1-21.

https://doi.org/10.1007%2Fs12119-019-09644-0

Smith, S. (2013). And still more drama! A comparison of the portrayals of African American

women and African American men on BET's College Hill. *Western Journal of Black

Studies, 37*(1), 39-47.

Strings, S. (2019). *Fearing the Black Body*. New York University Press.

Taylor, R. J., Chatters, L. M., & Levin, J. (2003). *Religion in the lives of African Americans: Social, psychological, and health perspectives*. Sage Publications.

Thompson, C. (2015). Neoliberalism, soul food, and the weight of Black women. *Feminist Media Studies, 15*(5), 794-812. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2014.1003390

Tiggemann, M. (2004). Body image across the adult life span: Stability and change. *Body Image*, *1*(1), 29-41. https://doi.org/10.1016/S1740-1445(03)00002-0

Tiggemann, M., & Lynch, J. E. (2001). Body image across the life span in adult women: The role of self-objectification. *Developmental Psychology, 37*(2), 243-253. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.37.2.243

Townsend, T. G., Neilands, T. B., Thomas, A. J., & Jackson, T. R. (2010). I'm no Jezebel; I am young, gifted, and Black: Identity, sexuality, and Black girls. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *34*(3), 273-285. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2010.01574.x

Tylka, T. L., & Wood-Barcalow, N. L. (2015). The Body Appreciation Scale-2: Item refinement and psychometric evaluation. *Body Image, 12*(1), 53-67. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2014.09.006

Tyree, T. (2011). African American stereotypes in reality television. *Howard Journal of Communications, 22*(4), 394-413. https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2011.617217

van den Brink, F., Vollmann, M., Smeets, M. A. M., Hessen, D. J., & Woertman, L. (2018). Relationships between body image, sexual satisfaction, and relationship quality in romantic couples. *Journal of Family Psychology, 32*(4), 466–474. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000407

Vandiver, B. J., Worrell, F. C., & Delgado-Romero, E. A. (2009). A psychometric examination of Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) scores. *Assessment*, *16*(4), 337-351. https://doi.org/10.1177/1073191109341958

Varelas, N., & Foley, L. A. (1998). Blacks' and Whites' perceptions of interracial and intraracial date rape. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *138*(3), 392-400. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224549809600391

Ward, L. M. (2002). Does television exposure affect emerging adults' attitudes and assumptions about sexual relationships? Correlational and experimental confirmation. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *31*(1), 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1014068031532

Ward, L. M. (2016). Media and sexualization: State of empirical research, 1995–2015. *Journal of Sex Research*, *53*(4-5), 560-577. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2016.1142496

Ward, L. M., Rivadeneyra, R., Thomas, K., Day, K., & Epstein, M. (2013). A woman's worth: Analyzing the sexual objectification of Black women in music videos. In E. L. Zurbriggen & T. Roberts (Eds.), *The sexualization of girls and girlhood* (pp. 39-62). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Ward, L. M., Seabrook, R. C., Grower, P., Giaccardi, S., & Lippman, J. R. (2018). Sexual object or sexual subject? Media use, self-sexualization, and sexual agency among undergraduate women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *42*(1), 29-43. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684317737940

Warner, L. R., Settles, I. H., & Shields, S. A. (2018). Intersectionality theory in the psychology of women. In *APA handbook of the psychology of women: History, theory, and battlegrounds, Vol. 1* (pp. 521–539). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/0000059-027

Warren, C. S. (2014). Body area dissatisfaction in white, black and Latina female college

    students in the USA: an examination of racially salient appearance areas and ethnic

    identity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 37*(3), 537-556.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2012.716520

Watson, L. B., Ancis, J. R., White, D. N., & Nazari, N. (2013). Racial identity buffers African

    American women from body image problems and disordered eating. *Psychology of*

    Women Quarterly, 37(3), 337-350. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684312474799

Watson, L. B., Marszalek, J. M., Dispenza, F., & Davids, C. M. (2015). Understanding the

    relationships among White and African American women's sexual objectification

    experiences, physical safety anxiety, and psychological distress. *Sex Roles*, *72*(3–4), 91–

    104. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-014-0444-y

Watson, L. B., Lewis, J. A., & Moody, A. T. (2019). A sociocultural examination of body image

    among Black women. *Body Image.* https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2019.03.008

Watson, L. B., Robinson, D., Dispenza, F., & Nazari, N. (2012). African American women's

    sexual objectification experiences: A qualitative study. *Psychology of Women Quarterly,*

    36(4), 458-475. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684312454724

Watson, N. N., & Hunter, C. D. (2016). "I had to be strong" tensions in the strong Black woman

    schema. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *42*(5), 424-452.

    https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798415597093

Webb, J. B., Butler-Ajibade, P., & Robinson, S. A. (2014). Considering an affect regulation

    framework for examining the association between body dissatisfaction and positive body

    image in Black older adolescent females: Does body mass index matter?. *Body*

    Image, *11*(4), 426-437. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2014.07.002

West, C. M., & Rose, S. (2000). Dating aggression among low income African American youth: An examination of gender differences and antagonistic beliefs. *Violence Against Women*, *6*(5), 470-494. https://doi.org/10.1177/10778010022181985

Wiesner, M., Chen, V., Windle, M., Elliott, M.N., Grunbaum, J.A., Kanouse, D.E., & Schuster, M.A. (2010). Factor structure and psychometric properties of the Brief Symptom Inventory–18 in women: A MACS approach to testing for invariance across racial/ethnic groups. *Psychological Assessment, 22*(4), 912– 922. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0020704

Wood, R., Nikel, A., & Petrie, T. A. (2010). Body dissatisfaction, ethnic identity, and disordered eating among African American women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 57*(2), 141-153. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018922

Woodard, J. B., & Mastin, T. (2005). Black womanhood: Essence and its treatment of stereotypical images of Black women. *Journal of Black Studies*, *36*(2), 264-281. https://doi.org/ 10.1177/0021934704273152

Woods-Giscombé, C. L. (2010). Superwoman schema: African American women's views on stress, strength, and health. *Qualitative Health Research*, *20*(5), 668-683. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732310361892

Table 1. Participant Characteristics

Characteristic	N	%	Characteristic	N	%	Characteristic	N	%
Sexual Orientation			Marital Status			Geographic Location		
Exclusively Heterosexual	383	77.7	Single	299	60.6.	Northeast	67	13.6
Predominantly Heterosexual	54	11.0	In a Relationship	93	18.9	Midwest	77	15.6
Bisexual	37	7.5	Engaged	16	3.2	South	297	60.2
Not sure	19	3.9	Married	75	15.2	West	52	10.5
Highest Level of Education			Separated	5	1.0	Income		
Less than high school	9	1.8	Divorced	5	1.0	Less than $20,000/year	164	34.0
High school degree/GED	107	21.7	Employment Status			$20,001 to $40,000/year	121	25.2
Some college/associates	209	42.4	Employed full time	205	41.6	$40,001 to $60,000/year	94	19.6
Four-year college	129	26.2	Employed part time	73	14.8	$60,001 to $80,000/year	51	10.6
Master's	31	6.3	Unemployed	117	23.7	$80,001 to $100,000/year	16	3.3
Professional or Doctorate	8	1.6	Student	98	19.8	More than $100,001/year	34	7.1

Note. Categories for full-time and part-time student were collapsed; includes students with no, part time, and full-time employment.

Table 2.   Descriptive statistics for each item from the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale

Item	M	SD	Range	Skewness	Kurtosis
1. It is important that men are attracted to me.	4.50	1.81	1-7	-.43	-.72
2. I feel proud when men compliment the way I look.	4.99	1.58	1-7	-.80	.23
3. I want men to look at me.	4.33	1.75	1-7	-.22	-.69
4. I love to feel sexy.	4.88	1.83	1-7	-.59	-.58
5. I like showing off my body.	3.60	1.88	1-7	.22	-.97
6. I feel complimented when men whistle at me.	2.95	1.90	1-7	.60	-.80
7. When I wear revealing clothing, I feel sexy and in control.	4.01	1.99	1-7	-.16	-1.12
8. I feel empowered when I look hot.	4.68	1.85	1-7	-.53	-.60

Note. N = 493 for all items.

Table 3. Interitem correlations for the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale

Item	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. It is important that men are attracted to me.	-							
2. I feel proud when men compliment the way I look.	.67	-						
3. I want men to look at me.	.70	.70	-					
4. I love to feel sexy.	.48	.58	.57	-				
5. I like showing off my body.	.44	.44	.53	.61	-			
6. I feel complimented when men whistle at me.	.46	.42	.53	.37	.56	-		
7. When I wear revealing clothing, I feel sexy and in control.	.41	.46	.44	.60	.72	.49	-	
8. I feel empowered when I look hot.	.41	.51	.47	.67	.61	.44	.75	-

Note. All correlations are significant at the $p \leq .000$ level

Table 4. Distance from the scale mean for individual items

Item	Mean Difference	t-value |abs|	p-value	95% CI
1. It is important that men are attracted to me.	.26	3.15	.000	[.10, .42]
2. I feel proud when men compliment the way I look.	.74	10.42	.000	[.60, .88]
3. I want men to look at me.	.08	1.06	.29	[-.07, .24]
4. I love to feel sexy.	.64	7.72	.000	[.48, .80]
5. I like showing off my body.	-.64	7.55	.000	[-.81, -.47]
6. I feel complimented when men whistle at me.	-1.29	15.05	.000	[-1.46. -1.13]
7. When I wear revealing clothing, I feel sexy and in control.	-.22	2.51	.01	[-.40, -.05]
8. I feel empowered when I look hot.	.43	5.23	.000	[.27, .60]

Note. Comparisons are to the sample scale mean, *M* = 4.24.

Table 5.   Reliability information for the items in the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale

Item	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
1. It is important that men are attracted to me.	.64	.89
2. I feel proud when men compliment the way I look.	.69	.89
3. I want men to look at me.	.72	.89
4. I love to feel sexy.	.72	.89
5. I like showing off my body.	.73	.90
6. I feel complimented when men whistle at me.	.59	.90
7. When I wear revealing clothing, I feel sexy and in control.	.72	.89
8. I feel empowered when I look hot.	.72	.89

Note. Cronbach's alpha for the entire scale = .90.

Table 6.   Bivariate correlations between Enjoyment of Sexualization subscales and demographic variables

	EOS – Male	EOS – Self
Age	.09*	-.02
Educational Attainment	-.02	-.02
Income	.05	.05
Body Mass Index	.06	.02
Skin Tone	-.04	-.05
Religiosity	.10*	.06
Marital Status	.08	.18***

Note. ª p ≤ .05 ᵇ ≤ .01 ᶜ p ≤ .000. EOS = Enjoyment of Sexualization.

Table 7.   Bivariate correlations between Enjoyment of Sexualization subscales and race, gender, and body beliefs

	EOS – Male	EOS – Self
Racial Identity	.07	.16***
Feminist Identification	.12**	.24***
Jezebel Stereotype Endorsement	.32***	.25***
Eurocentric Beauty Ideals	.45***	.32***
Body Appreciation	.05	.23***
Body Surveillance	.32***	.22***
Body Shame	.36***	.22***
Women as Sex Objects	.55***	.39***
Sex Role Stereotypes	.34***	.16***

Note. * $p \leq .05$ ** $\leq .01$ *** $p \leq .000$. EOS = Enjoyment of Sexualization.

Table 8.   Partial correlations between Enjoyment of Sexualization subscales and race, gender, and body beliefs, controlling for age

	EOS – Male	EOS – Self
Racial Identity	.05	.16**
Feminist Identification	.10*	.22***
Jezebel Stereotype Endorsement	.31***	.25***
Eurocentric Beauty Ideals	.45***	.31***
Body Appreciation	.02	.22***
Body Surveillance	.34***	22***
Body Shame	.38***	.21***
Women as Sex Objects	.55***	.39***
Sex Role Stereotypes	.47***	.16***

Note. * p ≤ .05 ** ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .000. EOS = Enjoyment of Sexualization.

Figure 1 Frequency distributions for each of the enjoyment of sexualization items
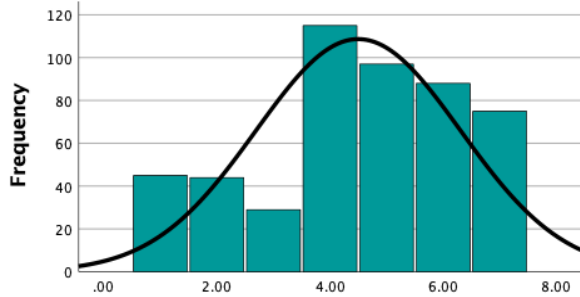
1. It is important that men are physically attracted to me.
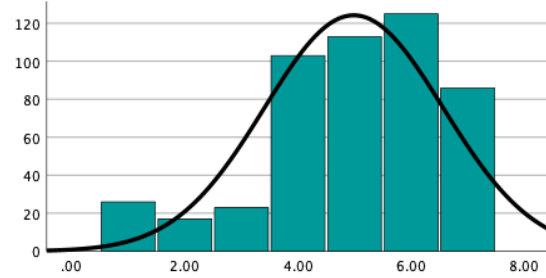
2. I feel proud when men compliment the way I look.

3. I want men to look at me.

4. I love to feel sexy.

5. I like showing off my body.

6. I feel complimented when men whistle at me.

7. When I wear clothing to show off my body, I feel sexy and in control.

8. I feel empowered when I look hot.

121
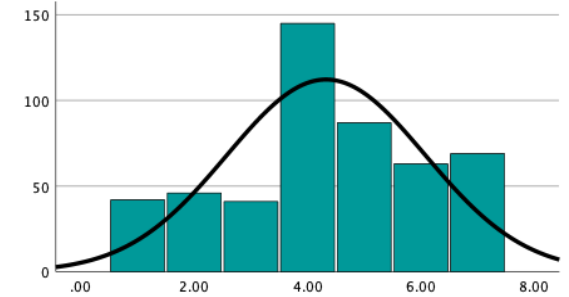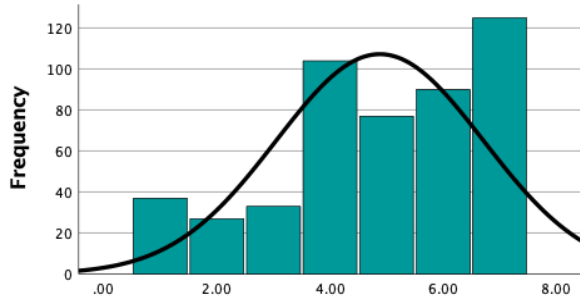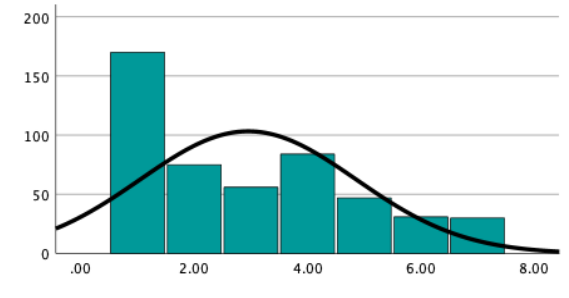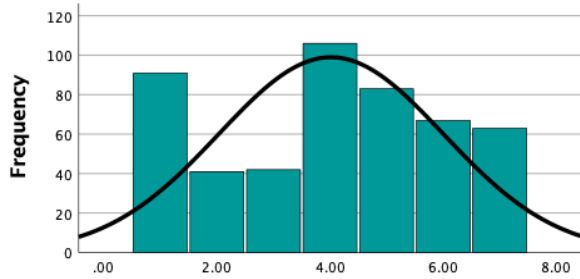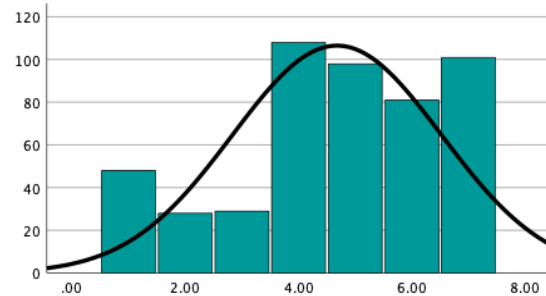
Figure 2 Original factor structure for the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale
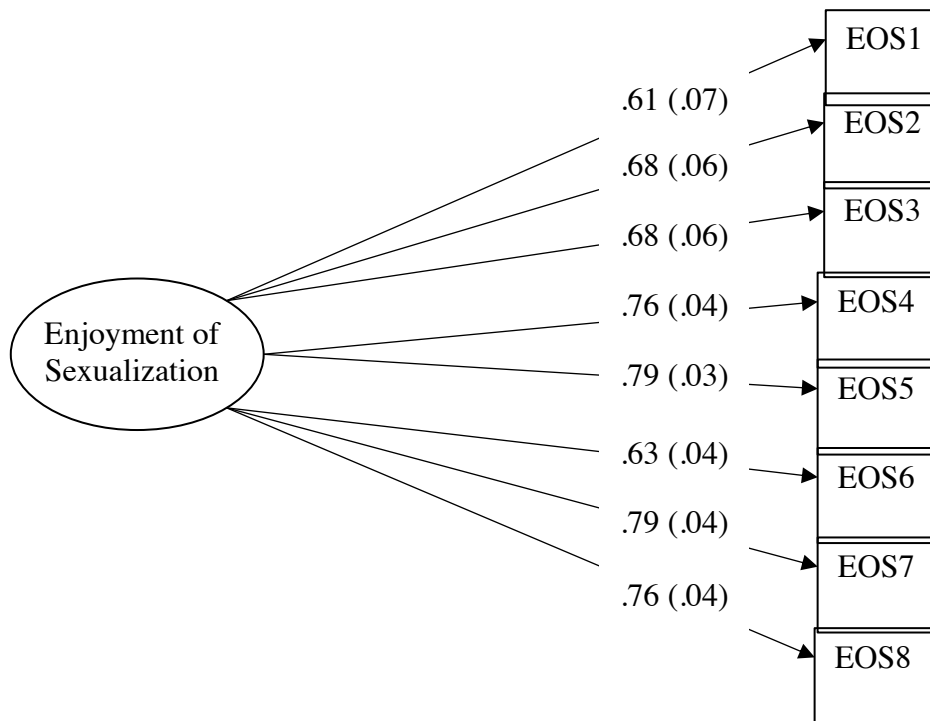
$\chi 2$ (20) = 245.85, RMSEA = .21 [90% CI .19, .24]. CFI = .75; TLI = .65, SRMR = .09

Note. Standardized estimates and standard errors depicted. All loadings significant at the p <

.000 level.

Figure 3 Revised factor structure for the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale
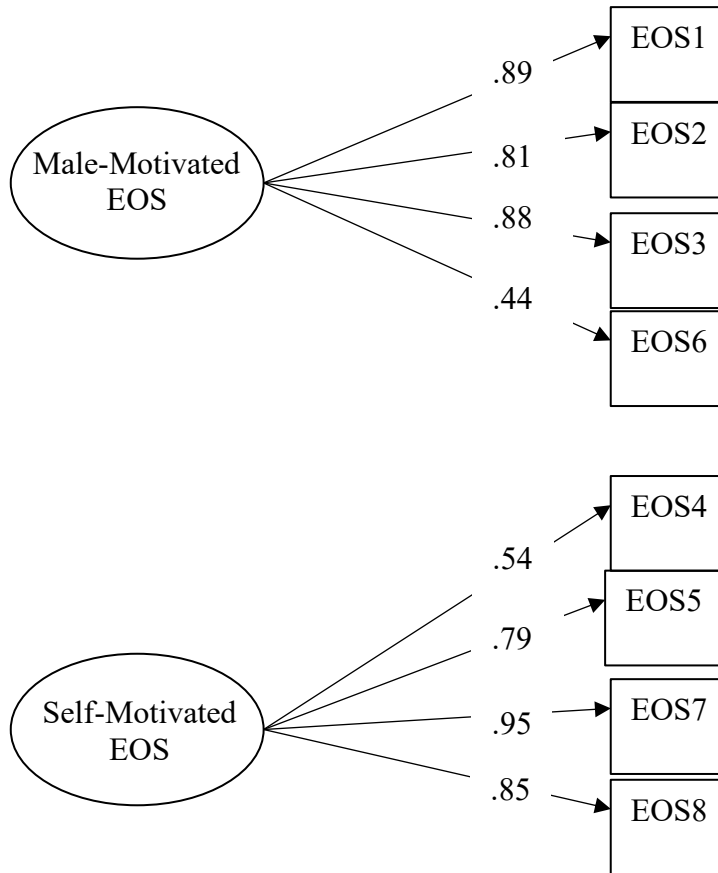
$\chi2$ (13) = 34.96, RMSEA = .08 [90% CI .05, .12]. CFI = .97; TLI = .94, SRMR = .03

Figure 4 Confirmatory Factor analysis results among the full sample
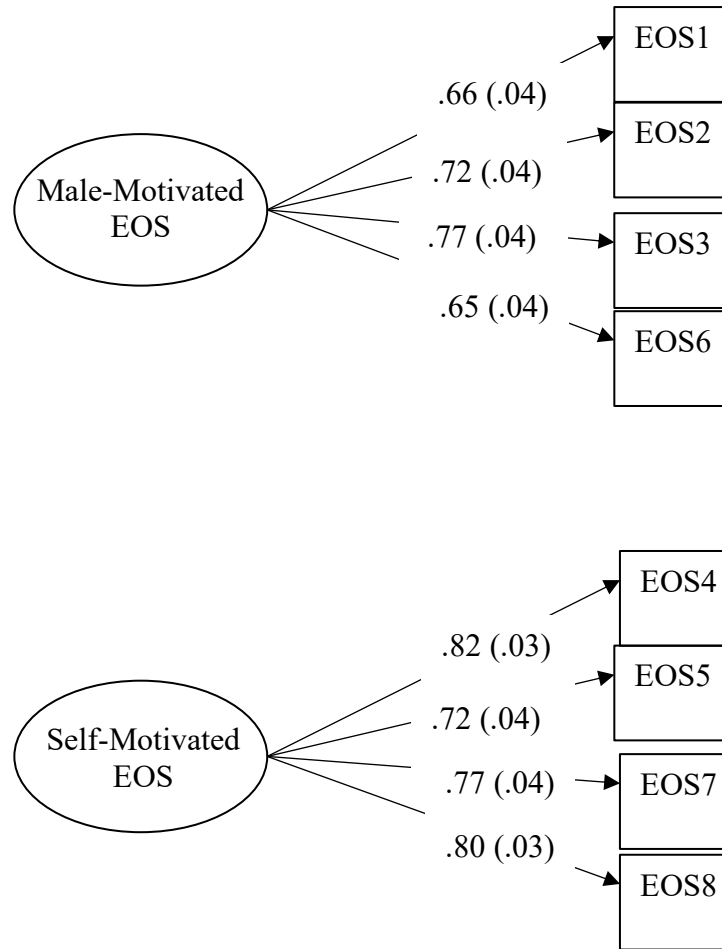
χ2 (13) = 84.91, RMSEA = .11 [90% CI .09, .13]. CFI = .96; TLI = .91, SRMR = .03

Note. Standardized estimates (standard error) reported. All loadings significant at p > .05.

Figure 5 Configural model results for younger women
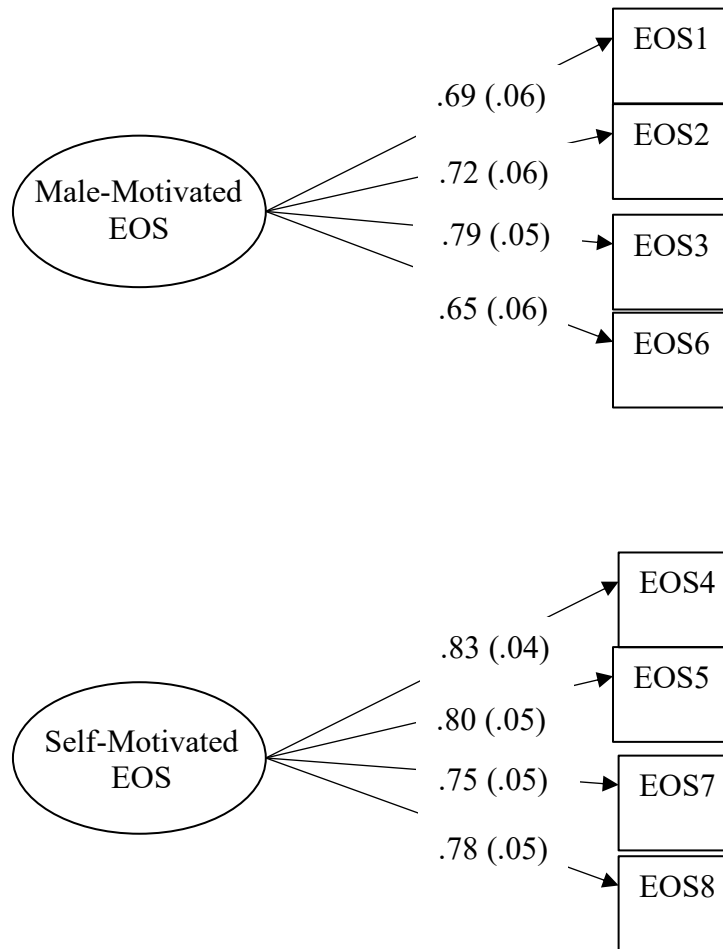
$\chi2$ (26) = 103.55, RMSEA = .11 [90% CI .09, .13]. CFI = .96; TLI = .91, SRMR = .04

Note. Standardized estimates (standard error) reported. All loadings significant at p > .05.

Figure 6 Metric model results for older and younger women (loadings held invariant)
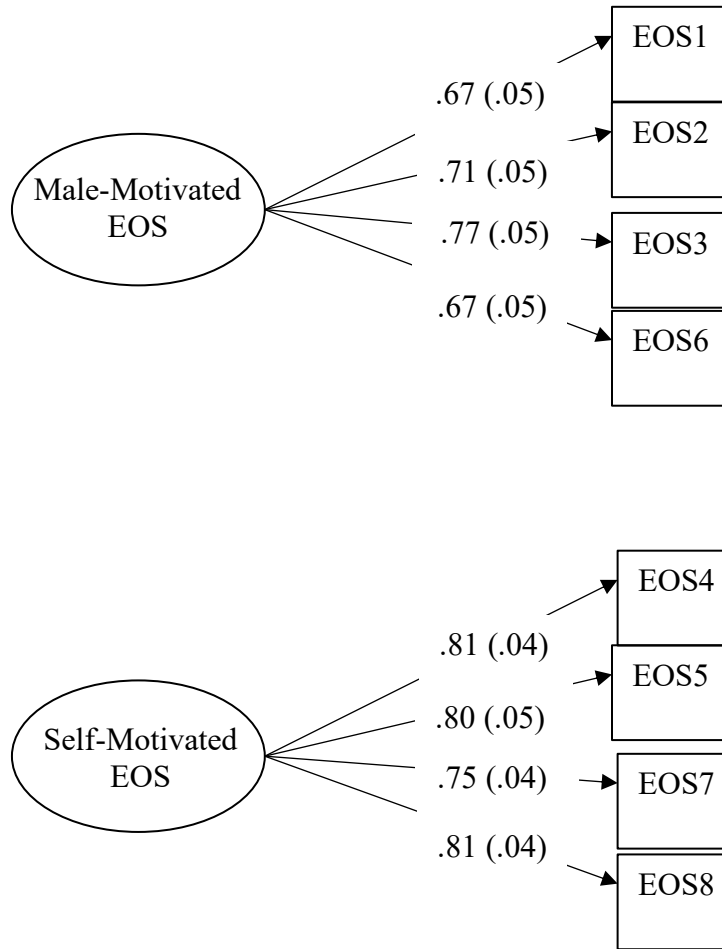
$\chi2$ (32) = 110.29, RMSEA = .10 [90% CI .08, .12]. CFI = .96; TLI = .92, SRMR = .04

Note. Standardized estimates (standard error) reported. All loadings significant at p > .05.

Figure 7 Scalar model results for younger and older women (loadings and intercepts invariant)
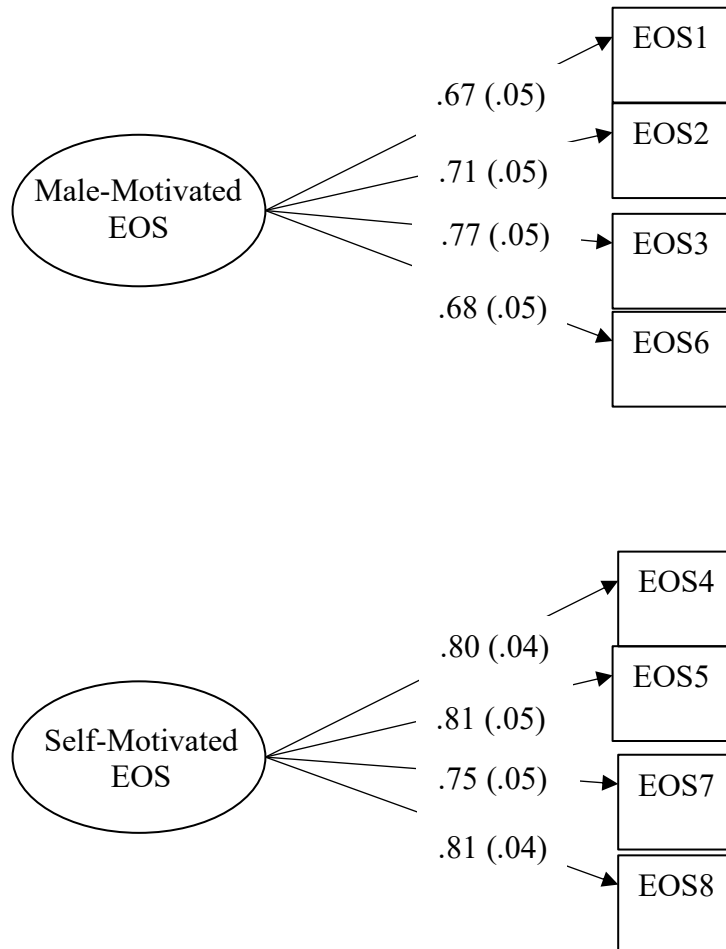
$\chi2$ (38) = 136.29, RMSEA = .10 [90% CI .08, .12]. CFI = .94; TLI = .92, SRMR = .05

Note. Standardized estimates (standard error) reported. All loadings significant at p > .05.

Figure 8 Hypothesized structural model
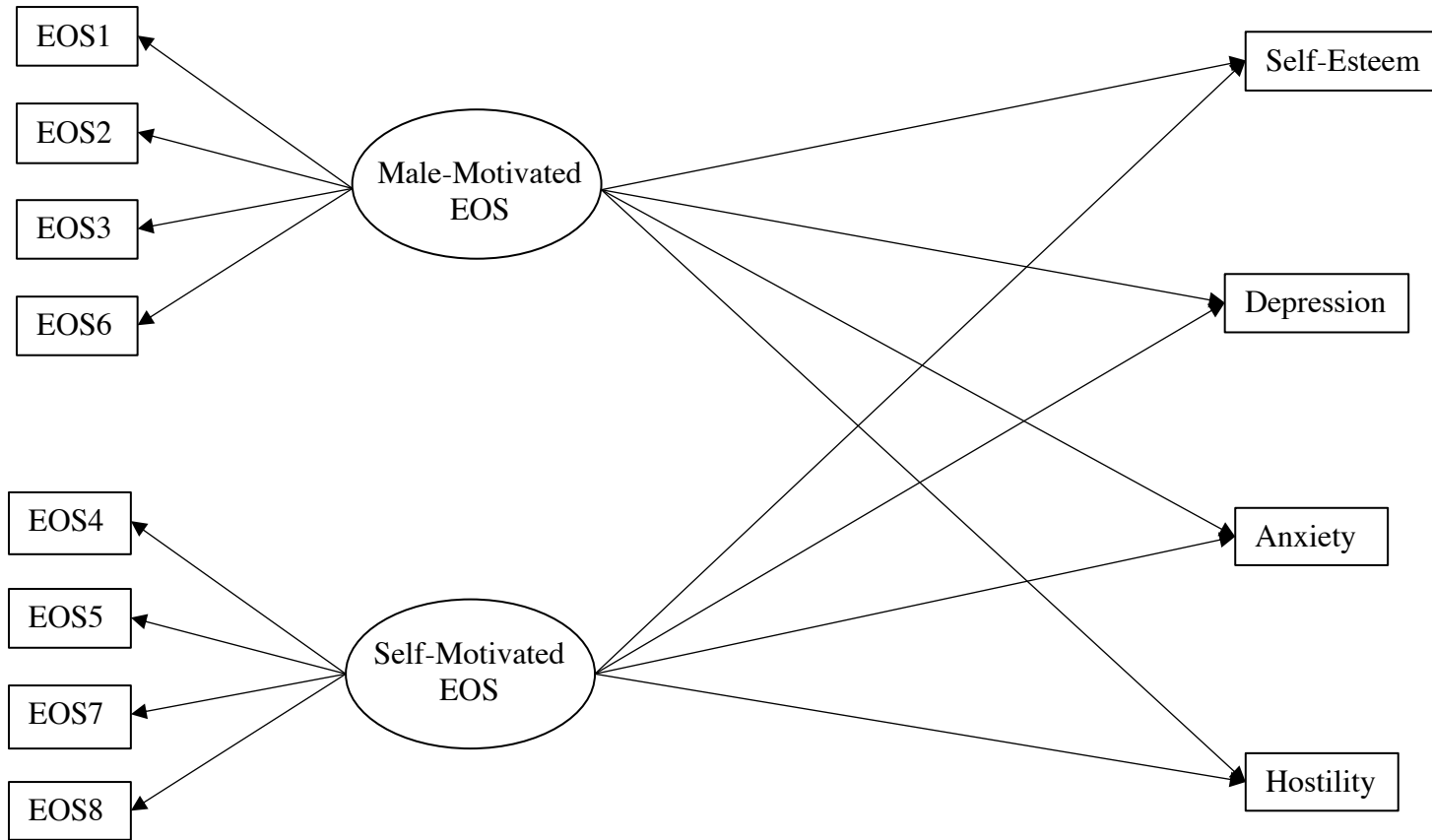
Figure 9 Mental health correlates of enjoyment of sexualization for the full sample (N = 493)
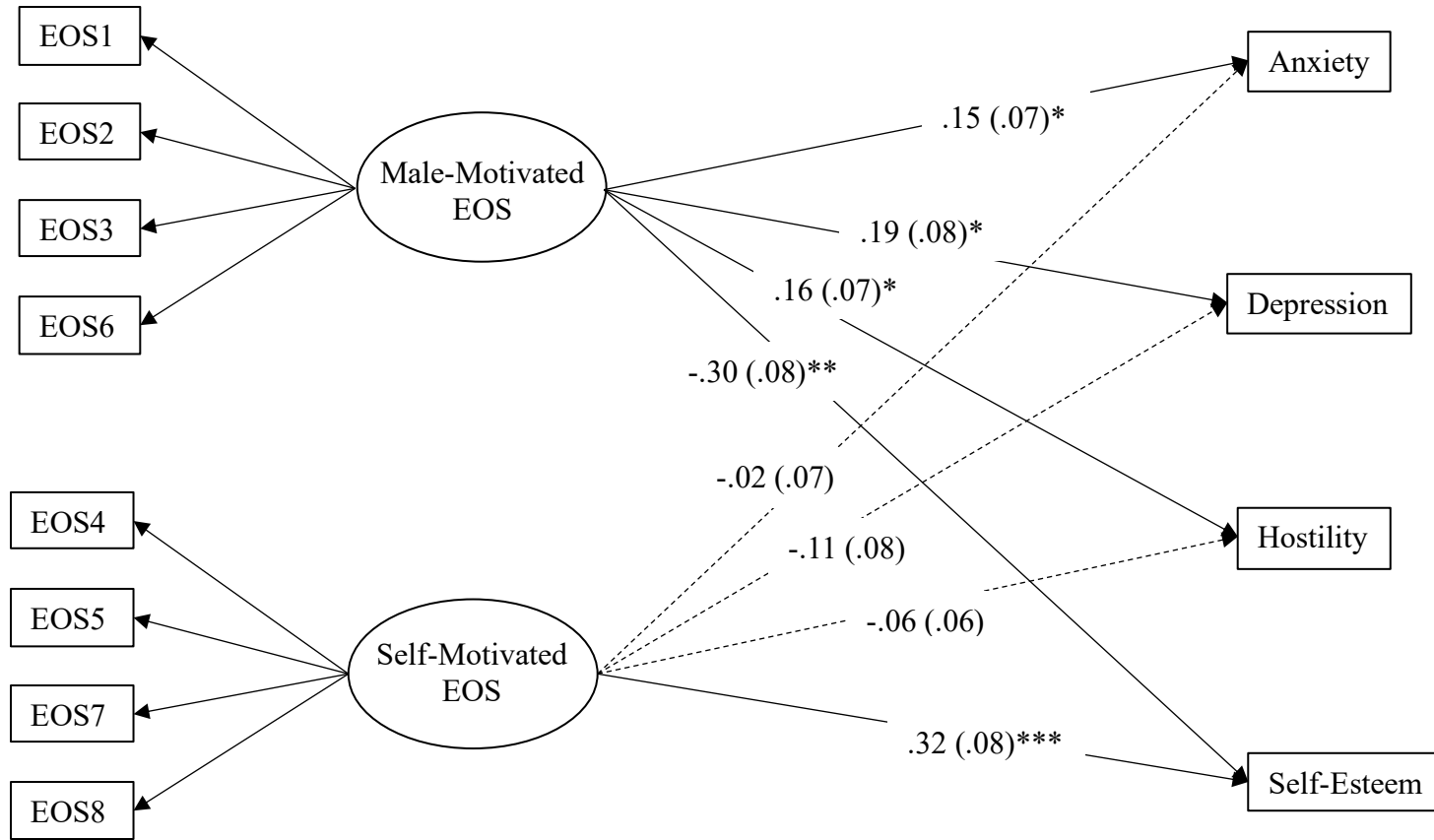
χ2 (126) = 261.42, RMSEA = .07 [90% CI .06, .08]. CFI = .96; TLI = .95, SRMR = .06

Note. Standardized estimates reported with standard errors in parentheses. Dashed lines represent nonsignificant paths.

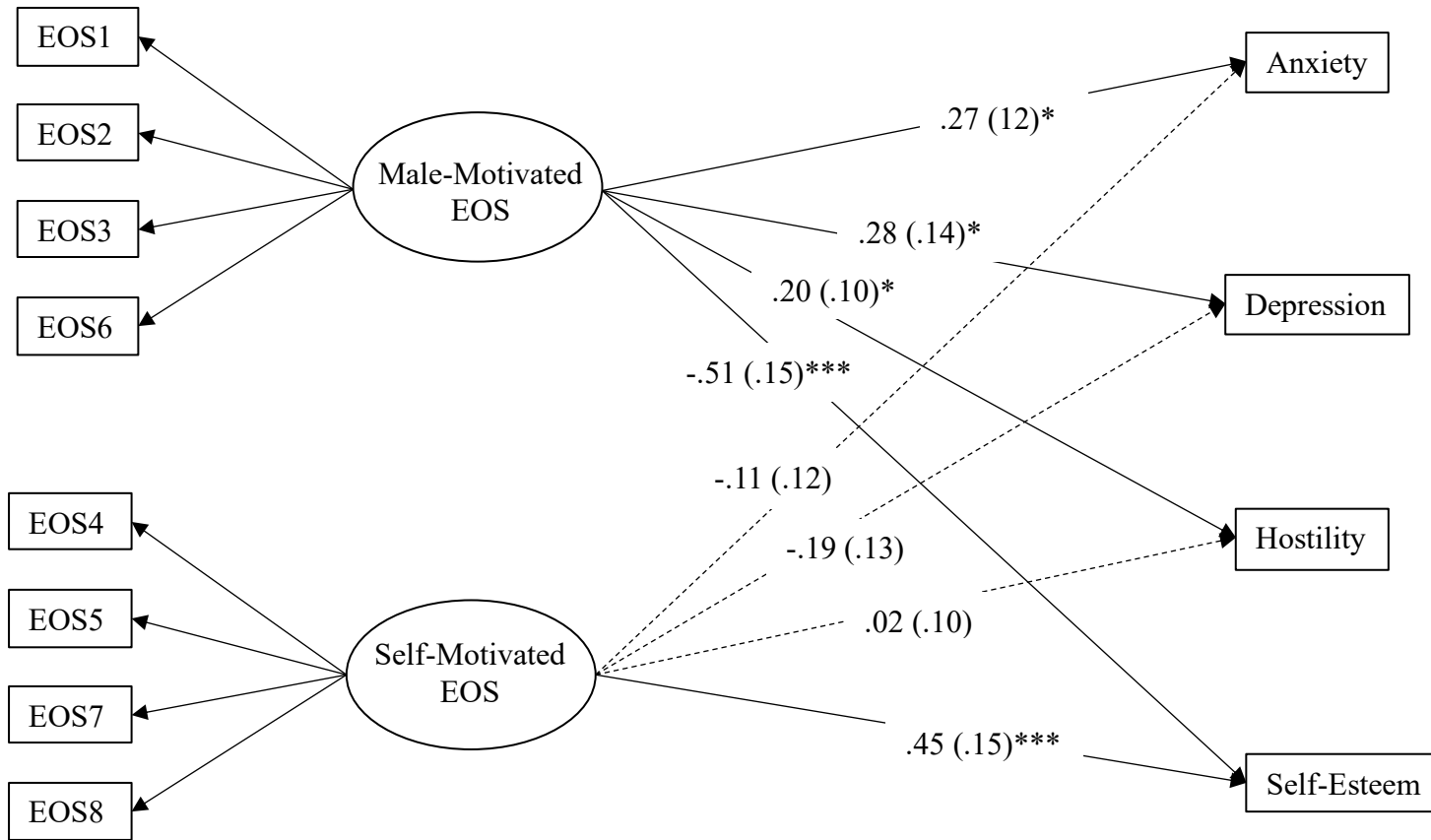Figure 10 Unconstrained model results for younger women
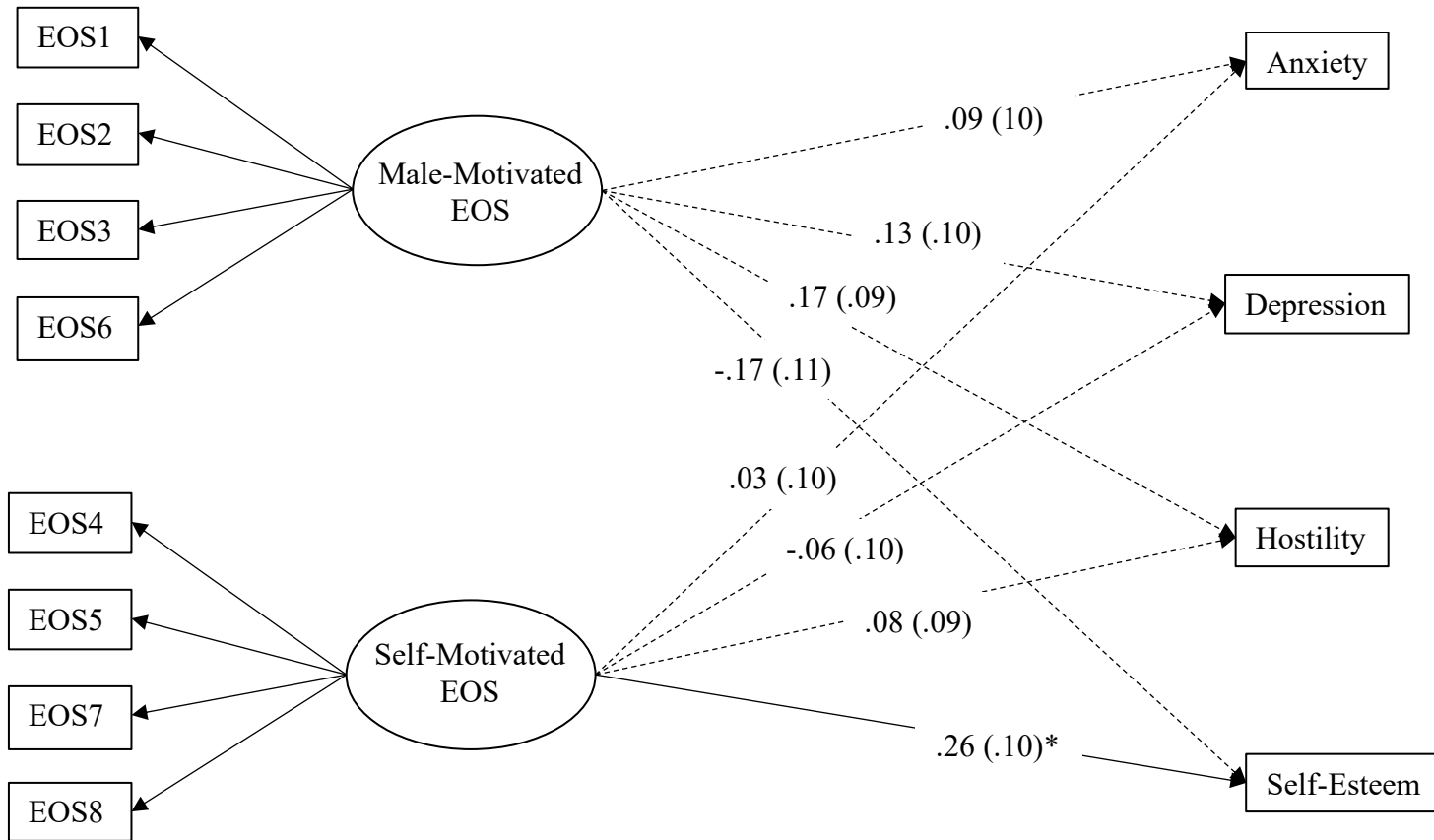
χ2 (108) = 245.69, RMSEA = .07 [90% CI .06, .08]. CFI = .96; TLI = .94, SRMR = .05

Note. Standardized estimates reported with standard errors in parentheses. Dashed lines represent nonsignificant paths.
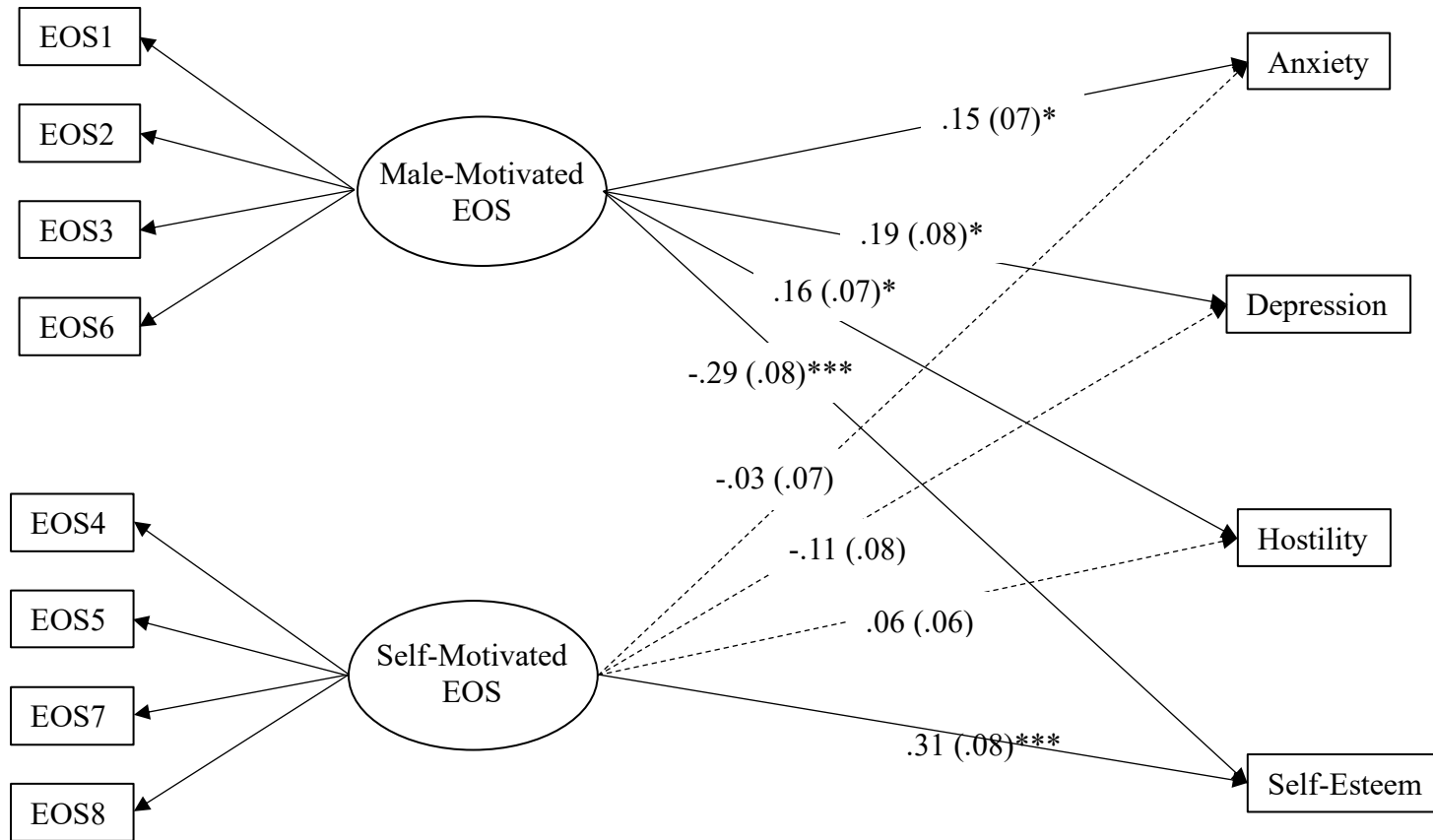
Figure 11 Unconstrained model results for older women

χ2 (108) = 245.69, RMSEA = .07 [90% CI .06, .08]. CFI = .96; TLI = .94, SRMR = .05

Note. Standardized estimates reported with standard errors in parentheses. Dashed lines represent nonsignificant paths.

Figure 12 Partially constrained model results

χ2 (118) = 258.912, RMSEA = .07 [90% CI .06, .08]. CFI = .96; TLI = .94, SRMR = .06

Note. Standardized estimates reported with standard errors in parentheses. Dashed lines represent nonsignificant paths.
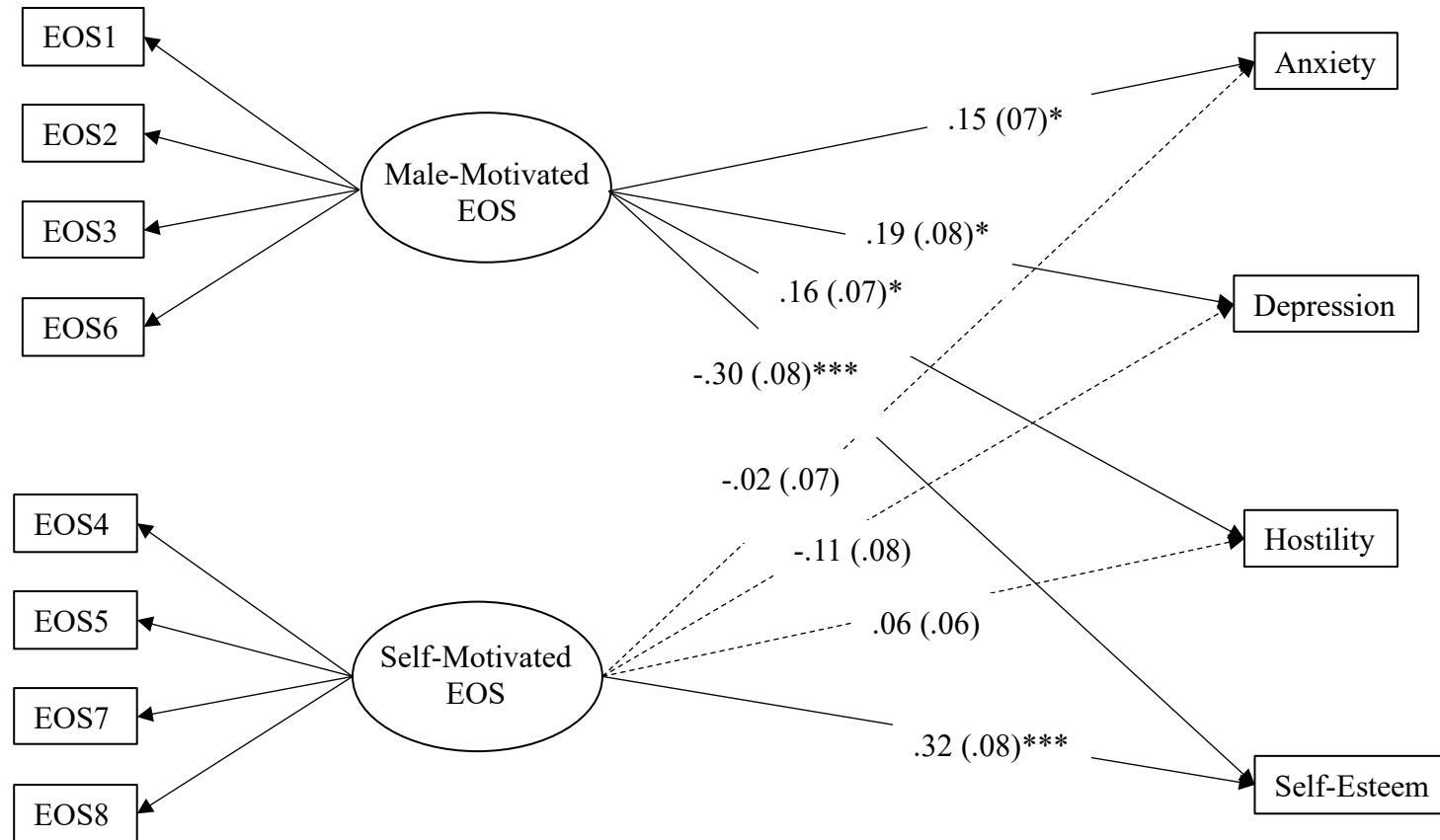
Figure 13 Fully constrained model results

$\chi 2$ (126) = 261.42, RMSEA = .07 [90% CI .06, .08]. CFI = .96; TLI = .95, SRMR = .06

Note. Standardized estimates reported with standard errors in parentheses. Dashed lines represent nonsignificant paths.

Appendices

Appendix A.

Demographic Questions.

1. What is your age?

2. What is the highest level of education you have obtained?
   Less than high school (1)
   High school degree/GED (2)
   Some college/Associates Degree (3)
   4-year College degree (BA, BS) (4)
   Master's degree (5)
   Professional or doctoral degree (MD, PhD, JD) (6)

3. What is your annual household income?
   Less than $20,000/year (1)
   $20,001 to $40,000/year (2)
   $40,001 to $60,000/year (3)
   $60,001 to $80,000/year (4)
   $80,001 to $100,000/year (5)
   More than $100,001/year (6)

4. What is your current marital status?
   Single (1)
   In a relationship and not cohabitating (2)
   In a relationship and cohabitating (3)
   Engaged (4)
   Married (5)
   Separated (6)
   Divorced (7)
   Widowed (8)

5. What is your sexual orientation?
   Exclusively heterosexual
   Predominantly heterosexual
   Bisexual
   Predominantly gay/lesbian
   Exclusively gay/lesbian

Not sure

6. What is your current employment status?
Employed full-time (1)
Employed part-time (2)
Unemployed (3)
Full-time student, no employment (4)
Full-time student, part-time employment (5)
Part-time student, part-time employment (6)
Part-time student, full-time employment (7)

7. What area of the United States do you live in?
Northeast (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont)
Midwest (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin)
South (Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington, D.C., West Virginia)
West (Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming)

8. How religious are you?
Not at all   A little   Somewhat   Religious   Very religious

9. How often do you attend religious services?
Never   Few times a year or less   At least once a month   Weekly   Daily

10. How many FEET tall are you? (For example, someone who was 5' 4" would select "5 feet").
3 feet   4 feet   5 feet   6 feet   7 feet

11. How many INCHES tall are you? (For example, someone who was 5' 4" would select "4 inches").
0 inches   1 inches   2 inches   3 inches   4 inches   5 inches
6 inches   7 inches   8 inches   9 inches   10 inches   11 inches

12. What is your current weight (in pounds)?

13. Compared to most Black people, what skin color do you believe you have?
Very dark brown
Dark brown
Medium brown
Light brown
Very light brown

Appendix B.

Open-Ended Questions Regarding Attractiveness and Sexiness.

1. How important is it to you to look attractive and why?

2. What kinds of things do you do to look attractive?

3. How important is it to you to look sexy and why?

4. What kinds of things do you do to look sexy?

Appendix C.

The Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale.

1. It is important that men are physically attracted to me.

2. I feel proud when men compliment the way I look.

3. I want men to look at me.

4. I love to feel sexy.

5. I like showing off my body.

6. I feel complimented when men whistle at me.

7. When I wear clothing to show off my body, I feel sexy and in control.

8. I feel empowered when I look hot.

Appendix D.

Race-Related Ideological Correlates of Enjoyment of Sexualization.

<u>Centrality & Private Regard Subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity:</u>
      1. In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.
      2. I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.
      3. I have a strong attachment to Black people.
      4. Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.
      5. I feel good about Black people.
      6. I am happy that I am Black.
      7. I am proud to be Black.

<u>Stereotypes About Black Women – Jezebel Subscale</u>
There are lots of beliefs about what Black women are like. Think about the things you have heard and about what you believe. For each item indicate how much you believe that Black women are like that. How much do you believe that Black women…
      1. Always want to have sex
      2. Use sex to get what they want
      3. Will steal your man
      4. Are gold-diggers
      5. Can be calculating and manipulative
      6. Tend to be vain
      7. Are more seductive than other women
      8. Are willing to trade sex for money and material comforts
      9. Are open to using men sexually to meet their short-term needs
      10. Are more promiscuous than other groups of women
      11. Tend to be sexually wild and uninhibited
      12. Will have sex with almost anyone who asks

<u>Internalization of Eurocentric Beauty Ideals (Plybon, Pegg, & Reed, 2003):</u>
Next, we're going to ask you some questions about women and beauty. Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement below.
      1. It is important to have "good" hair.
      2. If I could change my natural hair texture, I would.
      3. Getting the latest hairstyle is more important than letting my hair grow naturally.
      4. Nail extensions look better than natural nails.
      5. Being thin (small) gives you a better appearance.
      6. I think guys prefer girls who have lighter skin.
      7. I would change the way my skin looks if I could.
      8. I think guys prefer girls with straight hair.

9. Straightened hair looks better than natural hair.
10. Having long hair gives you a better appearance.
11. I think guys prefer girls that are small (thin).
12. If I could change how my face features are, I would.

Appendix E.

Traditional Gender Ideologies Correlated with Enjoyment of Sexualization.

Women as Sexual Objects (Ward, 2002):
Please indicate your level of agreement with each of these statements.
    1. Girls should be more concerned about their appearance than guys.
    2. It is natural for a guy to want to admire or check out other women, even if he is dating someone
    3. Women who wear tight or revealing clothing are asking to be hit on by men.
    4. It's only natural for a guy to make advances on someone he finds attractive.
    5. A woman's value in the "dating market" is determined by her physical appearance.
    6. The best way for a girl to attract a boyfriend is to use her body and looks.
    7. Girls should do whatever they need to (e.g., use make up, buy attractive clothes, work out) to look good enough to attract a date/partner.
    8. There's nothing wrong with men whistling at shapely women.
    9. Being with an attractive woman makes a guy look good.
    10. Before a woman goes out in public, she should make sure she looks her best.
    11. It is okay for a guy to stare at the body of an attractive woman he doesn't know.
    12. A man should always protect and defend his woman.
    13. There is nothing wrong with men being primarily interested in a woman's body.

Sex Role Stereotyping (Burt, 1980):
    1. A man should fight when the woman he's with is insulted by another man
    2. It is acceptable for the woman to pay for the date
    3. A woman should be a virgin when she marries
    4. There is something wrong with a woman who doesn't want to marry and raise a family
    5. A wife should never contradict her husband in public
    6. It is better for a woman to use her feminine charm to get what she wants rather than ask for it outright
    7. It is acceptable for a woman to have a career, but marriage and family should come first
    8. It looks worse for a woman to be drunk than for a man to be drunk.
    9. There is nothing wrong with a woman going to a bar alone.

Appendix F.

Body Image Correlates of Enjoyment of Sexualization.

Objectified Body Consciousness Scale Surveillance Subscale (McKinley & Hyde, 1996)
Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement below.
1. I rarely think about how I look.
2. I think it is more important that my clothes are comfortable than whether they look good on me.
3. I think more about how my body feels than how my body looks.
4. I rarely compare how I look with how other people look.
5. During the day, I think about how I look many times.
6. I often worry about whether the clothes I am wearing make me look good.
7. I rarely worry about how I look to other people.
8. I am more concerned with what my body can do than how it looks.

Body Appreciation Scale – 2 (Tylka & Wood-Barcalow, 2015)
1. I respect my body
2. I feel good about my body
3. I feel like my body has at least some good qualities.
4. I take a positive attitude towards my body
5. I am attentive to my body's needs
6. I feel love for my body
7. I appreciate the different and unique characteristics of my body
8. My behavior shows my positive attitude toward my body (for example, I hold my head high and smile)
9. I am comfortable in my body
10. I feel like I am beautiful even if I am different from media images of attractive people (e.g., models, actresses/actors).

Appendix G.

Mental Health and Self-esteem Measures.

Brief Symptom Inventory – SCL-R-90 – Anxiety, Depression, and Hostility Subscales:
Below is a list of problems people sometimes have. Please circle the number that best represents how much that problem has distressed or bothered you during the past 7 days, including today.
1. Nervousness or shakiness inside.
2. Feeling easily annoyed or irritated.
3. Thinking that your life has been a failure.
4. Suddenly scared for no reason.
5. Temper outbursts that you could not control.
6. Feeling lonely.
7. Feeling blue.
8. Feeling no interest in things.
9. Feeling fearful.
10. Feeling hopeless about the future.
11. Feeling tense or keyed up.
12. Having urges to beat, injure, or harm someone.
13. Having urges to break or smash things.
14. Spells of terror or panic.
15. Getting into frequent arguments.
16. Feeling so restless you couldn't sit still.
17. Feelings of worthlessness.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965):
1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
2. At times, I think I am no good at all.
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
6. I certainly feel useless at times.
7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.