

FRAMING OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN IN  
MAINSTREAM AND BLACK WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

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by

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FRAMING OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN IN  
MAINSTREAM AND BLACK WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

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## DEDICATION

Eleven years ago, I wrote down a list of goals. At the top of that list, along with owning an orange Lamborghini, was the goal of graduating from Columbia (in New York City) with a degree in journalism. After a few years, I pushed that goal to the back of my mind, as it seemed that I was being guided down another path. It was not until my second year at Mizzou that I remembered that list, and how God, in his own way, made that goal come to pass. So, first I have to give thanks to Him for giving me that goal and blessing me with the strength and knowledge to achieve it.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	3
3. METHODS AND PROCEDURES.....	19
4. RESULTS.....	27
5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	40
6. REFERENCES.....	49
APPENDIX	
A. PRELIMINARY FRAMES CODING SHEETS.....	53
B. CODEBOOK SHEETS.....	117
C. THEORETICAL MEMOS.....	122
D. INTEGRATION SHEETS.....	125
E. DIMENSIONALIZATION SHEETS.....	134

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. <i>Essence</i> Mission Statement, 2015.....	22
2. <i>Glamour</i> Mission Statement 2015.....	22
3. <i>Essence</i> Demographics 2015.....	23
4. <i>Glamour</i> Demographics 2015.....	24

# FRAMING OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN IN MAINSTREAM AND BLACK WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

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## ABSTRACT

For decades, there has been a concern with the negative framing of black women in the media. Historically, black women are placed into four stereotypical frames: The Mammy, The Jezebel, The Sapphire and The Matriarch. However, in 2008, a new image of black women arose through Michelle Obama. She was well rounded — beautiful, intelligent, insightful, humorous, strong, yet soft all at the same time. This study seeks to understand the changes in the framing of black women since Michelle Obama's time as First Lady.

More specifically, this study focuses on the medium of magazine journalism, which seems to be largely ignored in the realm of media studies. Thirty articles from a mainstream (*Glamour*) and a black women's magazine (*Essence*) were analyzed for the presence of historical frames along with the emergence of new ones. The study employs the qualitative method of textual analysis as a way to determine frames and their meanings through a grounded theory approach.

The primary outcomes of this study are a greater understanding of how historical frames still affect how magazines, mainstream and black, frame black women, and the revealing of new frames that depart from those historical representations. Furthermore, this study will be used as a foundation for editors, writers, educators and students alike, to create more authentic and multifaceted stories about black women.

## Introduction

The purpose of this study is to determine, compare and contrast the frames used in feature stories about black women in black women's and mainstream magazines in the context of the media influence of First Lady Michelle Obama through the use of textual analysis and framing theory.

In 2010, *Essence*, the first and most well known black women's magazine, asked their readers to grade the media on their representation of black women. Ninety-three percent of the participants said that the media was doing a "poor" or "okay" job (Walton, 2013). Three years later, in 2013, *Essence* did a follow-up, and it seems that although black women are seen more, they still feel like the media is not stepping up to the plate. *Essence* asked participants to keep a media log of what they watched and read, and from there, *Essence* created sixteen categories of positive and negative images of black women. Although readers said the media overwhelmingly showed negative images, such as the "Mean Black Girls," e.g. the *Real Housewives of Atlanta*, readers also cited the emergence of positive images, such as "Young Phenoms," "Individualists," and "Community Heroines."

At the end of the survey, black and white participants said the top three images they see of black women are Baby Mamas, Modern Jezebels and Angry Black Women.

The images of the Baby Mama, the Modern Jezebel, and the Angry Black Woman are not new. In "The Media as a System of Racialization," Marci Bounds Littlefield (2008) says these images (or frames) are the result "binary distinction among the races

created a hierarchy in which Anglo perceptions about race and ethnicity dominated the social structure,” which invariably includes the media (p. 675).

The media, in a broad sense, has the power to reinforce or break down stereotypes via the priming process. It is important that journalists be aware of the stereotypes that they draw upon, intentionally or unintentionally, to characterize black women.

The majority of research about the representation of black women in the media focuses on the visual representations that are disseminated through TV and advertising. When it comes to print journalism, the focus is on newspapers and their representation of black women as Welfare Queens, victims or perpetrators of crime. During the research process, I found only one article, “Black Womanhood: *Essence* and its treatment of Stereotypical Images of Black Women,” that addressed magazine journalism from a writing perspective rather than an advertising one. It’s just as important for magazine journalists to be aware of their biases, the use of stereotypes and how those elements impact the way they represent black women as journalists in any other medium.

This study aims to answer four research questions through textual analysis. These questions are:

R1: What frames do mainstream women’s magazines use when writing features about black women?

R2: What frames do black women’s magazines use when writing features about black women?

R3: Is there a difference in the use frames between mainstream and black women’s magazines?

R4: How do these frames redefine or differentiate from historical frames?

## Literature Review

### Black women in the media

#### Representations in Television.

According to University of Alabama communication studies professor Robin M. Boylorn, “The images of black women on television have been historically manipulated to leave a particular impression” of black women as “inferior, unshakable, nonfeminine, criminal and promiscuous” (Boylorn, 2008, p. 415).

In the past few years, black women have carved out a space in the sitcom/reality TV genres as breakout stars in shows such as *The Real Housewives of Atlanta*. But before then, black women were usually relegated to appearances/roles on “the talk show genre (Maury, Jerry Springer) and occasionally a weight loss program (*The Biggest Loser*), but black women were not made over (*Extreme Makeover*), desirable (*The Bachelor*), or surviving (*Survivor*) on reality television” (Boylorn, 2008, p. 424).

As far as mainstream sitcoms or shows, black women are used as token characters to appease the increased demand for diversity on TV. But those roles are often based on the historical images “that range from the hypersexual Jezebel to the asexual Mammy and contemporary versions of each” (Boylorn, 2008, p. 417). Also, these shows utilize the more updated versions of historical images that portray black women as “bitches and bad (Black) mothers to modern mummies, Black ladies and educated bitches” (Boylorn, 2008, p. 417). Out of the updated versions, the image of the “black bitch” seems to be the most popular. According to Boylorn, “The controlling image of the bitch constitutes one

representation that depicts black women as aggressive, loud, rude, and pushy” (Boylorn, 2008, p. 417).

Furthermore, black women are often framed in an either/or orientation when it comes to education and relationships. For example, “Black women are either extremely educated or a high school dropout, ambitious or listless, sexy or ugly. Her relationships with men are always daunting, because either she is too educated and independent to need or want a man or she is desperate and lost without him, incapable of going on and willing to fight, cheat, or lie to get or keep him” (Boylorn, 2008, p. 418).

Mainstream shows/sitcoms are not alone in their use of stereotypical imagery. In 2000, UPN premiered *Girlfriends*, a show with an all-black cast, a black director and black writers. Although the show was praised for showing a more progressive view of black women, they often used stereotypes to mold the characters. Boylorn says:

“Similar characters include Joan (the successful but unmarried lawyer); Maya (the romanticized ghetto assistant who was pregnant and married before graduating high school); Lynn (the nymphomaniac who has numerous college degrees but no motivation, and who struggles with her bi-racial identity); and Toni (the money-hungry gold digger who seeks men who can take care of her financially). These shows came to represent the range of black updated versions of outdated stereotypes. These black female characters presented Black women in contradictions and confirmations, reifying and dispelling stereotypes simultaneously” (Boylorn, 2008, p. 418).

When it comes to the news side of Television, black women must battle the “White supremacist and male supremacist ideologies are institutionalized in the media,

which produce specific images, representations of race, of blackness that support and maintain the oppression, exploitation, and overall domination of all black people” (Meyers, 2004, p. 97).

Again, the historical images of The Mammy and The Jezebel influence how black women are framed in Television news stories. Associate Professor of Communication at Georgia State University Marian Meyers says that “racism, sexism, and poverty are normalized and naturalized” because of these images (Meyers, 2004, p. 97). Also, because of these images, black women are allowed to be stripped of their womanhood, by refusing to signify them as women in stories (Meyers, 2004, p. 97).

Furthermore, the news’ inability to recognize or acknowledge the impact that race has on how a woman’s womanhood is perceived and experienced allows room for historical images and stereotypes to remain (Meyers, 2004, p. 97).

Boylorn and Meyers’ research helps to build a picture of the media climate on a broader level outside of magazines and other print mediums, which brings greater context to the understanding of the issue as a whole. This is especially important since various media mediums are often converged and work together to provide a story or viewpoint.

### **Representations in Advertising.**

According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, the annual purchasing power of racial/ ethnic minorities constitutes over 20% of the nation’s total consumer spending and is rising at a rate faster than that of the non-minority population (Mastro & Stern, 2003, p. 638). But that economic buying power does not necessarily translate into higher levels of representation of those consumers in the ads from the companies that they support, except of in the case of African- Americans.

Although racial/ethnic minorities are largely underrepresented in television commercials, two studies found that “elevated occurrences of black portrayals in television ads (finding blacks in 35% and 31.8% of ads, respectively)” (Mastro & Stern, 2003, p. 639). These ads are usually for food, e.g. McDonald’s or for institutional/service ads, e.g. Everest and the value of the product is “inversely related to the interaction with black models” (Mastro & Stern, 2003, p. 638).

This is an improvement from the early days of advertising where blacks were portrayed as paid slaves. In a 1953 study done by Audrey Shuey, Nancy King and Barbara Griffith, they found that 95.3% of ads that featured blacks showed them as “cooks, maids and other unskilled laborers, with the remaining African-Americans presented as entertainers or athletes” (In Full View, p. 3). By the 60s and 70s, the image of the athlete and entertainer became more prominent (60 percent) in ads and the image of the black professional started rising (In Full View, p. 3).

In terms of the representation of black women in ads, black women are shown “in a group where the black women is in the minority, or she is shown as submissive or being dominated” (In Full View, p. 1). Once again, like in other areas of the media, these representations are connected to the historical images/stereotypes of black women as The Mammy, The Matriarch, The Jezebel or The Sapphire (In Full View, p. 6).

Although African-American women have been seen as powerful advertising tools for personal care products for hair, skin and clothing, “with two African-American magazines (Ebony/Essence) advertising hair care products in higher frequency than other products,” they are still often placed in “positions of submission in advertisements in magazines targeted at Caucasians” (In Full View, pp. 3—4).

### **Representations in News.**

When it comes to newspapers, black women are mostly represented in stories about crime and poverty. One of the most recognizable images of black women in print news is that of the Welfare Queen.

The image of the Welfare Queen became popular during Ronald Reagan's presidential terms. During his speeches about welfare reform, Reagan's "veiled references to African- American women, and African-Americans in general, were equally transparent. In other words, while poor women of all races are blamed for their impoverished condition, African-American women commit the most egregious violations of American values (Gilliam, 1993, p. 3).

The Welfare Queen can be seen as a modern equivalent of The Jezebel, which focuses on and overplays the sexuality of black women. The Welfare Queen is "portrayed as being content to sit around and collect welfare, shunning work and passing on her bad values to her offspring. The welfare mother represents a woman of low morals and uncontrolled sexuality" (Gilliam, 1993, p. 3).

The pervasiveness of this image has continued past Reagan and still affects the public's view of welfare. Although "African-American women do represent more than one-third of the women on welfare, in census data released in 1998 they accounted for only a bit more than 10 percent of the total number of welfare recipients" (Gilliam, 1993, p. 3). Furthermore, "the majority of women on welfare are actually White" (Sotirovic, 2009, p. 273).

When it comes to the studies about news and advertising, they do not provide much context that may directly relate to magazines, but like Boylorn and Meyers studies

on television, they do provide context that leads to a greater understanding of the issue of the representation of black women as a whole. Each of these mediums are not completely separate from the other, and each of them are influenced by the other.

### **Representations in Magazines.**

The research about the framing of black women in magazines is quite sparse. Most studies tend to focus on television, television news and advertising. If magazines are discussed, it is usually through the advertising frame (Covert & Dixon, 2008, p. 232).

According to journalism and mass communication researchers Juanita Covert and Travis Dixon, the primary representations of black women in mainstream magazines, and women of color in general, come back to the historical images of The Mammy and Jezebel (Covert & Dixon, 2008, p. 232).

Although magazines, in terms of ads, are trying to offer counter stereotypical images, there is still a bigger instance of those historical images (Covert & Dixon, 2008, p. 235). Furthermore, those counter images are often ineffective in combating the stereotypical ones.

In another study about the framing of black women in magazines, researchers Jennifer Bailey Woodard and Teresa Mastin found that black women's magazines, *Essence* in particular, were just as susceptible to using historical stereotypical images.

Woodard and Mastin identified the use of The Mammy, The Matriarch, The Jezebel and the Welfare Mother or Queen (2005, p. 266). The only difference between *Essence* and mainstream magazines was that they were more conscious about the use of those stereotypes and offered more counter images (Woodard & Mastin, 2005, p. 274).

Covert, Dixon, Mastin and Woodard's studies look at advertising through the lens of one publication— *Essence*. Although they don't do any comparisons to other publications or particularly delve into the editorial content of *Essence*, their studies are helpful. A magazine's advertising content is correlated with editorial direction of the magazine, so it's another viewpoint into the evolution of the representation of black women in *Essence*, which is crucial to the understanding of the articles from the magazine in this study.

## **History of women's magazines**

### **Emergence of Women's magazines.**

Women's magazines have been around since the late 1690s when English bookseller John Dunton wrote, published and sold *Ladies Mercury*, a magazine that gave answers to “all the most nice and curious questions concerning love, marriage, behaviour, dress and humour of the female sex, whether virgins, wives or widows” (Braithwaite, 1995, p. 10). Since then, hundreds of women's magazines have come and gone during their quest to represent and educate the women of its age.

A majority of the first women's magazines seemed to simply focus on women's roles as mothers, wives and curators of their households. Most magazines offered cleaning, cooking, etiquette and fashion advice and the latest gossip, while avoiding heavier topics such as politics (Braithwaite, 1995).

According to Braithwaite, the women's magazine industry took a bit of a turn in the early 1970s with *Cosmopolitan* magazine (1995, p. 96). Although *Cosmopolitan* had been around since 1886, it revamped its image and created the *Cosmopolitan Girl*, who was modeled after new editor-in-chief Helen Gurley Brown. The *Cosmopolitan Girl*

“would be attractive to men, hold down an exciting job, look great and have a wonderful sex life” (Braithwaite, 1995, p. 96). Brown’s first issue sold a million copies, and set a new standard for women’s magazines regarding content, sales and advertising (Braithwaite, 1995, p. 97). During the same time that mainstream women’s magazines were experiencing a renaissance of sorts, black women’s magazines finally broke the barrier with the launch of *Essence*.

### **Emergence of Black women’s magazines.**

Black women’s magazines have been around since the early 1890s, although *Essence* is usually credited as the first (Rooks, 2004, p. 142). Eight black women’s magazines were published between 1891 and 1950. They are: *Ringwood’s Afro-American Journal of Fashion*, *Woman’s Era*, *The Sepia Socialite*, *Half-Century Magazine for the Colored Home and Homemaker*, *Woman’s Voice*, *Tan Confessions*, *Our Women and Children* and *Aframerican Woman’s Journal* (Rooks, 2004, p. 4). Each of these magazines served as a model for *Essence* to follow after and expand on.

*Essence* magazine was started by Earl Lewis, Jonathan Blount, Cecil Hollingsworth and Clarence O. Smith, four black businessmen who saw the opportunity to market to black women via a women’s magazine. The men vowed to “speak in your name and in your voice” (Rooks, 2004, p. 143).

“The magazine’s content, offered in a eight-by-ten-inch format, in general was in the familiar patterns of women’s magazines — a few short stories, a children’s page, articles and departments on fashion, cooking, medicine, personal care, dieting, and like topics, and personality pieces about successful black women, therefore offering what editors like to call an opportunity for reader identification. Editorials were not used”

(Wolseley, 1990, p. 149). But, the magazine's voice and format changed when a reader sent in a letter saying:

“Your magazine is ‘nice.’ How come you don’t tell it like it is, that the black people are starving and losing their lives in the streets everyday. In don’t see anything about the Panthers or their activities or their lady. Your black lady doesn’t even have a natural. Black people are involved in the struggle to live every day. That’s what you should be printing” (Wolseley, 1990, p. 149).

From there, *Essence* started to include more stories about the “Black nationalist rhetoric and discourse that drew upon various aspects of their identity” (Rooks, 2004, p. 144). *Essence* began publishing stories with titles such as, “Sensual Black Man, Do You Love Me?,” “Dynamite Afros,” and “Revolt: From Rosa to Kathleen” (Rooks, 2004, p. 146). But, by the middle 1970s, *Essence* shifted again to a less radical voice and began to focus on clothes, travel and cosmetics to gain a more commercial appeal for advertisers (Rooks, 2004, p. 144).

By the early 90s, *Essence* had grown to become an advertising powerhouse and expanded to include *Essence-by-mail*, a mail-order catalog and *Essence Television Productions, Inc.*, which produced the *Essence Awards* (Rooks, 2004, pp. 147—8). In more recent years, *Essence* has added more events such as the *Essence Music Festival* in New Orleans and the *Essence Black Women in Hollywood luncheon*.

These studies provide historical context about the emergence and evolution of women’s magazines and black women’s magazines, which is crucial to the understanding of the more recent articles from *Essence* and *Glamour* that this study includes.

## **Framing Theory**

The key to answering the research questions comes from an understanding of media framing and framing effects theory. Framing, on a broad and superficial level, includes basic journalistic techniques such as “orienting headlines, the specific word choices, rhetorical devices employed, narrative form, and so on” (Capella and Jamieson, 1997, p. 39). However, Capella and Jamieson (1997) suggest that the conceptualization of media framing should be refined to “those rhetorical and stylistic choices” (p. 39) that aid in the quick identification, classification and dissemination of information to readers (Scheufele, 1999, p. 106).

In “Framing as a theory of media effects,” Scheufele (1999) clarifies Capella and Jamieson’s conceptualization of media frames as rhetorical and stylistic choices by providing four structural dimensions that influence the formation of frames:

Syntactic structures, or patterns in the arrangements of words or phrases; script structures, referring to the general newsworthiness of an event as well as the intention to communicate news and events to the audience that transcends their limited sensory experiences; thematic structures, reflecting the tendency of journalists to impose a causal theme on their news stories, either in the form of explicit causal statements or by linking observations to the direct quote of a source; and the stylistic choices made by journalists in relation to their intended effects. (p. 111)

Northwestern University communication, journalism and political science expert Robert M. Entman expands on Scheufele, Capella and Jamieson’s explanation of framing

through focusing on the steps of framing, rather the tools of framing, e.g. thematic structures, word patterns, etc.

Entman (1993) says that framing is a matter of the selection of the aspects of perceived reality to make them more salient, or in laymen's terms, more “noticeable, meaningful or memorable to audiences” (pp. 52—3). Furthermore, the aspects that the writer chooses to highlight must activate a “preexisting set of knowledge (schema), including concepts, procedures, and, most important, their interconnection” (Capella and Jamieson, 1997, p. 42) that produce varying interpretations and judgments, better known as framing effects (Scheufele, 1999).

### **Issues with Framing Theory**

Framing theory provides a unique opportunity to understand the psychological processes that influence the way stories are framed by writers and understood by readers, but scholars are struggling with the highly fragmented nature of this theory (Entman, 1993, p. 51). More specifically, Entman (1993) says, “Despite its omnipresence across social sciences and humanities, nowhere is a general statement of framing theory that shows how frames become embedded within and make themselves manifest in a text, or how framing effects thinking” (p. 51). Journalism scholars Capella and Jamieson (2007) expand on Entman’s statement by suggesting “the framing of news is not and cannot be assumed to inevitably influence the public’s attitudes, knowledge and behavior” (p. 49) because of prior knowledge, biases and the influence of other cultural and societal norms, which are known as individual frames, or the unique way that readers interpret an article (Scheufele, 1999, p.106).

## **Framing theory and the representation of black women**

### **Race and ethnicity as a framing device.**

When discussing framing and its effect on readers, the majority scholarly research focuses on political reporting, but what happens when framing theory is applied to stories of race?

In the previous section, framing devices are broadly defined as the rhetorical and stylistic choices a journalist makes. However, In the case of this study, framing devices are specifically defined as the racial and ethnic stereotypes used to “set a frame of reference” for readers to make connections with and judgments and generalizations about others (Scheufele, 1999, p. 111). The University of Texas journalism professor Teresa Correa (2010), expands on Scheufele’s statement by saying, “Racial and ethnic stereotypes are powerful framing devices” because they easily connect with reader’s individual frames (p. 426).

### **Common stereotypes of black women.**

In “Black Womanhood: *Essence* and its Treatment of Stereotypical Images of Black Women,” Jennifer Bailey Woodard and Teresa Mastin (2005) explore three historical images of black women that have been spread through literature and media from the time of slavery. The images are:

- The Mammy: This image, in a historical context, is the “loyal domestic servant to white people.” But, in its current form, the Mammy is “self-sacrificing, loyal, humble and usually jovial” (Woodard & Mastin, 2005, p. 271).
- The Matriarch: This image focuses on black women’s roles as mothers. The Matriarch is “controlling, emasculating black woman who dictated to both her

children and her man their place in her home” (Woodard & Mastin, 2005, p. 271). In short, the Matriarch “emphasizes domination, aggression, strength, and toughness” of black women (Donovan, 2011, p. 459).

- The Jezebel/Sexual Siren: The Jezebel represents the portrayal of black women as the “bitch or whore” (Woodard & Mastin, 2005, p. 272). Historically, this comes from the slave master’s view of black women as “promiscuous, lustful, and hypersexual.” (Donovan, 2011, p. 459).

- The Sapphire is similar to The Matriarch, but the mothering aspect is absent. The Sapphire is “angry, aggressive, domineering, loud and hostile” (Donovan, 2011, p. 460).

Although Woodward, Mastin and Donovan’s studies primarily focus on historical frames and do not seek to find or discuss counter-images, their studies do provide a solid contextual foundation and starting point for research.

### **Effectiveness of race as a framing device.**

Indiana University-Purdue University Assistant Professor of Sociology Marci Bounds Littlefield says that framing has a profound impact on how people of color are perceived. Littlefield (2008) says:

The media strategically remake our picture of reality by controlling the images and the information that we receive. This process of selective reporting affects the ability of the populace to make objective, informed decisions because the information presented is biased and controlled (Murray, Schwartz, & Lichter, 2001). The media serve as a tool that people use to define, measure, and understand American society. For that reason, the media serve as a system of

racialization in that they have historically been used to perpetuate the dominant culture's perspective and create a public forum that defines and shapes ideas concerning race and ethnicity (p. 677).

According to Teresa Correa (2010), who is a University of Texas mass media researcher, "Mass media in general play a role in the reproduction and dissemination of racial and gender oversimplifications, studying the news genre is particularly important because the stories seem more grounded in 'reality'" (p. 426). Furthermore, stereotyping and discrimination on behalf of the media is described "as being predicated on inclusion and containment, which hides behind the notion of a colorblind society," (Littlefield, 2008, p. 676) which makes it difficult to address issues of stereotyping and framing in the media.

Littlefield and Correa's studies provide context on why these historical frames have continued to be so pervasive despite the emergence of new and powerful counter-images of black women. They do not directly address the issue of the representation of black women, but they do provide a solid, psychological understanding of the issue, which is key to this research.

### **Black women and framing effects**

According to Roxanne A. Donovan (2011), a psychology professor at Kennesaw State University, "A woman's race influences how her gender is perceived and experienced" (p. 458). Furthermore, the way that African-Americans interpret images of themselves in the media and how they think other groups interpret images of blacks in the media has a profound impact on identity and self-image (Littlefield, 2008, p. 678).

### **Framing effects studies on black women.**

Examples of how framing effects impact black women comes from *Essence's* "Reflection's of you and me" survey in November 2013 and the *Washington Post's* "Survey Paints portrait of black women in America."

*Essence*, the first and most respected black women's magazine, collaborated with Added Value Research Cheskin research consultants to survey 1,200 black women on how they believed the media portrayed them, whether it is through words or images. In a 2010 *Essence* survey on the same subject, ninety-three percent of black women felt "that media outlets are doing "okay" or a "poor" job presenting images that reflect the diversity of who we are." Although last year's survey did not include a similar statistic, it's clear that black women feel pigeonholed by the media. *Essence* readers identified nine stereotypes that are prevalent in the media. They are: Gold Diggers, Modern Jezebels, Baby Mamas, Uneducated Sisters, Ratchet Women, Angry Black Woman, Mean Black Girls, Unhealthy Black Women and Black Barbies. *Essence* then asked black and white women to identify which stereotypes they saw the most. Both demographics of women chose Baby Mamas, Modern Jezebels and Angry Black Women.

*Essence* then broke down black women's media habits to show how much time black women spend with these negative images. They spent 15.1 hours watching TV, 8.9 hours searching and reading online, and 2.5 hours reading magazines (Walton, 2013, Truth by numbers section).

The *Washington Post's* survey relayed some of the same sentiments. In their survey, 800 black women said they feel confident, have high self-esteem and find that career success is more important than marriage (Thompson, 2014, p.1). Although one of

the participants said: “You can play this, however, you want to. You’re living in the age of Michelle Obama,” (Thompson, 2014, p.1) its clear that black women are still fighting centuries of stereotypes, and they’re counting on the media to help break those images: “My law firm has no African American female partners. It has to do with how we are seen. So our value is based on what the media shows the world we are” (Thompson, 2014, p. 2).

Donovan, *Essence Magazine* and the *Washington Post*’s studies provide qualitative and quantitative evidence that the media needs to do better when it comes to representing black women in a more holistic light. Their studies cover the media effects angle of the issue, which will not be covered in this study, and *Essence* seeks to define counter-images, which this study aims to do as well. But, neither study goes in depth about historical images.

The *Essence* study in particular provides a good starting point on what may be found in this study as far as counter-images and modern representations of black women.

## **Methods and Procedures**

This study will employ the qualitative method of textual analysis with a focus on grounded theory approach.

### **Textual Analysis**

Textual analysis, in short, is a way to make an “educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made of a text” in order to understand how media “messages participate in the cultural construction of our view of the world” and what “meanings audiences are making” of those texts (McKee, 2001, p. 4). Textual analysis is the best approach because this study is essentially aiming to determine and understand some of the messages (frames) that are being disseminated about Black women.

#### **Analysis Paradigm: Framing Paradigm.**

According to communication studies, journalism and political science researcher Robert M. Entman (1993), “The concept of framing consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communication text,” (p. 51) and should be used as a theory and as a paradigm. In the realm of textual analysis, Entman (1993) says that the primary task is identifying and describing frames in a way that avoids “treating all negative or positive terms or utterances as equally salient and influential” (p. 57). By adopting this paradigm, Entman (1993) states that researchers will be able to avoid placing inferences into a positive or negative category, and instead focus on determining the “relationships of the most salient clusters of messages—the frames—to the audiences schemata” (p. 57).

## **Coding**

The first step in the grounded theory approach is coding. Each article will be openly coded in order to place it into a preliminary frame. The purpose of the open coding is to “categorize a chunk of data on the basis of its coherent meaning—its standing on its own—not by an arbitrary designation of grammar” (Lindhof & Taylor, 2002, p. 218). At this point, the focus is on identifying various elements rather than determining how they connect.

Preliminary frames will be formulated by passages, sentences, metaphors, catchphrases, keywords and images present within each story (Correa, 2010, p. 431). For example, in Teresa Correa’s (2010) study on the framing of Latinas in the *Miami Herald* and *El Nuevo Herald*, she mentions a passage that begins with “the first Hispanic woman who...” (p. 431). Correa identified this as a pioneer frame because of the word “first.”

Each element will be marked with a specific color in order to differentiate them. Each article will have a code sheet that lists identifying information such as the magazine title, article title, author name, gender and race, and publication date. This sheet will also list the various elements, e.g., keywords and images, within the article. This will make the initial framing process smoother.

The next step will be making a codebook. The codebook will list all preliminary frames, the code names for each frame, examples of each frame, the number of times a frame appears, and the location of each incident of a frame in the data (Lindhof & Taylor, 2002, p. 220).

## **Theoretical memo**

Once the codebook is compiled, a theoretical memo will be written to determine the themes among the preliminary frames and how their meanings shift across time and context (Lindhof & Taylor, 2002, p. 220). Because this method calls for constant comparing, more than one memo will be written as preliminary frames are narrowed down and are better defined.

## **Integration and dimensionalization**

Integration is the stage where the preliminary frames are refined and connections are made. Connections between those preliminary frames are done through axial coding. Axial coding “makes connections between categories and this results in the creation of either new categories (frames) or a theme that spans many categories” (Lindhof & Taylor, 2002, p. 220).

Each frame will be examined in three ways:

- The casual conditions that give rise to it [the frame]
- The context (its specific set of properties) in which it [the frame] is embedded
- The action/interactional strategies by which it [the frame] is handled, managed, carried out; and the consequences of those strategies (Lindhof & Taylor, 2002, p. 221). Dimensionalization is where the “identifying properties” of the frames are defined (Lindhof & Taylor, 2002, p. 222).

The result of this process will be the identification of several or more main frames (most salient, may be found via the headline or nut graph) and sub frames (found throughout the rest of the article) (Correa, 2010, p. 431).

## Sources

For the textual analysis, I will look at feature stories about black women from *Glamour* and *Essence* from 2009 to 2014. The decision to use this particular bracket of time comes from a personal observation that mainstream magazines started featuring more black women in 2009, after Michelle Obama took her role as First Lady. Michelle Obama's style, presence and personality seemed to open up mainstream publications to featuring more black women.

*Glamour* was chosen as *Essence*'s counterpart because of the similarities in mission, content and target audience.

*Essence* and *Glamour*'s mission statements both exhibit a focus on providing a holistic view of women and women's issues, which includes providing advice on health, love and life, and empowering women to get involved in political and social issues. Both publications list sections on beauty, hair, news, culture, love and careers.



Figure 1.



Figure 2.

Lastly, both publications list their target audience as the ages of 18—49 (“Essence 2014 Media Kit” & “Glamour Brand Kit,” 2014).



Figure 3.



Figure 4.

**Selection of sources for textual analysis.**

Thirty articles from the feature well of each publication will be chosen for analysis (MM = 15; BWM= 15). From 2009—2014, *Glamour* had 15 features that solely focused on or featured black women. In the case of *Essence*, there more than 300 articles to choose from, since all features focused on black women. Because of the large difference available content, *Glamour* articles were chosen through a census sample. In the case of *Essence*, articles were chosen through a purposeful sample.

Articles from *Glamour* and *Essence* were found by searching the Table of Contents' feature section. Next, the articles were narrowed down based on the headline and nut graph. Articles that seemed to be superficial, e.g. writing about a subject's

favorite shoe, were weeded out, as well as articles that were short in length, e.g. one page or less.

From there, the remaining articles were chosen to reflect a variety of subject matter and subjects. For example, *Essence* had multiple stories about Michelle Obama and Susan Rice. Instead of using every story about each woman, only one was chosen. Also, articles were narrowed down based on the year they were published in order to avoid having a disproportionate number of articles from a single year.

*Glamour's* articles were not subject to the process above, since there were only 15 articles to choose from.

### **Research variables**

The variables under investigation in this study are:

- The type of women's magazine (Mainstream vs. black)
- The editorial mission of the magazine
- Time bracket of 2009—2014, i.e. "Age of Michelle Obama"
- The frames that will be determined through textual analysis.
- The historical frames of The Mammy, The Matriarch, The Jezebel and The Sapphire. These frames will serve as a starting point in understanding how the framing of Black women has changed.

### **Research limitations, assumptions and validity**

#### **Research limitations.**

One of the research limitations that can arise through the grounded theory approach is the temptation to make the coding scheme so elaborate that it becomes too

difficult to work with. Lindlof and Taylor (2002) suggest keeping the set of codes simple so there can be a greater focus on interpretation (p. 222).

The next research limitation is the difference in available samples for *Glamour* and *Essence*. *Glamour*, if the 2009 numbers from the preliminary search become a trend, has only 30 articles available, while *Essence* has 360. Fifty percent of *Glamour's* articles will be analyzed, while less than 1 percent of *Essence's* articles will be analyzed. That potentially means that the pattern in *Essence* may not be so representative as *Glamour's*. Furthermore, with the smaller number of articles available for *Glamour*, it may be difficult to determine a distinct (or strong) pattern of change over the course of five years.

#### **Assumptions.**

The first assumption of this study is the way that women's magazines, mainstream and black, frame black women has been impacted by Michelle Obama's role as First Lady.

The second assumption is that mainstream and black women's magazines frame black women in differing ways, and will use certain frames more than the other.

#### **Validity.**

The validity of this study will be determined through an audit trail. An audit trail includes the "permanent record of the original data used for analysis and the researcher's comments and analysis methods" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003, p.114). The trail allows others to follow the researcher's thought processes and determine the accuracy of the results.

## Results

R1: What frames do mainstream women's magazines use when writing features about black women?

R2: What frames do black women's magazines use when writing features about Black women?

### **Frame 1: Strong Black Woman**

The Strong Black Woman frame is defined through some of the following keywords and phrases: 'single,' 'successful,' 'drama,' 'negative,' 'attention hungry,' and 'self-sabotaging.' In *Essence* magazine, this was the most prevalent frame, with 69 occurrences. In *Glamour*, the Strong Black Woman frame was used second most, with 18 occurrences. In *Essence*, the Strong Black Woman was defined by her financial, educational and professional success, her lack of healthy romantic and platonic relationships, and inability to share emotions and seek outside help for personal issues.

In short, the Strong Black Woman only projects an air of strength— she does not actually have it. For example, in the August 2009 article, "Black Women Behaving Badly," writer Kierna Mayo writes:

You'd never know it, looking at Nikia Macklin. For one, she's gorgeous, feminine to a fault. A curvy, hair-always-done 34-year-old who's employed as an intake worker at a social service agency, she rides the commuter rail to work in an adorable yellow linen dress and open-toe heels. She's the prototype of a sharp, hardworking Black woman (2009, p. 105).

Down the paragraph, Mayo reveals that although Macklin seems to have it all on the outside, she deals with constant negativity from other black women, especially when it comes to getting a man. Macklin says, “We did so much fighting and so much beefing— ‘Such and such was with someone’s man.’ There was so much hating on people, and people hating on us” (Mayo, 2009, p. 105).

The next year, *Essence* published another article “Can’t Let Go,” which revealed the emotional toll that all that fighting, beefing and competition has on black women. In the article, Stephen A. Diamond, Ph.D talks about the bitterness that many black women hold onto. He says bitterness is an “unconscious build up of unexpressed anger or resentment that drives us into hostile, violent or self-destructive behavior” (Solomon, 2010, p.151) Later in the article, another psychologist, Michelle Callahan, says “Black women have been dogged on so many levels that many of us have adopted this bravado to protect ourselves” (Solomon, 2010, p. 153).

In each of the articles that carry the Strong Black Woman frame, the writer discusses the SBW in terms of turning away from that persona to reach a higher level of vulnerability and a new understanding of what strength really means.

In *Glamour*, the writers have a different take on the Strong Black Woman frame. Whereas *Essence* uses keywords that could be interpreted as negative, such as ‘confront,’ ‘alone,’ ‘backstabbers,’ and ‘hiding’, *Glamour* uses keywords such as ‘single,’ ‘sassy,’ ‘attitude,’ ‘confident’ and ‘honest.’

In the 15 articles from *Glamour*, the SBW frame occurred six times, and five of the six occurrences were found in stories about Rihanna (there were two). Rihanna’s singleness wasn’t framed as a problem to be fixed per se, but as something to be

celebrated. Her attitude and controlling personality seems to be something to reach for. In the 2011 story, “RIHANNA TALKS: this is my story,” writer Logan Hill begins the article with “Rihanna likes to be in control” (2011, p. 324). Throughout the article, Hill mentions that drama that seems to surround Rihanna and he eventually asks, “Does that mean you naturally look for trouble? You’re drawn to drama” (2011, p. 324)? But, that drama isn’t necessarily seen as something negative, like in *Essence* stories. It’s seen as something, at least in Rihanna’s case, that is the spice of life.

The main difference between *Essence* and *Glamour*’s approach to this frame, and all frames, is that all of articles from *Essence* that were sampled were written by black authors, and all the articles from *Glamour*’s that were sampled were written by white authors. *Essence*’s writers have a personal reference that colors their understanding of what a Strong Black Woman is and the emotional toll that bravado can take. On the other hand, *Glamour* writers are almost looking from the outside in. They notice the bravado, the sassiness and the attitude, but there is no context where that stems from.

## **Frame 2: Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama**

The Superwoman a.k.a Michelle Obama frame is defined through some of the following keywords and phrases: ‘successful,’ ‘doing things the right way,’ ‘class,’ ‘self-assured,’ ‘smart,’ ‘trusted,’ ‘mother,’ ‘wife,’ ‘devoted,’ and ‘power.’ In *Essence*, this was the second most prevalent frame, with 33 occurrences. In *Glamour*, this was the most prevalent frame, with 18 occurrences.

In this case, *Essence* and *Glamour* handle the frame in the same way. The Superwoman a.k.a Michelle Obama frame, was defined by her ability to achieve educational and professional success as well as personal success, e.g. healthy marriage,

family, friendships, etc.... Also, there is a focus on having a healthy emotional life, which allows these women to freely and effectively express themselves, which leaves no room for drama or catty competitions, which was an underlying factor *Essence's* version of the SBW frame. Essentially, the Superwoman is the SBW at a higher, and happier, level.

For example, in a January 2010 *Essence* article about Susan Rice, "Face of the Nation," writer Charlayne Hunter-Gault highlights Rice's role as a mother and wife and shows a level of vulnerability that is absent in many stories about black women. She writes: "I ask how she balances a job that keeps her traveling across continents and between two cities with two young children. Her quick reply is 'Marry the right man. I could not be dealing with this without him' " (Hunter-Gault, 2010, p. 120).

Another element of the Superwoman a.k.a Michelle Obama frame is a focus on the physical presentation of these women. The keywords associated with this element of the frame are: 'chic,' 'stylish,' 'elegant,' 'swagger,' and 'sportin.' For instance, in *Glamour's* December 2009 article about Michelle Obama, "Michelle Obama: Your First Lady," Katie Couric describes Obama as a "combination of elegance and sportiness (I would definitely want her on my softball team if I played softball)..." (Couric, 2009, p. 224) And, in a small profile about Susan Rice in the same issue, Rice was described as "sportin'," which came from her days as a high school basketball player (Kramer-Jenning, 2009, p. 228).

Another hallmark aspect of the Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama frame is the connection to the Trailblazer and Politicized Black Woman frames. The Trailblazer frame discusses the ability of black women to push past racial and gender barriers in various

professional arenas, and the Politicized Black Woman frame discusses the how black women are viewed through the lens various historical political events, such as the Civil Rights Movement, and how those events have impacted their lives.

### **Frame 3: The Trailblazer**

The Trailblazer frame is defined through the following keywords: ‘legacy,’ ‘barriers,’ ‘define,’ ‘founder,’ ‘leader,’ ‘advocate,’ and ‘give.’ In *Essence* and *Glamour* magazine, there were an equal number of occurrences (12). The Trailblazer frame focuses on Black women’s ability to push past racial and gender barriers in educational, professional, social and political arenas and their ability to redefine the image of black women through their achievements. Furthermore, this frame highlights black women’s willingness to give back to their communities through finances and through the creation of community organizations.

For example, In *Glamour*’s April 2009 spread, “American Icons,” featured three black women: Billie Holiday, Althea Gibson and Michelle Obama. In each article, the women were celebrated for being the ‘first’ in each of their areas — music, sports and politics. In *Essence*, they not only celebrated black women’s ability to break professional barriers, but they celebrated their ability to blaze new definitions of black women.

In the November 2009 *Essence* article, “The Root of the Issue,” TV Personality Tanika Ray says, “White women were the ones who were considered pretty, right? So we’re defining for ourselves as the years go on. We have more power now and we can say, ‘No, Nia Long is beautiful. Michelle Obama is beautiful’ ” (Taylor, 2009, p. 137).

#### **Frame 4: The Conqueror**

The Conqueror frame is defined by these keywords and phrases: ‘tragedy,’ ‘struggle,’ ‘comeback,’ ‘beat the odds,’ ‘challenge,’ and ‘positive.’ In *Essence*, this was the third most used frame, with 32 occurrences. In *Glamour*, it was the second most used frame, with 17 occurrences. The Conqueror frame focuses on black women’s ability to conquer personal tragedies and struggles and come out on the other side as a better woman. This frame is best explained through Viola Davis in her August 2011 *Essence* article, “Voila, Viola.” She says:

As black women, we’re always given these seemingly devastating experiences—experiences that could absolutely break us. But what the caterpillar calls the end of the world, the master calls the butterfly. What we do as black women is take the worst situations and create from that point (Ogunnaike, 2011, p. 111).

Another example is in the March 2011 *Glamour* article, “The World Watched As Their Father Was Beaten,” writer Gretchen Voss tells the story of Lora and Candice King, the daughters of Rodney King. In the section about Lora, Voss writes:

Lora hung on. On top of coping with her father’s infamy, she’d grown up in various rough L.A. neighborhoods and had witnessed shootings and drug deals on her street. But she sought lifelines: an aunt who tutored her, the high school principal who took her to work at a soup kitchen (Voss, 2011, p. 241).

Another aspect of the Conqueror frame is a connection to the Faith-filled Black Woman frame. In each of these stories, women cited faith, specifically the Christian faith, as the main sources of strength to get through trying times.

### **Frame 5: The Conflicted Jezebel**

This frame is defined by these phrases/keywords: ‘visual,’ ‘magnetic,’ ‘body,’ ‘sex,’ ‘sexy,’ ‘payoff,’ ‘attention-seeking,’ ‘discovery,’ ‘looking for love.’ In *Essence*, this frame occurred 11 times, and it occurred once in *Glamour*. This frame is a progression of the historical Jezebel frame, which represents the portrayal of black women as the “bitch or whore” (Woodard & Mastin, 2005, p. 272). Furthermore, this comes from the slave master’s view of black women as “promiscuous, lustful, and hypersexual.” (Donovan, 2011, p. 459).

The current representation of this frame deals with black women’s struggle to define and use their sexuality on the slim line between empowerment and exploitation. For example, in the June 2009 *Essence* article, “The Body Shop,” writer Demetria Lucas writes about the rising rates of plastic surgery among black women, mainly to get bigger busts and backsides. In the article, one woman says, “When you see those women in hip-hop videos and urban magazines, they are so curvaceous. I would look at those bodies and think, *Now that’s what ethnic men like*” (Lucas, 2009, p. 112). Lucas also covers the struggle that black women are having determining the difference with being sexually confident and being a sexual object. In the article, Psychologist Michelle Callahan says there is a “difference between taking a workshop to learn how to act like a sex object and using a class to build sexual confidence and keep a healthy relationship fresh” (Lucas, 2009, p. 113).

Another *Essence* article, “Black Women: Redefined,” sheds light on another aspect of this frame, which is the conflict between religion and sexuality. In the article, writer Cora Daniels highlights the stories of three women: Sophia A. Nelson, Antoinette

Dalton and Lori Price. In Price's story, "I reexamined my relationship with God," Daniels presents an interesting fact from Nelson's survey of 211 Black women for her book, *Black Woman Redefined*. She writes that women in the survey stated the need to "choose between their commitment to God and their standards for men, implying that one would have to be compromised in a relationship" (Daniels, 2011, p. 148). Nelson goes on to say: "We need a healthy intersection of faith and humanity and sexuality. Let me put this on record: You can have a vibrant sex life and still be a godly woman" (Daniels, 2011, p. 148). Nelson's survey, along with this article, seem to suggest that a large part of black women's conflict with their sexuality stems from religious pressure to remain chaste until marriage, and the lack of discussion about sex and sexuality because of religious ideas.

#### **Frame 6: The Politicized Black Woman**

This frame is defined by these keywords: 'race,' 'racism,' 'slavery,' 'history,' 'politics,' 'achievement,' and 'activism.' This frame occurred nine times in *Essence* and 10 times in *Glamour*. This frame focuses on how politics (racial, gender, class, etc....) shapes the existences of black women and how they view and fit into the world around them. The hallmark feature of the articles that carry this frame is the focus on how certain events, mainly The Civil Rights Movement and Jim Crow, shaped the world-view of these black women. For example, In the November 2010 *Glamour* article about Condoleezza Rice, "I Don't Miss Washington Very Much," Rice discusses how "deeply she was shaped by her upbringing in a tight-knit family in the deeply segregated South of the 1950s and 1960s" (Couric, 2010, p. 181).

In the December 2011 *Essence* article, "Colorstruck," writer Denene Millner explores how the politics of race not only affects black/white relations, but impacts

black/black relations as well. In the article, Miller addressed the rampant colorism, e.g. light skin vs. dark skin, that still plagues the black community. Miller writes, “Before we can tackle our color issues and retrain our thinking, we first have to understand where our attitudes began. Birthed on plantations by slave owners who intentionally created a divide-and-conquer hierarchy between dark-skinned field hands and light-skinned house servants...” (Millner, 2011, p. 136)

Another aspect of this sub frame is the responsibility that black women seem to carry to become advocates for issues that affect their community. For example, in the October 2012 *Glamour* article, “You Are Not Going To Believe These Women (Glamour Top 10 College Women Competition),” writer Christen Brandt highlights the story of Jasmine Mans, a 21-year-old University of Wisconsin Sociology and African-American studies student. Mans, who is known for her spoken word poetry on black life says, “We have to speak up! Being quiet only enables the violence and ills in society” (Brandt, 2012, p. 230).

In short, like Tonya Lewis Lee states in the November 2009 *Essence* article, “The Root of the Issue, “Simply being a black woman is a political statement” (Taylor, 2009, p. 141).

### **Frame 7: The Faith-filled Black Woman**

This frame is defined by the following keywords: ‘faith,’ ‘prayer,’ ‘God,’ ‘positive,’ ‘strength’ and ‘hope.’ This frame occurred six times in *Essence* and once in *Glamour*. This frame focuses on black women’s reliance on faith, the Christian faith in particular, to provide strength and hope in times of struggle and guidance for life

decisions. For example, in the August 2012 *Essence* article, “Undefeated,” 17-year-old boxer Clareesa Shields says:

God let all that stuff [poverty, sexual abuse] happen to me because he saw that I was strong enough to handle it. He knew that I would be successful. His purpose was that all this would happen and when I make it, when I win a gold medal, I’ll be able to tell my story, and they’ll be able to see that God is real (Armstrong, 2012, p. 115).

R3: Is there a difference in the use of frames between mainstream and Black women’s magazines?

*Glamour* and *Essence* use the same frames, but the difference lies in the frequency of certain frames, and how those frames are handled. The main factor isn’t necessarily the number of times the frame is used, but how it is handled. *Essence* handles the Strong Black Woman from a point-of-view that says, “I understand your struggle. I understand your pain. I understand your history, and I’m telling you that you don’t have to hold onto that image of strength any longer.” *Essence* calls for black women to let go of that image, and move toward a fuller, more emotionally sound and vulnerable way of being, and they are able to do that because their writers, most of who are black, can write from a wealth of personal experience and historical context that is absent in *Glamour* because they do not have the diversity needed.

Two of the frames that seemed to be exclusive to *Essence* are the Conflicted Jezebel frame and the Faith-filled Black Woman frame. Both frames call for a wealth of knowledge and understanding about historical images of black women, e.g. The Mammy, The Jezebel, The Matriarch, etc.... and the understanding of how faith, specifically the

Christian faith, has been and still is an underlying source of strength for black women and the black community as a whole.

Another aspect in the difference between how *Essence* and *Glamour* handled these frames is the difference in the mission of both magazines. *Glamour*'s mission statement says that they are geared toward women whose "point-of-view is unmistakably American, unwavering in its optimism and wide open to the possibilities ahead..." (Conde Nast, 2014). And *Essence*'s mission is to tell "Black women's stories like no one else can" (Essence, 2015, p. 1). So, when *Glamour* publishes a story about black women, it's going to be written from a view that appeals to many people, rather than catering to just to Black women.

A third aspect of this is the formatting of the stories, which at first, seemed to have little bearing on how the frames are handled. But, *Glamour*'s heavy reliance on Q&A's leaves little room to bring context into a story, which changes how a frame is perceived. On the other hand, *Essence* relies on a narrative style, which leaves more room for context and depth.

So, in short, what makes the difference between black women's (*Essence*) and mainstream magazines (*Glamour*) is the different in how they handle frames in accordance to the of the diversity of the staff that is writing the stories and their lived experiences, the mission of the magazine, and the level of knowledge about black culture and black women.

R4: How do these frames redefine or differentiate from historical frames?

There are four dominant historical frames. They are:

- The Mammy: This image, in a historical context, is the "loyal domestic servant

to white people.” But, in its current form, the Mammy is “self-sacrificing, loyal, humble and usually jovial” (Woodard & Mastin, 2005, p. 271).

- The Matriarch: This image focuses on black women’s roles as mothers. The Matriarch is “controlling, emasculating black woman who dictated to both her children and her man their place in her home” (Woodard & Mastin, 2005, p. 271).

In short, the Matriarch “emphasizes domination, aggression, strength, and toughness” of black women (Donovan, 2011, p. 459).

- The Jezebel/Sexual Siren: The Jezebel represents the portrayal of black women as the “bitch or whore” (Woodard & Mastin, 2005, p. 272). Historically, this comes from the slave master’s view of black women as “promiscuous, lustful, and hypersexual.” (Donovan, 2011, p. 459).

- The Sapphire is similar to The Matriarch, but the mothering aspect is absent. The Sapphire is “angry, aggressive, domineering, loud and hostile” (Donovan, 2011, p. 460).

The frames of The Strong Black Woman and The Conflicted Jezebel are strongly connected to these historical frames. As explained above, The Strong Black Woman frame is a mixture of The Matriarch, The Sapphire and to a very small extent, The Mammy. The SBW is viewed as aggressive, domineering, loud and hostile, especially toward men, and she does carry the self-sacrificing element of The Mammy, which is the source of some of her pain.

Furthermore, at least as shown in *Essence*, there seems to be a movement away from being a SBW and proud of it. Black women seem to be moving toward an existence

that allows them to be vulnerable and open to letting someone else help them carry their burdens.

The Conflicted Jezebel frame comes directly from the historical Jezebel frame, which says that Black women are “promiscuous, lustful and hypersexual” (Donovan, 2011, p. 459). The Conflicted Jezebel wants to embrace the sexual nature of the Jezebel, whether it be through how she dresses, through body enhancement, through trying new sexual experiences, but she doesn’t seem to understand how to tread the line between experiencing productive sexual empowerment/freedom and exploiting herself for the attention of others.

## Discussion and Conclusion

### Findings

This study is best summed up by this quote: “You can play this however you want to. You’re living in the age of Michelle Obama” (Thompson, 2014, p.1).

Within the seven years of Michelle Obama’s role as First Lady, it’s clear that she has been paramount in creating a new image of black women that is a 180 from the historical stereotypes of The Mammy, The Matriarch, The Jezebel and The Sapphire, which came from white ideas of black womanhood during slavery (Woodward & Mastin, 2005; Donovan, 2011).

Her influence can be seen in fashion (In 2013, she wore a belt from J. Crew and it immediately sold out), in her work to improve the health of young children through the Let’s Move! campaign, and in the media, where she has become the go-to for representing the progress of black women.

The textual analysis of *Essence* and *Glamour* reveal a gradual shift toward a multi-faceted view of black women, due, in part, to the influence of Michelle Obama and women like her. The textual analysis revealed seven frames: The Strong Black Woman, The Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama, The Trailblazer, The Conqueror, The Conflicted Jezebel, The Politicized Black Woman and The Faith-filled Black Woman.

The first and the most common frame, The Strong Black Woman, has financial, educational and professional success, but she struggles to maintain a healthy personal life. She exudes an air of strength, whether it’s through outward aggression or plain

denial of her issues, but she hides an immense amount of pain stemming from personal or professional slights (Solomon, 2010, p. 153).

From a historical point-of-view, The Strong Black Woman is a combination of The Matriarch, The Sapphire and to a small extent, The Mammy. The SBW can be aggressive, domineering, and loud like The Sapphire (Donovan, 2011, p.460), hostile toward men like The Matriarch (Donovan, 2011, p. 459), and self-sacrificing like The Mammy (Woodard & Mastin, 2005, p. 271).

This frame falls in line with some previous research that says the most prevalent and lasting images are of the unshakable and nonfeminine Black woman (Boylorn, 2008; Woodard & Mastin, 2005). This finding may seem disheartening, but the progression comes in the way in which the frame is handled. The textual analysis of *Essence* shows that black women are understanding that strength doesn't come from being the unshakable lone wolf, but it comes from a willingness to be vulnerable and ask for help. For example, in the June 2011 *Essence* article "Black Women: Redefined," author Sophia A. Nelson says: "There is nothing wrong with success, earning degrees and being proud of yourself, but for too many of us, that's all we have." She goes on to say: "Let's get rid of being sick and tired of being sick and tired. Let's just admit we do get tired, and we do need a rest. And that is okay" (Daniels, 2011, p. 144).

In many of the stories that carry the SBW frame, writers and subjects cite Michelle Obama as an example of what being a strong, black woman means today. For example, in the 2009 *Essence* article "Black Women Behaving Badly" the writer mentions that black women are "living in a Michelle Obama Age" (Mayo, 2009, p. 107), and therefore have an example of what it looks like to be successful, strong and

independent, while having the vulnerability and softness needed to be successful, wife mother and friend.

The “strength” component is present throughout other frames, i.e. The Trailblazer, The Conqueror, The Politicized Black Woman and The Faith-filled Black Woman. The Trailblazer and Politicized Black Woman frames focus on black women’s strength in the face of racial and gender barriers and struggles. The Conqueror focuses on black women’s strength in the face of personal struggles, and The Faith-filled Black Woman frame focuses on how black women draw strength from their religious beliefs and experiences.

As these frames mentioned above show, the prevailing image of Black women is centered around their formidable and unshakable, but there is a better balance that shows black women being vulnerable, being mothers and wives, and showing a range of emotions.

For example, In *Essence*’s 2010 feature “Face of the Nation,” U.N. Ambassador, Susan Rice, credits her husband as part of her formula of success. She says: “Marry the right man. I could not be dealing with this without him” (Hunter-Gault, p. 120).

Michelle Obama’s influence is also seen through the weak presence of The Jezebel frame in the textual analysis. Historically, The Jezebel represents the portrayal of black women as the “bitch or whore” (Woodard & Mastin, 2005, p. 272) and comes from the slave master’s view of black women as “promiscuous, lustful and hypersexual” (Donovan, 2011, p. 459). In this study’s textual analysis, The Jezebel frame was explored in terms of the conflict that black women have in defining their sexuality and having a healthy sexual life that isn’t based on exploitation by themselves or at the hands of others.

Previous research shows that The Jezebel is one of the primary representations of black women in all areas of media, including magazines (Covert & Dixon, 2008; Gilliam, 1993; Boylorn, 2008). But, the image of The Jezebel barely showed up in *Essence* and *Glamour*. Why?

As mentioned in the introduction of the Findings section, Michelle Obama has become the leading example of what the modern black woman does and looks like. She's feminine, well-dressed and commands attention without relying her body to do so.

Her influence is summed up by The Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama frame, which stems from her impact on the media and pop culture. This frame shows Black women as well rounded in their personal, and professional lives, and a wholeness in their physical, mental and spiritual health. As the number of stories and references about Michelle Obama grew over the years, so did stories about women like her. Black female leaders, such as Susan Rice, Valerie Jarrett and Condoleeza Rice were often framed in the same light as Michelle.

### **Limitations**

Like previous studies (Correa, 2010; Covert & Dixon, 2008; Woodard & Mastin, 2005), the limitations of this study include a limited sample size and source selection and an absence of discussing framing effects.

#### **Sample size and source selection.**

This study covered five years (2009–14) coined as “The Age of Michelle Obama,” two magazines (*Essence* and *Glamour*) and 30 articles (BW= 15, MM= 15).

The relatively small number of articles doesn't affect *Glamour* since there were approximately 20 features on Black women within that five-year time span. But, this

number does affect *Essence*. There are approximately 360 (72 features per year x 5 years) features on Black women within that 2009–2014 timeframe. Therefore, less than one percent of *Essence*'s articles were part of the textual analysis.

On the other hand, the time frame allowed for research is not nearly enough to cover 380 articles, and the process of trying to analyze and find patterns amongst 380 articles may have lead to more confusion than clarity.

Another limitation is the fact that only two magazines, *Essence* and *Glamour*, are part of the analysis. There are a wealth of other magazines in the Black and mainstream markets that are publishing stories about Black women, which may have revealed other frames not seen in *Essence* and *Glamour*.

#### **Absence of framing effects.**

As seen in other studies, there is a lack of discussion about framing effects. Framing, as it is currently understood, is a two-way street. There is the writing process, which includes rhetorical and stylistic choices on behalf of the writer (Scheufele, 1999, p. 106). Then there is the interaction between the writer's choices along with the "preexisting set of knowledge (schema), including concepts" of the audience (Capella and Jamieson, 1997, p. 42). Furthermore, there is an interaction between the audience's individual frames, or the unique way that a reader interprets an article based on previous knowledge, biases and norms (Scheufele, 1999, p. 106).

This study does not look at how framing effects impact readers, nor does it examine the writing processes of writers, which would offer a stronger backbone to the frames identified among the articles.

## **Further research**

The limitations discussed in the section above leave room for further research to cover those missed areas. As seen in previous studies, and in this study, there is a need to take a look framing effects by doing ethnographic studies of readers and writers alike. Framing, as explained by Robert M. Entman, is a way to understand the psychological processes that impact the way stories are framed by writers and understood by readers (1993, p. 51). Ethnographic studies of writers and readers would provide greater insight to the psychological processes that are an integral part of framing theory.

Another area of further research would be to do a textual analysis of other Black women's and mainstream magazines and search for the frames present in those publications. Doing textual analyses of other publications could lead to a greater understanding of the identified frames in this and previous studies, along with revealing new patterns.

One more area of further study would be to do a textual analyses of *Essence* and *Glamour* after Michelle Obama's term as FLOTUS is over. As seen in this study, Michelle Obama has had an impact on how Black women are viewed and written about in these two magazines. It would be interesting to see if this counterstereotypical image created by Obama will last past her term, since previous research has yet to determine if counterstereotypical images have any real long-term effects (Covert & Dixon, 2005).

## **Implications**

### **Cultural Implications.**

Although the focus of this study is on the magazine industry, there are implications that reach beyond it. Throughout previous literature and throughout articles

used for textual analysis, there are multiple references to “The Age of Michelle Obama.” This Age is consistently described as a cultural shift in the perception of black women from lazy Welfare Queens (Gilliam, 1993), lustful Jezebels (Boylorn, 2008) and angry Sapphires (Donovan, 2011) to being seen as highly educated, professional and stylish women, who are looked up and respected as leaders (Couric, 2009; Hunter-Gault, 2010; Wilkerson, 2009).

### **Magazine Industry.**

Through this study, and through other studies that look at relatively close time frames (Woodard & Mastin, 2005; Covert & Dixon, 2008), it’s clear that this is a formative time in recreating and redefining the image of Black women across all forms of media. As a participant in one study claimed, “You can play this however you want to. You’re living in the age of Michelle Obama,” (Thompson, 2014, p. 1).

Although that participant was speaking in terms of Black women defining themselves, that quote could be applied to the journalists who choose to cover and share the stories of Black women. In previous times, there was a limited amount of images of Black women, e.g. The Mammy, The Matriarch, The Jezebel and The Sapphire, but now there are new counter-images of black womanhood that must be explored and shared.

The textual analysis shows a trend of the movement away from historical images and movement toward providing multifaceted representations of black women. This movement is an opportunity for journalists, especially, to stop relying on old images and do the hard work of helping to define, explore and share new ones.

Mainstream magazines, which were represented through the textual analysis of *Glamour*, must do two main things: increase their coverage of black women and diversify

their staff. Over the time span of five years, *Glamour* had 15 feature stories that solely focused on or included black women. Furthermore, each of those articles was written by a white journalist. Staff diversity brings in the knowledge and experience needed to give the context that is essential to writing authentic stories about black women. Lastly, *Glamour* needs to bring in dimensionality with the format of their feature stories. All 15 features were in a Q&A format, which leaves little-to-no room for the context needed to add depth.

Black magazines, which were represented through the textual analysis of *Essence*, have their work to do also. Previous research shows that the only difference between *Essence* and mainstream magazines, such as *Glamour*, is a consciousness about the use of stereotypical images and a dedication to offering counter images (Woodard & Mastin, 2005, p. 274). This study's textual analysis of *Essence* reveals the same pattern. *Essence* relies on the Strong Black Woman frame more than any other frame identified within the study. Although the frame was handled in terms of black women needing to redefine their understanding of strength, it may be more helpful if *Essence* focused on exploring, building and sharing counter-images, such as the ones discussed in their 2013 study, "Reflections of You and Me" (Walton, 2013) rather than putting so much effort in discussing old images.

Overall, this study, helps to fill in a gap in framing research in the magazine industry (Covert & Dixon, 2008, p. 232) and leaves distinct opportunities for researchers to do further work on understanding the psychological processes of writers and readers in terms of the framing process. That understanding is key to helping journalists become more aware of their own knowledge, experiences and knowledge and how that affects

their writing, and furthermore, it will help them to understand how what they write impacts their audience.

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## Appendix A: Preliminary Frames Story Sheets

### Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: January 2009

Article Title: “We’ve Waited Our Whole Lives for This”

Author name, gender and race: Sheila Weller (WF)

Story type: Real Stories, Q&A

### Story Elements

(p. 90) For Courtney and her sister, the night wasn’t just about watching the candidate they’d supported win the presidency. It was a bookend to a family **tragedy** that happened 45 years ago. (4)

(p. 91) People kept saying, “Where did he come from?” Like, “African Americans don’t have these ideas! They don’t go to the best schools!” But when I looked at him, I saw Corrie and me and our brother and our parents. I recognized that **hard-work ethic**, the **valuing of education**, the **doing-things-the-right-way** way. It was like he was talking directly to us. (2)

(p. 91) We had a **legacy to live up to** and family to make proud. (2)

(p. 92) Michelle has that same **class** and **composure**. I love that she comes from a **hard-working, education-valuing** family. (2)

(p. 92) This is what the **struggle** was about—it was about putting someone of this caliber in the White House. (3/4)

(p. 92) I know we've come a long way, but it scares me that there are still people who can't wrap their minds around the idea of a black man as president. (6)

(p. 92) The next day we were driving around with our eight-year-old niece, Lauren. She started asking about civil rights. She said, "I know that we didn't used to be able to share drinking fountains, but I didn't know about the other stuff. No schools, no libraries, no motels?!" I said, "Do you know what happened yesterday?" And she said, "Barack Obama became the first black president." For moments like that, I just want to thank my uncle.

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: April 2009

Article Title: American Icons

Author name, gender and race: Listed as “Glamour”

Story type: Feature, Visuals & Blurbs

## Story Elements

(p. 212) As an aspiring singer, Holiday **suffered** sexual abuse, struggled with a drug habit and **encountered racism** everywhere. But Lady Day—one of the **first** African American women to sing with an all-white orchestra. (4/6/3)

(p. 214) After years of playing segregated tennis, the Althea Gibson **tore down** the color barrier of competition in 1950, when at age 25, she became the **first African American** to compete in major US championships—and, in 1957, the **first to win Wimbledon**. (3/6)

(p. 216) Not only is Obama the **first African American filling the position**, but she’s already making **best-dressed** headlines for a style that ranges from couture to J. Crew. Raised in Chicago, Obama, 45, **powered on to Princeton and Harvard Law School** before beginning a career during which she met, mentored and married our current President. Hail to our newest **smart, opinionated, chic** First Lady! (3/2)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: April 2009

Article Title: “The Closer”

Author name, gender and race: Isabel Wilkerson (BF)

Story type: Feature, Narrative

## Story Elements

(p. 107) Behind her **easy smile is a shrewd operator** who helped chart Barack Obama’s route to the Oval Office.

(p. 107) It is where he knows he can find one of his dearest and **most trusted confidants**, the woman he and the First Lady have known and **relied** on for most of their adult lives.

**(2)**

(p. 108) The **first Black woman** to be senior adviser... **(3)**

(p. 108) Such is her power—that she can **effectively dress someone down with the tilt of her head**. **(2)**

(p. 108) She has a **two-degrees of separation pedigree**: **Her grandfather** was Robert Taylor, the **first African-American to be head of the Chicago Housing Authority**, whose name became legend after the city named one of the largest housing projects in the country after him. **Her great-uncle** is Washington power broker Vernon Jordan, former adviser to President Bill Clinton. **She was married to the physician son of Chicago’s**

famed Black journalist, the late Vernon Jarrett. The brief union produced a daughter, Laura, now a Harvard Law School student, whom Jarrett raised as a single parent after her ex-husband, William, died. (2)

(p. 109) At this moment she is watching a news conference on the latest hubbub over back taxes and cabinet nominees, and she watches without expression or apparent worry.

(p. 109) Jarrett's disarming grace seems to have captivated the ambassador.

(p. 150) But her real role is First Friend. Her power lies in her years of looking out for both Obamas as a mother or big sister would, acting as their sounding board, keeping their confidences. (2)

(p. 150) Like the new president, Jarrett had an unconventional childhood. Her family is from the southside of Chicago, but she was born in Shiraz, Iran, where her father, James Bowman, M.D., had taken a position in a hospital rather than accept the limits on Black physicians in the United States of the 1950s. Jarrett grew up speaking Farsi and French and then acquired a British accent when the family moved to London. When they returned to the States, Jarrett had to confront the constricted definitions of race in America and developed a way of looking at people for who they were, not how they appeared. (6)

(p. 150) These days Jarrett has become the new It girl on the Washington social circuit, where influence seekers scurry to introduce themselves. (2)

(p. 150) "It's a perfect time in my life because my daughter is grown, and I'm single," she says. "I don't have anything tugging me away from public service." (1)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: June 2009

Article Title: “The Body Shop”

Author name, gender and race: Demetria L. Lucas (BF)

Story type: Feature, Narrative

## Story Elements (*All under frame 5*)

(p. 111) When it comes to **stepping up their sexy**, Black women across the country are exploring avenues with a zest that was unheard of 20 years ago.

(p. 111) More than 900,000 African Americans visited cosmetic surgeons in 2008 for **buttock enhancement, liposuction and other body-beautifying procedures**, according to the American Society of Plastic Surgeons. That’s a **10 percent increase** from the previous year, while the rate of **Caucasians undergoing surgery dropped by 2 percent**.

(p. 111) Why the **sudden interest in sexing ourselves** up? Is it to **lure, please, or keep a good man**? Is it the **exhilaration of sexual empowerment**? Experts say it’s all of the above.

(p. 112) She says this new ideal definitely isn’t helped by competitive reality-dating shows, which spotlight **Black women doing just about anything for a man and getting a payoff**.

(p. 112) Mix that with the **prevalence of video models** with **protruding breasts** and **gigantic backsides** who are **redefining Black beauty standards**, and ladies, we may have a

really big problem.

(p. 112) “As a man, you have an edge; you know it, and women know it,” she says. “Men are saying to women, ‘If you don’t do it, someone else will.’ ”

(p. 112) “When you see those women in hip-hop videos and urban magazines, they are so curvaceous,” she says. “I would look at those ultimate bodies and think, *Now, that’s what ethnic men like.*”

(p. 113) “The idea that women can actually get on the stage and take off their clothes and feel totally uninhibited about their bodies is indicative of a certain level of confidence that I think all women would like to get to.”

(p. 113) Callahan applauds Steven’s efforts on the pole, pointing out the difference between taking a workshop to learn how to act like a sex object and using a class to build sexual confidence and keep a healthy relationship fresh.

(p. 113) Despite her just-a-bit-bigger behind after her illegal hydrogel injections, Maldonado is not quite satisfied and is contemplating a return to the booty shop for another boost. “I think a little more roundness in the outer part would give it a perfect look,” she says. She’s also saving for a breast lift to have the “perfect boobs.”

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: August 2009

Article Title: “Black Women Behaving Badly”

Author name, gender and race: Kierna Mayo (BF)

Story type: Feature, Narrative

## Story Elements

(p. 105) For one, she’s **gorgeous, feminine to a fault**. A **curvy, hair-always-done** 34 -year-old who’s employed as an intake worker at a social service agency... (2)

( p. 105) She’s the prototype of a **sharp, hardworking Black woman**. (2)

(p. 105) Like too many of us, Macklin spent years embroiled in **a never-ending drama** with other Black women. Whenever she walked into **a room full of sisters**, she could **feel the negative energy**. (1)

(p. 105) “We did so much **fighting and beefing** — Such and such **was with someone’s man**. There was so **much hating on other people, and people hating on us**.” (1)

(p. 105) While every encounter didn’t necessarily end in a physical altercation, **confronting other Black women was the norm**. (1)

(p. 106) There has always been a particular rhetoric about Black women as sisters, but for some of us, the reality doesn’t always measure up.

(p. 106) The word **sister** itself has **become synonymous with Black women**...

(p. 106) Yet Black women from every socioeconomic group still report that the search for true sisterhood is at times **clouded with confusion—if not straight up pain**. (1)

(p. 106) Black women's relationships with one another have often been **fraught with tension**. Truth is, sometimes **we are our own worst enemy**... **Whatever happened to lifting each other as we climb?** (1)

(p. 106) Have you ever had a silent thought, even for a split second, **wishing failure on a Black woman** at the job? Is **bitch** a regular word in your vocabulary? **Whenever that stinger barrels out of your mouth, who is most likely to get stung?** Be honest. Is it a **sister?** (1)

(p. 106) The reasons we **hate** on one another, as strangers and sometimes even as lifelong friends, are complicated and layered. (1)

(p. 106) Researchers point out that, at the deepest level, **the vestiges of slavery** still have us in a **self-hating chokehold**. Add to that the insidious nature of sexism in a male dominated culture, and the fact that we are prone to act like, well, women. (6)

(p. 107) ...**Our struggle to love ourselves** is at the crux of our issues with one another. (1/4)

(p. 107) **Venomous** exchanges among Black women are more than **acceptable**—they're **commodified and sold**. (1)

(p. 107) “I think a lot of the **discord between Black women** goes back to the **self-fulfilling aspects** of seeing images of ourselves depicted as **vipers, as backstabbers, as that bitch.**”

(1)

(p. 107) But Black women have gotten to the point where they are **bearing it all on their own.** (1)

(p. 107) Despite all of our accomplishments as Black women living in a Michelle Obama age, we are also still **subtly socialized as second-, even third-class citizens, and finding a way to self-love from that position can be tough.** (2/6)

(p. 150) The **struggle** for the **attention or affection of a man** is, hands down, the **recurring theme** when talking to women about **being left heartbroken** by sisters. (1)

(p. 150) How might a fighting woman like Nikia Macklin have been different if, from the time she was a young girl, instead of **feeling piercing judgmental eyes from her sisters,** she had been **enveloped by unconditional support and camaraderie?** And even, dare it be said, love? (1)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: November 2009

Article Title: “The Root of the Issue”

Author name, gender and race: Mikki Taylor (BF)

Story type: Feature, Q&A

## Story Elements

(p. 137) “I **wanted to look like the girls in my school**. People would say, ‘Oh she has that **good hair**.’ And I’m going, ‘Good hair. Mama, what does that mean?’ She would say, ‘**Don’t pay attention** to that. **Just be you**.’ ”

(p. 138) “Subsequently I had hair issues: I **hated** the color, I **hated** the texture. I got **teased relentlessly** about it, so I was **determined to stop the trend** with my daughter.”

(p. 138) “If your hair is relaxed, White people are relaxed; if your hair is nappy, they’re not happy.”

(p. 138) “Some will say for those who wear their hair straight, ‘**They’re a sellout**.’ **Why do we still hate on one another?**” (1)

(p. 137) “White women were the ones who were considered pretty, right? So we’re **defining this for ourselves** as the years go on. We **have more power now** and we can say, ‘No, Nia Long is beautiful. Michelle Obama is beautiful.’ ” (3)

(p. 139) “She even told me when she was younger she went through this Angela Davis phase where she **would put sand in her hair, Clorox in her hair, to make it coarser** because she always felt like people were **judging her** to be that typical lighter-complexioned, fine-hair, green-eyed woman.”

(p. 139) “It’s **frustrating** to me that we are **still so hung up and beating each other up** about it. We **should support** one another.” (1)

(p. 139) “After I had my son, and I was married, **I wanted to be the typical pretty, long-haired trophy wife**. That’s when I started wearing **weaves — long and blond**.”

(p. 141) “Simply being a Black woman is a **political statement**.” (6)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: December 2009

Article Title: “Michelle Obama: Your First Lady”

Author name, gender and race: Katie Couric (WF)

Story Type: Feature, Q&A

## Story Elements

(p. 224) She’s Michelle the **first African American First Lady**, who as the **great-great-great-granddaughter of a slave**, is a powerful symbol of our nation’s progress. (3/6)

(p. 224) And she’s Michelle the **devoted mom**... (2)

(p. 224) She’s Michelle the **wife of Barack**... (2)

(p. 224) And Michelle the **glamorous style icon**... (2)

(p. 224) **Finally**, she’s Michelle **the political player**... (2)

(p. 224) But Michelle Obama’s **most impressive achievement** may be that, despite it all, she still **seems so disarmingly, charmingly normal**.

(p. 224) I’ve interviewed her several times and **still have been struck with how comfortable she is in her own skin**.

(p. 224) Beneath her **casual, informal style** and a persona that is a **combination of elegance and sportiness** (I would definitely want her on my softball team if I played

softball) are an eloquence and a command of facts that is truly impressive. (2)

### Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: December 2009

Article Title: “The Peacemaker: Susan Rice” (Part of the Women of the Year 2009 Feature)

Author name, gender and race: Linda Kramer Jennings (WF)

Story type: Feature Package, Visual & Blurb

### Story Elements

Words/phrases used by others to describe her: **incredibly effective, tough, brilliant, sportin’ (2)**

“The **first ever** African-American female in her position...” (3)

### Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: December 2009

Article Title: “The Athlete: Serena Williams” (Part of the Women of the Year 2009 Feature)

Author name, gender and race: Billie Jean King (WF)

Story type: Feature Package, Visual & Blurb

### Story Elements

(p. 231) When **most people would falter**, she is able to **raise her game a level...** (4)

(p. 231) After **tooth-and-nailing her way up the rankings** again, this year she capped her **comeback** by winning Wimbledon against her sister Venus. (4)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: December 2009

Article Title: N/A (Look up again) (Rihanna Women of the Year 2009 story)

Author name, gender and race: Listed as “Glamour”

Story Type: Feature, Q&A

## Story Elements

*\*A large focus on the Chris Brown incident and domestic violence.*

(p. 240) Every once in a while, a pop star comes along **that is so visually magnetic**, her music so utterly everywhere, that world can't take their eyes off her. (5)

(p. 240) “I grew up in an average in Barbados, and we didn't live in the best neighborhood. But I was never aware that we were poor; my mom never made us feel that way.” (4)

(p. 240) “I was able to make demos whenever I had vacation time, but my mom always said, ‘You are not stopping school until you get signed.’ And even when I got signed, she still made me go to school.” (1)

(p. 240) “But at some point you are there alone. It's a lonely place to be—no one can understand. **That's when you get close to God.**” (7)

(p. 240, p. 287) “Definitely. **My mom gave us the tools to survive...** My parents

separated when I was eight or nine. I helped her raise my [youngest] brother, because **my mom was working all the time**. He's my favorite."

(p. 287) "**It's super fearless—which is exactly how I feel right now**. I am in a really good place." (2)

(p. 287) "The first two years of my career, there were **a lot of restraints on what I could do**. I couldn't wear certain colors of lipstick, like bright pink, dark pink or red; [my lips] had to natural. **Eventually, I stopped communicating with certain people at the label, and did exactly what I wanted to do**. And that was to cut my hair, dye it black, change my clothes, change my sound. Really to just express myself."

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: January 2010

Article Title: "Face of the Nation"

Author name, gender and race: Charlayne Hunter-Gault (BF)

Story type: Feature, Narrative

## Story Elements

(p. 74) At 45 Rice is the second youngest U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and the first African-American woman. (3)

(p. 74) On this day she will be working late into the night, shuttling between two different cities before she can pause and put her feet up in the Washington D.C., home she shares on weekends with her husband, Ian Cameron, producer for ABC and their two children, Jake, 12, and Maris, 6. (1/2)

(p. 74) She is the lone woman on the prestigious 15-member council that deals with the challenging questions of world peace and security. (3)

(p. 74) Last spring, wearing her traditional ponytail and moving with the confident swagger of an athlete rather than a prim diplomat... (2)

(p. 74) Weeks later Rice's take-charge attitude had a softer edge as she talked about the work of the U.N. to eighth-and ninth-grade students in Harlem. (2)

(p. 74) **Her confidence and versatility will be useful.** Rice comes to this job at a time when we're faced with some of the most dangerous and complex world issues. (2)

(p. 74) As the ambassador looks around the horseshoe-shaped table at which the other representatives are seated, she notes forcefully, "This...must end!" Women sitting in the visitors gallery raise their fists in the air and shout "Yes!" (2)

(p. 77) After going to work for the Clinton administration, she became part of the nerve center of U.S. foreign policy, first as a member of the National Security Council and, in time, as an assistant secretary of state for African affairs, overseeing more than 40 African countries. **She was the youngest ever to hold that position.** (3)

(p. 77) As she talked, she seemed to **grow in stature** and **you could suddenly see the star basketball point guard she was in high school in her hometown in D.C.** (2)

(p. 78) Not everyone agrees with her, but with Susan **you know exactly what she's thinking.** She doesn't shoot from the hip. Her opinions are based on very solid facts, research or actually knowing the people she's talking about. (2)

(p. 78) On the morning of the Security Council meeting, **Rice's voice is at least as authoritative as many of the older heads who have sat in this chamber...** (2)

(p. 78) Says Rice's mother: "The one thing that was always a little **challenging** to me from the time Susan was a baby was, you could see when she was reaching a plateau, and she would always look at you as if to say, *What are you going to give me next?*" (2)

(p. 78) The lessons Lois, now 76, passed on to her two children—Susan and her brother, John, a CEO of a nonprofit—were learned from her own parents, both of them

immigrants from Jamaica. Susan's maternal grandmother worked as a seamstress, her husband as a janitor in Portland, Maine. **On their meager salaries, but with the rich belief in the potential of Black people to achieve, the Dicksons sent all five of their children to college, producing two medical doctors, an optometrist and a college president. (4)**

(p. 78) Rice would go on to become the **valedictorian** of her high school graduating class at National Cathedral School, a prestigious all-girls academy in D.C. From there, she enrolled at Stanford and graduated Phi Beta Kappa in 1986. In the interim, she worked on Capitol Hill as a page and intern. After Stanford, Rice won a **Rhodes scholarship to Oxford**, where she wrote her dissertation on the Commonwealth's initiative in Zimbabwe as it was moving from White to Black rule. **(2)**

(p. 120) I ask how she **balances** a job that keeps her traveling across continents and between two cities with two young children. **Her quick reply is "Marry the right man. I could not be dealing with this without him." (2)**

(p. 120) And she is **not afraid to call you out**, which keeps you on your toes. **She's not willing to go along to get along.** I think that's important in both professional and family life. **(2)**

(p. 120) So how does she do it all? "I don't know that I'm doing any better than anybody else could or would," she says. "I've got very important professional responsibilities, and I try to fulfill them to the greatest extent I can. But I'm also the mother of young kids and I take that very, very seriously. I try to make it clear to them that I may not be at every soccer game or every school event, but I'll do my darnedest to be there for the ones that matter most to them."

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: January 2010

Article Title: “The Princess Diaries”

Author name, gender and race: Regina R. Robertson (BF)

Story type: Feature, Q&A

## Story Elements

(p. 90) There was a time, however, when little Black girls came of age without ever seeing themselves reflected in mainstream fairy tales, whether in books or on-screen. There may have been a brown face here or there, but a Black woman was almost never cast in the role of princess. But that was then. Recently, Princess Tiana—enchantingly portrayed by Tony Award-winning actress Anika Noni Rose—was crowned in the animated adventure *The Princess and the Frog*. (3)

(p. 90) We’ve had Brandy star as Cinderella, Toni Braxton as Belle in Broadway’s *Beauty and the Beast*, and now we have our **first Black animated Princess**. (3)

(p. 90) “It’s so important to have this brand-new character be the main focus, because so many times Black women are the side-characters or the friend. The story was usually was never about us...” (3)

(pp. 90–1) “Well, it’s exciting because Tiana is not the only focus of the film, but she’s a **heroine** too. She has a dream, and her parents support her by saying, ‘Do it, go for it, try

it.’ She figures out how to make it happen, despite the naysayers, despite the time period she’s living in and despite not having had someone give her a business plan.” (4)

(p. 91) “I thought it was so neat to see Tiana have a dream and not be so focused on “getting married.” Young women need to see that, too.” (1)

Conversation in “Remember When” section (pp. 91–2)

Anika: Were you called a White girl, too?

Nicki: Oh, yes, yes. That’s what happens when you have a command of the language.

Anika: That was a very shocking revelation to me because (a) there was nothing wrong with White people being White people and (b) there was nothing wrong with the way I looked or the things I did. So it was really an interesting awakening about how we could treat ourselves. (1)

(p. 93) “I am so honored and so proud and so excited about what this means beyond me, down the line. The character is being offered up as something to love, not something ‘different.’ ” (3)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: May 2010

Article Title: "Life's Too Short to Be Anything but Chill"

Author name, gender and race: Katie Couric (WF)

Story type: Real Stories, Q&A

## Story Elements

*\*Large focus on race & race relations. (6)*

(p. 188) "I'm pretty chill, because life's too short to be anything but. On *The View*, I decided that no matter what, I wasn't going to lose it. I grew up in a house where we had spirited discussions, even heated, but at the end of the day, you're still family."

(p. 190) "Day one. I always wore sneakers when I wanted to. It was always about being comfortable and being myself." (Comment from Katie Couric: "That takes self-confidence.") "I have a lot." (2)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: June 2010

Article Title: “Can’t Let Go”

Author name, gender and race: Akiba Solomon (BF)

Story type: Feature, Narrative

## Story Elements

(p. 151) Experts say **too many of us become bitter, hanging on to past hurts like a badge of honor.** (1)

(p. 151) Think about it: If you vent about racism, if you question double standards at home, if you bring up the number of Black men going the Kardashian route, chances are **someone will label you a bitter Black woman.”** (1)

(p. 151) **Forty-six percent of you admitted that someone had used the word to describe you.** (1)

(p. 151) He defines the condition as an **unconscious build-up of unexpressed anger or resentment that drives us into hostile, violent or self-destructive behavior.** “The repressed rage from embitterment can manifest itself in both physical and psychological syndromes, such as hypertension and depression,” says Diamond. (1)

Alisha: All love lost

(p. 152) Alisha K., was once **notorious for her negativity**. “If one of my girls was excited about a date, I’d say, ‘He’s a lying dog just like the rest of ’em,’” the Chicago architect recalls. (1)

(p. 152) **Alisha got her pessimism honestly: All three of her serious relationships ended when the men cheated on her. She’d been with the last of the unfaithful trio for six years and they’d been talking marriage.** (1)

(p. 152) “I was a total mess. I would cry and cry and I couldn’t eat. But when other people were around, **I would put on the mask and say, ‘Oh, I’m fine.’**” (1)

(p. 152) Trying to keep the lid closed on your anger doesn’t make it disappear.

(p. 152) These days Alisha dates but remains “contentedly single.” **She’s active in her church and reads scriptures to remind her that she’s not perfect and neither is anyone else.** (7)

(p. 152) “I had to learn how to forgive and trust all over again, but it was finally time for me to let it go and move on.”

#### Ife: Betrayed in the boardroom

(p. 153) She’s on the other side of it now. **But ten years ago, while working 90 hours a week at an overwhelmingly White and male engineering firm in Richmond,** Ife P., 45, became so consumed by what she perceived as racist slights, she shut down. (1/6)

(p. 153) “I spent a lot of time wondering, ‘*Is it because I’m Black or because I’m new? It is just that they don’t like me?*’” **Because she feared that she’d fly off the handle and end up being branded as a “bossy, confrontational Black woman.”** (1/6)

(p. 153) Ife **stuffed down her anxiety, stress and anger** until it wreaked havoc on her health: She had a severe lupus flare-up.” (1)

(p. 153) Subtle workplace prejudice can produce a very particular kind of bitterness for Black women that stems from racism, both real and perceived.

(p. 153) Recently, her White supervisor looked at something she submitted and said, “This is surprisingly well done!” Later, at a diversity training, Ife told her about how loaded her comment was. The supervisor explained that she’d only meant her words as a compliment. **“I didn’t feel angry, because I’d spoken up,”** reports Ife. **“I didn’t betray myself or my values.”**

Michelle: Turned her back

(p. 153) Michelle L., a 36-year-old attorney from Los Angeles has a reason to be angry. Two years ago her husband, Joe, unexpectedly died of cancer, leaving her to raise three sons alone.

(p. 153) **She believes she’s coping well with her loss—except for her tendency to “bitch, complain and flip on people,”** when she feels overwhelmed. (1)

(p. 153) **“I’ve always been a snapper, and I can be sort of evil,”** says Michelle, who recalls how her husband used to help her sharp tongue by placing his fingers on her lips in a sensual way. (1)

(p. 153) **For many African-American women, especially those who grew up in hostile environments, displaying “evilness” feels safer and more acceptable than showing vulnerability.** (1)

(p. 153) “Black women have been dogged on so many level that many of us have adopted this bravado to protect ourselves,” says Callahan. “It’s like, *I’m not going to let you put your foot on my neck. Even if I’m a bitch, I’m going to be the best bitch.*” (1)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: August 2010

Article Title: "A Homeless Girl's Dream"

Author name, gender and race: Jeannine Amber (BF)

Story type: Feature, Narrative

## Story Elements

(p. 122) As a child Khadijah Williams had a secret. While classmates went home at night, she checked in at a shelter with drug addicts and mentally ill people. But **she fought the odds** to realize her goal of enrolling in one of the **most prestigious colleges in the country**.

(4)

(p. 123) Outside it is a bleak and rainy February morning, yet Khadijah's enthusiasm seems boundless as she speaks about her school, her friends and the debate team. But ask her about her childhood, and she stops short. Khadijah, 19, looks off in the distance, then apologizes. **"There's so much of it I've blocked out," she says. "I've had to push a lot of my past away."** (1)

(p. 123) For most of her life, Khadijah has been homeless. Currently 1.5 million children in her country are without a permanent place to live, a number that experts predict will grow under the weight of the recession, which is affecting African-Americans more than any other group.

(p. 123) Despite such upheavals, Khadijah has accomplished a goal many girls her age can only dream of reaching: In May she completed her freshman year at top-ranked Harvard University. Khadijah, who receives financial aid, just shrugs when you ask her how she did it. She says that going to Harvard was the plan all along. (3/4)

(p. 123) And so Khadijah read—the backs of cereal boxes, old copies of *Reader's Digest* that she would find at shelters and any books she could get her hands on. *Black Beauty*, the story of a horse that is shunted from one owner to another, was one of her favorites. (4)

(p. 123) “But the first thing my mom did when we were in a new place was enroll me. She saw that school was really important to me. She would use her last money to do laundry to make sure I had clean clothes to wear, so I didn't feel self-conscious. She always had my back.” (1)

(p. 124) In her junior year Khadijah was living in a shelter so far away from the school that she had to wake up at 4:30 a.m. and take three different buses to make it to her first class. The commute home during rush hour was even longer. But she soldiered on. (4)

(p. 124) “I got so good at blocking everything out, and doing all these mental aerobics in order to succeed.” (1)

(p. 124) “For me it was like, if I told anyone at school I was homeless, then I would have to admit to myself what was really going on. I had to disconnect from that reality in order to focus on my goal.” (1)

(p. 126) “I told the interviewers that my life was proof that I could succeed, no matter

what”, says Khadijah. She was accepted into 22 of the 26 colleges to which she applied.

(p. 126) “At the same time, I’ve met so many strong, professional Black women, and they’ve become my role models. In one year, college has made me realize that there is so much I can do to help myself and to be more useful to society.”

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: Real Stories

Publication Date: October 2010

Article Title: “Ten Amazing Women You Haven’t Heard of... Yet!” (Glamour Top 10 College Women Competition)

Author name, gender and race: Jessica Strul (WF)

Story type: Real Stories Package, Visual & Blurb

## Story Elements

Maya Moore: The star athlete

(p. 236) But Moore’s talent is serious: She was the **first freshman in Big East basketball history**— men’s or women’s— **to be named Player of the Year**. That’s not all: She mentors student athletes and maintains an impressive GPA.” (3)

Oluwadamilola Oladeru: The doctor

(p. 238) Oladeru grew up in a **two-room apartment** in Lagos, Nigeria, with **11 of her family members**. (4)

(p. 238) Now a **prize-winning scientist**, she’s interned with the New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene and the National Institutes of Health. (2)

(p. 238) But she’s also **giving back** to her homeland: She worked with her grandfather to open the Read at Peace library in Erin-ljesa, Nigeria. (2)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: November 2010

Article Title: “I Don’t Miss Washington Very Much”

Author name, gender and race: Katie Couric (WF)

Story type: Real Stories, Q&A

## Story Elements

(p. 181) She’s also an incredible classical pianist, an avid golfer and a die-hard football fan—some people thought she’d be National Football League commissioner by now! (2)

(p. 181) Condi’s new book, *Extraordinary, Ordinary People: A Memoir of Family*, shows how deeply she was shaped by her upbringing in a tight-knit family in the deeply segregated South of the 1950s and 1960s. (6)

(p. 181) “I learned a lot about my parents, who were both teachers. People came out of the woodwork to say, ‘Without your father, I never would have gone to college.’ I learned how widespread their educational evangelism was.”

\* Lots of questions that relate to race, race relations. (6)

(p. 183) “Don’t let anyone determine your horizons. The only limitations are whatever you happen to have and how hard you’re willing to work. You know, I never would have become a Soviet specialist if I had stuck to categories that people associated with being

African American.” (2/6)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: March 2011

Article Title: “The World Watched As Their Father Was Beaten”

Author name, gender and race: Gretchen Voss (WF)

Story type: Real Stories, Narrative

## Story Elements

(p. 238) Although she [Lora] hadn’t spent much time in the previous months—her parents were estranged—she was still a ‘super daddy’s girl’ and didn’t understand why cops would be attacking him.

(p. 238) “You have to think positive,” her mom, now calm, said. But Lora couldn’t stop replaying in her head the sight of her father being beaten.

(p. 240) Candice was close to her father as well, even though she saw him infrequently.

(p. 240) He went to see Lora, who asked him why he’d been beaten. “He told me sometimes people won’t like you because of your skin color,” Lora remembers. That scared her, and her fear would soon prove valid. Strangers called her school with death threats against the grade-schooler, and her classmates said her dad “had it coming,” for running from police. (6)

(p. 241) Unable to chart a better course, Candice dropped out of high school and **numbed**

herself with drugs and alcohol, just as Rodney had. (4)

(p. 241) Lora hung on. On top of coping with her father's infamy, she'd grown up in various rough L.A. neighborhoods and had witnessed shootings and drug deals on her street. But she sought lifelines: an aunt who tutored her, the high school principal who took her to work at soup kitchens. (4)

(p. 241) Lora continues to give back. Her administrative job at an accounting firm keeps her on a tight budget, but every month she and Jailyn bring brown-bag lunches to the homeless on Skid Row. (3)

(p. 241) Candice, on the other hand, continued her downward spiral throughout her twenties—until she found out she was pregnant. She's now been clean for eight months, and she plans to tell her daughter about her legacy. (4)

(p. 241) "Having him as my dad pushed me to live the way I do," she [Lora] says. "I want to inspire people who have no hope."

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: June 2011

Article Title: “Black Women: Redefined”

Author name, gender and race: Cora Daniels (BF)

Story type: Feature, Short Narratives

## Story Elements

(p. 144) **On the outside** Sophia A. Nelson had it going on. A **high-powered Washington, D.C., attorney**, she traveled in the fast lane. But four years ago, shortly after she turned 40, she had an epiphany: Despite her numerous career achievements, **she wasn't happy**. The more she confessed her secrets to her successful single friends like herself—and even to her married and divorced girlfriends—the more she realized she wasn't alone. (1/2)

(p. 144) In it's pages, the author pleads that release **ourselves from the bondage of other people's expectations for our lives** and define achievement on our own terms.

(p. 144) **“There is nothing wrong with success, earning degrees and being proud of yourself, but for too many of us, that's all we have,”** says Nelson, now 44. (1)

(p. 144) She pauses to take a call from Valerie Jarrett, senior adviser to the President, then seamlessly picks up where she left off, **arguing that many supersuccessful Black women have become locked in a prison of overwhelming stress**, creeping depression and

isolation. (1)

(p. 144) “Let’s get rid of being sick and tired of being sick and tired. **Let’s just admit we do get tired, we do need help, and we do need a rest. And that is okay.**” (1)

\*Mention of the “field day” the media has had with the image of the successful Black woman. Successful, but angry and lonely.

(p. 146) The good news? As a whole these Black women were proud of their accomplishments. The challenge? More than two thirds indicated career advancement was a hurdle for Black women compared with White women, with 29 percent seeing racism as the biggest barrier.

(p. 146) But Nelson found it even more striking that **almost half of the survey respondents had never married, and a whopping two thirds said they’d rather be alone than settle for a man who didn’t meet their expectations. And yes, almost half admitted that their standards might be too high.** (1)

(p. 146) Another stressor? Overall 60 percent cited financial pressure and debt as the problem most likely to leave them feeling blue.

(p. 146) Nelson says its time for Black women to stop hiding our stress and loneliness behind the gleaming facade of financial achievement. Instead of our relentless striving to play by other people’s rules to win the game, Nelson wants us to think about changing the game. (1)

Antoinette Dalton:

(p. 146) Antoinette Dalton, 43, worked at AT&T in Indianapolis for 11 years, most

recently as a training manager. It was a coveted utility gig, the kind of job, she jokes, that ‘Black folks don’t leave’ because of the solid pay and good benefits...”

(p. 146) “I was the good worker, the loyal daughter, the loyal friend. I was everything to everybody except myself.” (1)

(p. 147) “I did something you aren’t supposed to do,” she says. “I left my job without having my next one lined up. I took a leap of faith.” (2)

(p. 147) “Black women are extremely undisciplined at focusing on our own self-care,” says Washington. “What we are modeling to younger women is what was modeled to us. Someone has to break the cycle.” (1)

(p. 147) “I don’t have cable anymore,” she says. “My yearly vacation has been curtailed. But for the first time I am not being valued by someone else’s measure.”

(p. 147) “Though Nelson is not the one to sound the single Black women alarm, she admits she is troubled by the fact that so many of us remain alone.” (1)

(p. 147) In February of last year, Goggins, 75, froze to death in her rented house. Her body was not discovered for nearly two weeks, according to press reports.” \*Story about political trailblazer Juanita Goggins.

(p. 147) Her story galvanizes Nelson. She argues that we need to work at staying connected to people who care about us.

(p. 147) The Black women in her survey overwhelmingly agreed that the “hardest thing for many Black women is to ask for and seek out help when needed.” (1)

(p. 147) When ‘feeling blue’ the majority of professional Black women surveyed—66 percent—turned to their faith to get them through a difficult time, as opposed to friends and family. (7)

(p. 147) We have to stop thinking we have no other option than to trudge through life relying on no one but God and ourselves, Nelson emphasizes. (1/7)

(p. 147) Most important, she says, we have to strive to become as successful in love as we do in our careers. That starts with loving ourselves. (1)

(p. 147) “Everyone is looking for jobs, while I am looking for another thing to love. Too often we think of success as what other people say it is, or we do what other people expect of us, when the real deal is doing what is in your heart and doing it well.”

Lori Price:

(p. 148) “Jesus ain’t your man; he’s your savior,” she says.

(p. 148) ...Black women surveyed discussed having to choose between their commitment to God and their standards for men, implying that one would have to compromised in a relationship.” (1/7)

(p. 148) Instead she suggests that in the post-civil rights era, Black families placed an emphasis on achievement, with marriage delayed by the pursuit of education and financial independence. (6)

(p. 148) “I had to learn to practice spirituality in a way that is truly productive for me,” she says. “I know feel as if I am truly living.”

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: August 2011

Article Title: "Voila, Viola"

Author name, gender and race: Lola Ogunnaike (BF)

Story type: Feature, Narrative

## Story Elements

(p. 110) "Why do I have to play the mammy? But what do you do as an actor if one of the most multifaceted and rich roles you've ever been given is a maid in 1962 Mississippi? Do you not take the role because you feel in some ways it's not a good message to send to Black people? No. The message is the quality of the work. That is a greater message."

(p. 110) Davis is **confident, eloquent and clearly not at all afraid of provoking debate**. For example, she argues that Black viewers tend to celebrate celluloid images of African-Americans that are long on image and short on substance. (2)

(p. 111) "We all have to look pretty because White people have made us look physically unattractive in the past. We have to be successful in our careers because in the past we've been portrayed as poor and urban. **There's a part of us that we don't want to show White people, so we repress it in our lives, and the bad thing is that we end up repressing it in our artistic lives**. But the most revolutionary thing we can do in Hollywood and onstage is to be human." (6)

(p. 111) Davis is quite comfortable in her skin, but it's taken years of hard work to arrive at this level of self-assuredness. No stranger to therapists or preachers, she freely admits to consulting both. (2/4)

(p. 111) "I've done it all," she says. "It's important because we hold it all in until it implodes."

\*Only black family in an all White town, mother was a maid, father groomed horses, very poor

(p. 111) "As Black women, we're always given these seemingly devastating experiences—experiences that could absolutely break us," Davis says, before smiling triumphantly. "But what the caterpillar calls the end of the world, the master calls the butterfly. What we do as Black women is take the worst situations and create from that point." (4)

(p. 111) "As a dark-skinned woman in this culture you seldom feel like the princess, like the chosen one, like the spotlight is on you," she says. "[Yet during that period], I felt like a princess."

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: September 2011

Article Title: “RIHANNA TALKS: This is my story”

Author name, gender and race: Logan Hill (WM)

Story type:

## Story Elements

(p. 324) Rihanna **likes to be in control.** (1)

(p. 324) But she keeps talking—**candidly and often hilariously**, and instead of stopping at her front door, she has her driver circle the block again and again, and we talk more.

(p. 324) It was painful, she tells me, to lose control of her story and image that way; determined not to let that happen again, she has since **reemerged as the architect of her own fascinating comeback.** (4)

(p. 324) There’s freedom in honesty. If you face it today, tomorrow you can move on to something else.

(p. 324) “I wanted **to be sassy, the attitude**, all these things I am.” (1)

(p. 324) “For that song [S&M], definitely. I would say my relationship with my father has had a bigger impact on me than I knew. Even with the things that I am attracted to. A lot of it stems from the things I’ve seen in my life as a child.”

(p. 324) Does that mean you naturally look for trouble? You're drawn to drama? (1)

(p. 324) "Yes and no. I hate drama. But at the same time, nothing bothers me more than when life's perfect. And that's the sick part. I just love a challenge, whether it's a relationship, my career, clothing..." (1)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: October 2011

Article Title: "The Winners are In!" (Glamour Top 10 College Women Competition)

Author name, gender and race: Jessica Struhl (WF)

Story type: Real Stories, Visuals & Blurbs

## Story Elements

Amber Koonce: The Social Entrepreneur (p. 200) (3)

-A public policy and African and Afro-American studies double major

- Founded organization called BeautyGap to help young Ghanaian girls develop higher self-esteem.

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: December 2011

Article Title: "Colorstruck"

Author name, gender and race: Denene Millner (BF)

Story type: Feature, Narrative

## Story Elements

(p. 136) "She's so pretty," Paula's aunt would coo. "If only she wasn't so dark." (1)

(p. 136) Paula's story is a common one. Colorism, the practice of extending or withholding favor based on a person's skin tone, still plays itself out in too many black families.

(p. 136) While the greatest burden of prejudice often falls on dark-skinned relatives, lighter skinned ones also bear the brunt.

(p. 136) We tend to see women who bleach their skin as being pathological. But they're responding to a reality in which the lighter you are, the more competitive you are in the job market and the more likely you are to attract a male.

(p. 136) The unconscious prejudices we have, where we think we're going to have a better life if we're lighter than if we're darker, have not disappeared.

(p. 136) It's time to end this self-sabotage. (1)

(p. 137) Indeed, studies have shown that compared to light-skinned Blacks, dark-skinned Blacks contend with lower marriage rates and higher unemployment.

(p. 137) And recent research conducted at Villanova University found that dark-skinned women received harsher sentencing than their lighter skinned counterparts for comparable crimes.”

(p. 137) “I [Paula] want my daughter to understand what I didn’t when I was her age,” she says. “That she is beautiful just the way she is.”

(p. 137) “They [classmates] would call her “White girl”, and taunt her [Calida] by chanting she was ‘Light, bright and damn near White.’ ” (1)

(p. 137) “How many times have we heard, The darker the berry, the sweeter the juice? For those who are fair skinned, are we not sweet?”

(p. 137) Dark-skinned women tend to be suspicious of light-skinned women, viewing them as conceited and aloof and accusing them of thinking that they’re superior. The same study found that light-skinned Black women tend to feel distanced from dark-skinned women and often feel rejected as “less Black.” (1/6)

(pp. 137–8) “There was a lot of hurt to go around. And yet Black women can be one another’s strongest base of support. We need to focus on that more.” (1)

(p. 138) “I know so many dark-skinned women who started out downtrodden but who went on to do big, amazing things.” (4)

### Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: 2012 (?)

Article Title: "Five Things You Don't Know About the Obamas' Marriage"

Author name, gender and race: Jodi Kantor (WF)

Story type: Real Stories

### Story Elements

(p. 114) Many people assume that political advisers have imposed constraints on the formerly fiery First Lady. But the reality is that Michelle constrains herself. (2)

(p. 114) "She pushes herself through life," David Axelrod, the President's strategist once told me. "However big the mountain, she sizes it up and starts climbing." (2/4)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: January 2012

Article Title: “The Interruption of Everything”

Author name, gender and race: Various (BF)

Story type: Feature, Short First-Person Narratives

## Story Elements

(p. 82) These **strivers** share how, in an instant, they were called upon to create new identities **independent of the trappings of labels, titles and luxurious surroundings**. And they reveal how that turning point has left them forever changed, for the better. (4)

Crystal McCrary: “I took control of my life.”

(p. 83) This was 2006, and the advance was proof that I had an actual career as a novelist instead of simply a “hobby,” which is what some folks in my hometown of Detroit assumed.

(p. 83) Looking back, I was a newly divorced mother with a 6-year-old son and a 4-year-old daughter, both in private schools. **Professionally, my confidence was rocked more than I cared to admit.** (1)

(p. 83) Combined, my **privately guarded low self-esteem** took a beating. Lofty as it may have seemed, novelist was a word I used to define myself after my divorce. Writing

represented passion and freedom for me. That title, however tenuous, gave me a purpose outside of motherhood when I no longer had the “Mrs.” in front of my name. (1)

(p. 84) How had this happened to the girl who was supposed to be so smart, who had gotten the academic scholarship to the University of Michigan, who had graduated from law school and worked at a big New York City firm? I was a naive young woman who had essentially moved from my parents’ home to my husband’s. (1)

(p. 84) And I don’t care what anyone says, financial independence within a marriage has a detrimental impact on a woman’s self-worth no matter how many degrees or accolades that woman may have.

(p. 84) Soul searching ensued, which at first brought pity to the surface, then morphed into self-flagellation. I managed to convince myself that all my flukes and that it would only be a matter of time before everything I worked for was taken away from me.

(p. 84) I summoned and embraced every lesson I had learned in my four decades, and I knew that I would make it through. There are still more bumps and challenges to come, but I know I am going to be okay. (4)

Danielle Belton: “I changed careers.” (All under frame 4)

(p. 85) During that same time I went through a divorce and was diagnosed with type II bipolar disorder, which led to various hospitalizations and medications.

(p. 85) The job never materialized. I loved working for newspapers. But now I was in my parents’ basement in Florissant, Missouri, unemployed and battling mental illness, struggling with accepting “defeat.”

(p. 85) When I was younger, my peers harassed me for my perceived oddness.

(p. 85) But it never occurred to me to disappear into the background to avoid their wrath. I was always **pushed to the front of the class, the A student, the leader and the performer from kindergarten through twelfth grade**, even though some days the nervousness made me so sick I had panic attacks and dry heaves.

(p. 85) **I couldn't stop. Slam a door in my face? I'll just go find more doors. No doors? Try windows. No windows? I'll climb over your wall! Can't do that? I'll dig. Can't dig? I'll find a way to myself so vaporous that I can physically seep through the microscopic holes in your drywall.**

(pp. 85–6) The lumps life gave me, the ones I thought had destroyed me, yet again, **only firmed up my resolve to keep going.**

(p. 86) In the long game, you should always operate with an attitude that you belong “there”—wherever there may be. Class and pedigree are artificial boundaries that mean nothing in the face of raw ambition and ability.

Susan Fales-Hill: “I stopped overspending.”

(p. 87) Many years and gowns later, I found myself married and living in New York City. As one of the few Black women at upscale charity events, society functions and thousand-dollar black-tie galas, I considered presenting my best-clad self as a civic duty.

(p. 87) A year into my self-imposed shopping sobriety, I discovered that, as much as I loved beautiful clothing and accessories, for years **I had abused them the way others in my family abused alcohol: to mask feelings of inadequacy. (1)**

(p. 87) For years I had carried my unhealed sorrows and my mother's thwarted dreams, and I tried to dress them up with couture gowns. (1)

(p. 87) I will forever be grateful to the Great Recession for showing me the true value of a dollar and reminding me I am more than the sum of my 'perfectly coordinated' designer parts. (4)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: August 2012

Article Title: “Undefeated”

Author name, gender and race: Lisa Armstrong (BF)

Story type: Feature, Narrative

## Story Elements

(p. 110) All her life 17-year-old boxer Claressa Shields has been **fighting for her chance to shine**. Now, with a medal at the London olympic games on the line, **she has one last battle**. (4)

(p. 112) She was the tournament’s **youngest boxer**—with her combination of **speed, strength and grit**— the sport’s rising star. Two months later, at the American Boxing Confederation Women’s Elite Continental Championships in Ottawa, Canada, Claressa again **proved her mettle by outpointing the world’s top-ranked female boxer, Canadian Mary Spencer**. (3)

(p. 112) Now, after five minutes after the bout, with her gold medal hopes seemingly in tatters, **Claressa had a conversation with God. I said to God, *I’ve sacrificed so much. I pray, I try to be a good person, what more do you want from me?*** (7)

(p. 112) “**Losing is not an option** for Claressa,” says USA boxing coach Gloria Peek. “In the ring **she’s fighting for her existence**.” (4)

(p. 112) It was a sliver of a chance [of competing in the Olympics], but Claressa was already used to living with long odds. (4)

(p. 113) When 11-year-old Claressa walked into the basement of the Berston Field House in the summer of 2006, she told the coach, Jason Crutchfield, she wanted to box because she was tired of losing.

\*Talks about her mother's substance abuse and her sexual abuse (4)

(p. 113) But Claressa was **determined**, and Clarence eventually gave in, thinking his daughter would quickly quit, because he was certain she would get beaten up.

(p. 113) He hadn't noticed that as he and his friends were messing around at the gym, Shields had been studying. **She was dedicated. She never missed practice. She listened and internalized all of Crutchfield's instructions. It is this focus and fire that has made Claressa a champion.** (4)

(p. 113) Her eyes are narrowed, her punches hard and targeted, as if she were fighting some invisible opponent. **The intensity is fueled in part by anger.**

(p. 114) **"I think I was so angry because I was so quiet. A lot of stuff I really held in."** (1)

(p. 115) When Claressa steps into that ring in London, Crews said, "she's just not fighting for Claressa, or Flint, Michigan. **She's fighting for all us inner-city girls who no one expects much from.**"

(p. 115) **"God let all that stuff happen to me because he saw that I was strong enough to handle it. He knew that I would be successful. His purpose was that all this would happen and when I make it, when I win my gold medal, I'll be able to tell my story, and they'll**

be able to see God is real.” (4/7)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: October 2012

Article Title: “You Are Not Going to Believe These Women” (Glamour Top 10 College Women Competition)

Author name, gender and race: Christen Brandt

Story type: Real Stories, Visuals & Blurbs

## Story Elements

Jasmine Mans: Her poetry will send chills down your spine

(p. 230) Mans have **never been the quiet type.** (1)

(p. 230) **We have to speak up! Being quiet only enables the violence and ills in society.**  
(6)

Ola Ojewumi: **She’s a survivor.** Period. (4)

(p. 232) In fifth grade, when most kids were struggling with fractions, Ojewumi was diagnosed with a heart defect and kidney failure; she had to have transplants of both organs. (4)

(p. 232) More recently she’s been diagnosed with a form of post-transplant cancer—**but even that hasn’t slowed her down.** (4)

(p. 232) If I wasn’t sick, I wouldn’t be doing this,” she says. “So while this condition is

taking my life slowly, it's giving me life too. (4)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: November 2012

Article Title: "The Price of Beauty"

Author name, gender and race: Amy Elisa Keith

Story type: Feature, Narrative

## Story Elements

(p. 126) As the fifth of six children, Brown says she was teased by family and friends about her flat 'pancake' booty, resulted in lifelong insecurity. (1)

(p. 126) She vowed early on that the moment she could get enough money, she'd buy herself a better backside. "I didn't know if I wanted to look like Janet Jackson or J. Lo," Brown says. "I just wanted a new, bigger booty." (5)

(p. 128) Still, girlfriends can be more persuasive than science, says psychiatrist Sharon Jones, M.D. She explains that peer pressure can be a powerful motivator for someone struggling with poor self-image.

(p. 128) "I'm lying face down, thinking, Oh, my God, I'm finally going to have a butt."

(p. 129) "People ask, 'How do you get through? How are you so positive?' Because God keeps showing me His grace," she says. (4/7)

(p. 129) "She is stronger than you may think," says her younger daughter, Courtney

Wooden, 21. “She’s probably the strongest person I’ve ever known.” (4)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Essence*

Publication Date: November 2012

Article Title: “Boss Lady”

Author name, gender and race: Cora Daniels (BF)

Story type: Feature, Narrative

## Story Elements

(p. 120) Simply put: **She is one of the most powerful women in business.** Still, upon arriving on campus, the CEO melted. “This is my spot; this is my spo-oo-ot,” she murmured. (2)

(pp. 120–1) Often **praised for being approachable** (during that morning’s Sam’s Club visit, shoppers constantly walked up to chat with the CEO, often spilling details about their lives as you would to an old friend), **Brewer immediately pulled Wright close and the two started gabbing like girlfriends.** (2)

(p. 121) “There is a **genuineness** about Roz that people can sense,” says Tom Falk, CEO of Kimberly-Clark, maker of Scott Products, Kleenex and Huggies. “She **doesn’t put on any pretense.** She will treat you the same way in a business meeting as she would at dinner at her home.” (2)

(p. 121) Falk, one of Brewer’s many corporate fans, reflects that she CEO’s approachability is one of the secrets to her success, despite the fact that “approachability”

can be a gender-coded word for Black women in corporate circles. Much like “aggressive,” it’s more often used to describe women than men, but in Brewer’s case, Falk argues, it’s a strength.

(p. 121) She builds strong teams by pushing other people in front of her. People don’t want to disappoint her; they want to be their best.

(p. 121) The CEO is a staunch advocate of the importance of corporate board appointments for women, and has been active in local groups that work to get more women placed in such positions. (3)

(p. 121) Her dad worked three jobs to send her and her four older siblings to school, the first generation in their family to attend college. During her sophomore year, her father was diagnosed with cancer and the financial strain on the family almost forced Brewer to drop out of school midyear. (4)

(p. 121) “This simple act of stating one’s goals is one that women don’t take often enough,” Brewer says.

(p. 121) Brewer says she **made it through trying times by being honest** with colleagues, even when the news was bad, and by maintaining **confidence** in her decisions. (4)

(p. 121) **Twenty of her 25 years in business have been spent in such [leadership] roles, a rarity for a woman.** (3)

(p. 122) **Brewer, however, does not shy from the truth.** (2)

(p. 122) The most important thing I’ve learned from Roz is to be comfortable in your skin and to always know that you deserve to be where you are,” says Lloyd.

(p. 123) “She is like a lot of women in trying to balance her life—big job, devoted wife and mother—but she manages that balance between family and work and major volunteer commitments,” says Beverly Tatum, president of Spelman College.

(p. 124) The truth is, **Roz Brewer is like your best girlfriend—who happens to be a CEO.** And as a certain Spelman chemistry major is about to find out, it sure is good to have a sister in that corner office. (2)

## Identifying Information

Magazine Title: *Glamour*

Publication Date: October 2013

Article Title: “Kerry Takes Off!”

Author name, gender and race: Cindi Leive (WF)

Story type: Feature, Q&A

## Story Elements

(p. 256) As the **first African American female lead in a network drama in almost 40 years**, Kerry’s role on *Scandal* is historic, and it’s earned her an Emmy nomination—all at a moment when her life is moving at warp speed too. (3)

(p. 256) **If I woke up tomorrow morning and saw that Kerry had become the first person to land on Mars, I’d think, Well duh.** (You just know that Jason Wu would custom-design that space suit.) (2)

(p. 256) Since then I’ve seen her dressed up at fashion shows and dressed down at football games, but everywhere, she has a kind of... **gravitas.** (2)

(p. 256) “I grew up talking at the dinner table about affirmative action and a woman’s right to choose. So I grew up understanding that politics are not this other thing that happens in this other place—**politics are your life.** The decisions that get made affect your biology, where you can work. **I’ve always been involved.**” (6)

(p. 256) “But the racism and sexism I will not stand for. Those people get blocked

immediately.” (6)

(p. 260) “...**And I’m always working.** My cousins call me the longshoreman of actors.”

(1)

(p. 260) “From me and the costume designer Lyn Paolo. And the pants—that Olivia wears pants—that was mine, because I really wanted her to wear the pants in the relationship.” (1)

(p. 260) “**The fact that the show could be a success with a black woman at the center of it says a lot about the kind of world we’ve become. So playing Olivia does feel like a big part of my story.**” (1/6)

## Appendix B: Codebook

Frame Code Names (numbers):

- 1) Strong Black Woman
- 2) Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama
- 3) Trailblazer
- 4) The Conqueror
- 5) Conflicted Jezebel
- 6) Politicized Black Woman
- 7) Faith-filled Black Woman

Overall frame count (How many times it appears):

- 1) 75
- 2) 51
- 3) 24
- 4) 49
- 5) 12
- 6) 19
- 7) 7

Essence frame count (How many times it appears):

- 1) 69
- 2) 33
- 3) 12
- 4) 32
- 5) 11
- 6) 9
- 7) 6

Glamour frame count (How many times it appears):

- 1) 6
- 2) 18
- 3) 12
- 4) 17
- 5) 1
- 6) 10
- 7) 1

Location of where each frame is (publication name, story name, date and page number):

- 1) Strong Black Woman
  - Glamour, "The Closer," April 2009, p. 150
  - Essence, "Black Women Behaving Badly," Aug. 2009, p. 107
  - Glamour, "Rihanna: Woman of the Year," Dec. 2009, p. 240

- Glamour, “Rihanna: Woman of the Year,” Dec. 2009, p. 240, p. 287
- Essence, “Face of the Nation,” Jan. 2010, p. 74
- Essence, “The Princess Diaries,” Jan. 2010, p. 91
- Essence, “The Princess Diaries,” Jan. 2010, pp. 91–2
- Essence, “Can’t Let Go,” June 2010, p. 151 (x4)
- Essence, “Can’t Let Go,” June 2010, p. 152 (x2)
- Essence, “Can’t Let Go,” June 2010, p. 153 (x4)
- Essence, “A Homeless Girl’s Dream,” Aug. 2010, p. 123 (x2)
- Essence, “A Homeless Girl’s Dream,” Aug. 2010, p. 124 (x2)
- Essence, “Black Women: Redefined,” June 2011, p. 144 (x4)
- Essence, “Black Women: Redefined,” June 2011, p. 146
- Essence, “Black Women: Redefined,” June 2011, p. 147 (x4)
- Glamour, “RIHANNA TALKS: This is my story,” Sept. 2011, p. 324 (x5)
- Essence, “Colorstruck,” Dec. 2011, pp. 137–8
- Essence, “The Interruption of Everything,” Jan. 2012, p. 83 (x2)
- Essence, “The Interruption of Everything,” Jan. 2012, p. 84
- Essence, “The Interruption of Everything,” Jan. 2012, p. 87 (x2)
- Essence, “Undefeated,” Aug. 2012, p. 115
- Glamour, “You Are Not Going to Believe These Women,” Oct. 2012, p. 230
- Glamour, “Kerry Takes Off!,” Oct. 2013, p. 260 (x3)
- Essence, “Black Women Behaving Badly,” Aug. 2009, p. 105 (x3)
- Essence, “Black Women Behaving Badly,” Aug. 2009, p. 106 (x3)
- Essence, “Black Women Behaving Badly,” Aug. 2009, p. 107 (x3)
- Essence, “Black Women Behaving Badly,” Aug. 2009, p. 150 (x2)
- Essence, “The Root of the Issue,” Nov. 2009, p. 138
- Essence, “The Root of the Issue,” Nov. 2009, p. 139
- Essence, “The Princess Diaries,” Jan. 2010, pp. 91–2
- Essence, “Can’t Let Go,” June 2010, p. 152
- Essence, “Colorstruck,” Dec. 2011, p. 136 (x2)
- Essence, “Colorstruck,” Dec. 2011, p. 137 (x2)
- Essence, “Colorstruck,” Dec. 2011, pp. 137–8
- Essence, “The Price of Beauty,” Nov. 2012, p. 126
- Essence, “Black Women: Redefined,” June 2011, p. 146
- Essence, “Black Women: Redefined,” June 2011, p. 147

## 2) Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama

- Glamour, “We’ve Waited Our Whole Lives For This,” Jan. 2009, pg. 91
- Glamour, “We’ve Waited Our Whole Lives For This,” Jan. 2009, pg. 91
- Glamour, “We’ve Waited Our Whole Lives For This,” Jan. 2009, pg. 92
- Glamour, “American Icons,” April 2009, (Michelle Obama)
- Essence, “The Closer,” April 2009, p. 107
- Essence, “The Closer,” April 2009, p. 108 (x2)
- Essence, “The Closer,” April 2009, p. 150
- Essence, “Black Women Behaving Badly,” Aug. 2009, p. 105 (x2)

- Essence, “Black Women Behaving Badly,” Aug. 2009, p. 107
- Glamour, “Michelle Obama: Your First Lady,” Dec. 2009, p. 224 (x5)
- Glamour, “The Peacemaker: Susan Rice,” Dec. 2009, p. N/A
- Glamour, “Rihanna: Woman of the Year,” Dec. 2009, p. 287
- Essence, “Face of the Nation,” Dec. 2009, p. 74 (x4)
- Essence, “Face of the Nation,” Dec. 2009, p. 77
- Essence, “Face of the Nation,” Jan. 2010, p. 78 (x4)
- Essence, “Face of the Nation,” Jan. 2010, p. 120 (x3)
- Glamour, “Life’s Too Short to Be Anything but Chill,” May 2010, p. 190
- Glamour, “Ten Amazing Women You Haven’t Heard of... Yet!,” Oct. 2010, p. 238 (x2)
- Glamour, “I Don’t Miss Washington Very Much,” Nov. 2010, p. 181
- Glamour, “I Don’t Miss Washington Very Much,” Nov. 2010, p. 183
- Essence, “Black Women: Redefined,” June 2011, p. 144
- Essence, “Black Women: Redefined,” June 2011, p. 147
- Essence, “Voila, Viola,” Aug. 2011, p. 110
- Essence, “Voila, Viola,” Aug. 2011, p. 111
- Glamour, “Five Things You Don’t Know About the Obama’s Marriage,” 2012, p. 114 (x2)
- Essence, “Boss Lady,” Nov. 2012, p. 120 (x2)
- Essence, “Boss Lady,” Nov. 2012, p. 121
- Essence, “Boss Lady,” Nov. 2012, p. 122
- Glamour, “Kerry Takes Off!,” p. 256 (x2)
- Glamour, “Michelle Obama: Your First Lady,” Dec. 2009, p. 224
- Glamour, “The Peacemaker: Susan Rice,” Dec. 2009, p. N/A
- Essence, “Face of the Nation,” Jan. 2010, p. 74
- Essence, “Face of the Nation,” Jan. 2010, p. 77
- Essence, “The Closer,” April 2009, p. 150
- Essence, “Boss Lady,” Nov. 2012, p. 120–1
- Essence, “Boss Lady,” Nov. 2012, p. 123

### 3) The Trailblazer

- Glamour, “We’ve Waited Our Whole Lives For This,” Jan. 2009, p. 91
- Glamour, “We’ve Waited Our Whole Lives For This,” Jan. 2009, p. 92
- Glamour, “American Icons,” April 2009, (Billie Holliday)
- Glamour, “American Icons,” April 2009, (Althea Gibson)
- Glamour, “American Icons,” April 2009, (Michelle Obama)
- Essence, “The Closer,” April 2009, p. 108
- Essence, “The Root of the Issue,” p. 137
- Glamour, “Michelle Obama: Your First Lady,” Dec. 2009, p. 224
- Glamour, “The Peacemaker: Susan Rice,” Dec. 2009, p. N/A
- Essence, “Face of the Nation,” Jan. 2010, p. 74 (x2)
- Essence, “Face of the Nation,” Jan. 2010, p. 77
- Essence, “The Princess Diaries,” Jan. 2010, p. 90 (x3)

- Essence, “The Princess Diaries,” Jan. 2010, p. 93
- Essence, “A Homeless Girl’s Dream,” Aug. 2010, p. 123
- Glamour, “Ten Amazing Women You Haven’t Heard of... Yet!,” Oct. 2010, p. 236
- Glamour, “The Winners are In!,” Oct. 2011, p. N/A
- Essence, “Undefeated,” Aug. 2012, p. 112
- Essence, “Boss Lady,” Nov. 2012, p. 121
- Glamour, “Kerry Takes Off!,” Oct. 2012, p. 256
- Glamour, “The World Watched As Their Father Was Beaten,” March 2011, p. 241
- Glamour, “The Winners are In!,” Oct. 2011, p. N/A
- Essence, “Boss Lady,” Nov. 2012, p. 121

#### 4) The Conqueror

- Glamour, “We’ve Waited Our Whole Lives For This,” Jan. 2009, pg. 90
- Glamour, “We’ve Waited Our Whole Lives For This,” Jan. 2009, p. 92
- Glamour, “American Icons,” April 2009, (Billie Holliday)
- Essence, “Black Women Behaving Badly,” Aug. 2009, p. 107
- Glamour, “The Athlete: Serena Williams,” Dec. 2009, p. 231 (x2)
- Glamour, “Rihanna: Woman of the Year,” Dec. 2009, p. 240
- Glamour, “Rihanna: Woman of the Year,” Dec. 2009, p. 240, p. 287
- Essence, “Face of the Nation,” Jan. 2010, p. 78
- Essence, “Face of the Nation,” Jan. 2010, pp. 90–1
- Essence, “A Homeless Girl’s Dream,” Aug. 2010, p. 122
- Essence, “A Homeless Girl’s Dream,” Aug. 2010, p. 123 (x2)
- Essence, “A Homeless Girl’s Dream,” Aug. 2010, p. 124
- Glamour, “Ten Amazing Women You Haven’t Heard of... Yet!,” Oct. 2010, p. 236
- Glamour, “The World Watched As Their Father Was Beaten,” March 2011, p. 241 (x3)
- Essence, “Voila, Viola,” Aug. 2011, p. 111 (x2)
- Glamour, “RIHANNA TALKS: This is my story,” Sept. 2011, p. 324
- Essence, “Colorstruck,” Dec. 2011, p. 138
- Glamour, “Five Things You Don’t Know About the Obama’s Marriage,” 2012, p. 114
- Essence, “The Interruption of Everything,” Jan. 2012, p. 82
- Essence, “The Interruption of Everything,” Jan. 2012, p. 84
- Essence, “The Interruption of Everything,” Jan. 2012, pp. 85–6 (x4)
- Essence, “The Interruption of Everything,” Jan. 2012, p. 87
- Essence, “Undefeated,” Aug. 2012, p. 110
- Essence, “Undefeated,” Aug. 2012, p. 112 (x2)
- Essence, “Undefeated,” Aug. 2012, p. 113 (x2)
- Essence, “Undefeated,” Aug. 2012, p. 115
- Glamour, “You Are Not Going to Believe These Women,” Oct. 2012, p. 232 (x4)

- Essence, “The Price of Beauty,” Nov. 2012, p. 129 (x2)
  - Essence, “Boss Lady,” Nov. 2012, p. 121 (x2)
- 5) The Conflicted Jezebel
- Essence, “The Body Shop,” June 2009 (pp. 111–13)
  - Glamour, “Rihanna: Woman of the Year,” Dec. 2009, p. 240
  - Essence, “The Price of Beauty,” Nov. 2012, p. 126
- 6) The Politicized Black Woman
- Glamour, “We’ve Waited Our Whole Lives For This,” Jan. 2009, p. 92
  - Glamour, “American Icons,” April 2009, (Billie Holliday)
  - Glamour, “American Icons,” April 2009, (Althea Gibson)
  - Glamour, “The Closer,” April 2009, p. 150
  - Essence, “Black Women Behaving Badly,” Aug. 2009, p. 106
  - Essence, “Black Women Behaving Badly,” Aug. 2009, p. 107
  - Essence, “The Root of the Issue,” Nov. 2009, p. 141
  - Essence, “Michelle Obama: Your First Lady,” Dec. 2009, p. 224
  - Glamour, “Life’s Too Short to Be Anything But Chill,” May 2010, pp. 188–90
  - Essence, “Can’t Let Go,” June 2010, p. 153 (x5)
  - Glamour, “I Don’t Miss Washington Very Much,” Nov. 2010, p. 181–3
  - Glamour, “The World Watched As Their Father Was Beaten,” March 2011, p. 240
  - Essence, “Black Women: Redefined,” June 2011, p. 148
  - Essence, “Voila, Viola,” Aug. 2011, p. 111
  - Essence, “Colorstruck,” Dec. 2011, p. 136
  - Essence, “Colorstruck,” Dec. 2011, p. 137
  - Glamour, “You Are Not Going to Believe These Women,” Oct. 2012, p. 230
  - Glamour, “Kerry Takes Off!,” Oct. 2013, p. 256 (x2)
  - Glamour, “Kerry Takes Off!,” Oct. 2012, p. 260
- 7) The Faith-filled Black Woman
- Glamour, “Rihanna: Woman of the Year,” Dec. 2009, p. 240
  - Essence, “Can’t Let Go,” June 2010, p. 152
  - Essence, “Black Women: Redefined,” June 2011, p. 147
  - Essence, “Black Women: Redefined,” June 2011, p. 148
  - Essence, “Undefeated,” Aug. 2012, p. 112
  - Essence, “Undefeated,” Aug. 2012, p. 115
  - Essence, “The Price of Beauty,” Nov. 2012, p. 129

## Appendix C: Theoretical Memos

### Theoretical Memo #1

The preliminary frames are as follows:

- Strong Black Woman (1)
- Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama (2)
- Physically Strong (Sporty/Thoroughbred) Black Woman (3)
- The Sister Girl (4)
- Trailblazer (5)
- The Conqueror (6)
- Faithful Black Woman (7)
- The Giver (8)
- Conflicted Jezebel (9)
- Politicized Black Woman (10)
- The Viper (11)

#### *\*Add in specific quotes*

After the first round of coding, the main three frames in *Essence* and *Glamour* are:

- Strong Black Woman
- Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama
- The Conqueror

I initially thought the Physically Strong Black Woman and The Sister Girl frames, would stand as individual frames or sub-frames, but their lack of frequency led me to fold them into the Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama frame. The attributes of being physically strong (or sporty) along with the warmth of being a “Sister Girl,” which is a woman that is successful, yet down-to-earth and helpful, were often used to describe the attributes of women who were framed as Superwomen.

Also, I initially thought that the Faithful Black Woman frame would stand on its own, but it became clear that it should serve as a sub-frame for The Conqueror frame. In stories of struggle and overcoming adversity, women were often quoted as drawing strength from their faith.

The Giver, also became a sub-frame for The Trailblazer. In stories were black women were framed in the terms of being first in a certain position, e.g. Michelle Obama as the first African-American First Lady, Condoleezza Rice as the first African-American female Secretary of State, and Susan Rice as the first African-American female U.S. Ambassador, those women often displayed a dedication to give back to their communities in order to continue the advancement of Black women and the Black community as a whole.

Frame 9, The Conflicted Jezebel, will be discussed as a progression of the historical Jezebel frame.

The Viper frame, which initially stood on its own, seems to fit better as a sub-frame for The Strong Black Woman frame. Many of the stories that had The Strong Black Woman as the dominate frame also framed Black women as Vipers, or women who create drama and inflict pain on others mainly because of their own hurt (*This may just become an attribute of Frame 1 instead of being a subframe*).

Frame 10, The Politicized Black Woman, seemed to fit as a sub-frame for The Trailblazer frame, but after going the historical context of the frame and its connection to the theory of Intersectionality, it would be worthwhile to make it a main frame and discuss it more deeply.

This leaves six main frames:

- SBW
- The Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama
- The Trailblazer
- The Conqueror

- The Conflicted Jezebel
- The Politicized Black Woman

Also, there were three sub-frames:

- The Faithful Black Woman
- The Giver
- The Viper

The other two frames (The Physically Strong Black Woman, The Sister Girl) and were folded into The Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama frame as attributes.

## **Theoretical Memo #2**

After the first theoretical memo, I took each frame and sub-frame and pulled out common words that were in each article coded to a particular frame. After that process, it was easier to determine the differences within frames that were seemingly the same, e.g. SBW and The Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama. Also, it helped me to determine which frames to combine or make a sub-frame.

After the process, I streamlined the list of frames again, which left me with six frames:

- SBW
- The Superwoman, a.k.a. Michelle Obama
- The Trailblazer
- The Conqueror
- The Politicized Black Woman
- The Conflicted Jezebel

## Appendix D: Integration

Steps of Integration:

- The causal conditions that give rise to it [the frame]
- The context (its specific set of properties) in which it [the frame] is embedded
- The action/interactional strategies by which it [the frame] is handled, managed, carried out; and the consequences of those strategies (Lindhof & Taylor, 2002, p. 221).

### 1) Strong Black Woman

#### a. What are the causal conditions?

- i. This frame arises out of stories that deal with the politics of being a Black woman, which focuses on how race and sex impact Black women's lives, sometimes for the worst. This frame also arises out of stories that deal with struggle— mentally, spiritually, physically and otherwise.

#### b. What is the context (historical and otherwise) in which the frame is embedded?

- i. The Strong Black Woman is a progression of the historical frames of The Matriarch, The Sapphire and to a small extent, The Mammy. Historically, The Matriarch focuses on Black women's roles as mothers. The Matriarch is a “controlling, emasculating Black woman who dictated to both her children and her man their place in her home” (Woodard & Mastin, 2005, p. 271). In short, the Matriarch “emphasizes domination, aggression, strength and

toughness of Black women” (Donovan, 2011, p. 459). The difference between The Matriarch and The Strong Black Woman is that now, the man has moved out of the household and moved on to other women, usually of another race. In the 2010 Essence article, “Can’t Let Go,” author Abika Solomon notes that black men are now going the “Kardashian Route,” which leaves Black women down right bitter. Although there is not much of an explicit discussion about the mothering aspect of the Strong Black woman, the absence of the father’s role in a majority, if not all, of the stories that carry the SBW frame shows that Black women are taking on the role of the mother and the father, which creates the domineering and tough persona of the Matriarch.

- ii. The Sapphire is closely related to The Matriarch, but the mothering aspect is absent. The Sapphire is “angry, aggressive, domineering, loud and hostile” (Donovan, 2011). The SBW definitely carries those attributes. She is often angry about perceived and real slights that stem from racism, e.g. Ife’s story in “Can’t Let Go,” the lack of love and attention from Black men, e.g. Essence’s 2009 article “Black Women Behaving Badly,” and the heightened sense of competition amongst Black women to move ahead in careers and in love.
- iii. As far as The Mammy, the only attribute that follows over to the SBW is the willingness to self-sacrifice for family, children and

love. She often puts others before herself emotionally and financially, which leaves her bitter.

c. How the frame is handled and carried out, what are the consequences?

i. In Essence, the SBW frame is handled and carried out in a way that comes off as a good friend, mother or sister giving advice on how to be become better. In all of the stories that carry the SBW frame, the writers talk about the show of “strength” as a façade to hide inner pain that the SBW carries, but cannot effectively talk about or move on from. Essence strives to get at the root of what makes Black women angry, bitter, aggressive and tries to offer solutions on how the SBW can have “actual strength” instead of just having the appearance of it.

ii. In Glamour, the SBW frame is handled totally different. Glamour focuses on the loud and opinionated aspect of the SBW and it is framed as something to be celebrated. Throughout the articles that carry the SBW frame, Black women are framed as sassy, opinionated and almost indestructible. Their writers do not delve into the root of these attributes as Essence does for two main reasons: they have no Black writers or anyone who seems to be acquainted with Black culture to write the stories, and the reliance on short Q&A stories, leaves little room for context.

2) Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama

a. What are the causal conditions?

- i. This frame arises out of stories that strive to show the advancement of growth of Black women professionally, and stories that strive to show a new, more well-rounded image of Black women who are successful and happy.
- b. What is the context (historical and otherwise) in which the frame is embedded?
  - i. The Superwoman, a.k.a Michelle Obama is closely connected to the SBW frame, which is a mixture of the The Matriarch, The Sapphire and to a small extent, The Mammy. The Superwoman has the career, financial and educational success of The SBW, but that's where the similarities stop. The Superwoman has what the SBW wishes she had— a strong family, strong friendships, true self-confidence and self- awareness. In short, The Superwoman has a life that not only looks good, but truly is good. The Superwoman has a much more stable emotional life, and knows how to be vulnerable and ask for help. She also knows how to balance and delegate responsibilities for the betterment of herself and her family. Another aspect of the Superwoman is her attention to her health and physical well-being. She is fit, stylish and knows how to place her best foot forward. The stories that carry the Superwoman frame often cite Michelle Obama as the prime example of what a modern Black woman is, and they use her image to counteract the historical frames of Black women.

- c. How is the frame is handled and carried out, what are the consequences?
  - i. In this case, Essence and Glamour carry out the frame in similar ways, and they actually use many of the same women (Susan Rice, Valerie Jarrett, Michelle Obama) to represent the emergence of a Black Superwoman. All of stories that use the Superwoman frame also use the Politicized Black Woman subframe.

### 3) Trailblazer

- a. What are the causal conditions?
  - i. This frame arises out of stories that deal with the advancement of Black women into higher professional titles and positions and how that advancement is a representation of the movement of Blacks as a whole. Also, these stories often deal with issues of racism as it relates to that upward movement.
- b. What is the context (historical and otherwise) in which the frame is embedded?
  - i. The majority of the stories that have the Trailblazer frame are all stories that relate to race and gender struggles that the women were able to overcome and work to change.
- c. How is the frame is handled and carried out, what are the consequences?
  - i. Again, Essence and Glamour handle and carry out this frame in similar ways. Often times, the Trailblazer frame goes hand-in-hand with the Superwoman and Politicized Black Woman frames.

### 4) The Conqueror

- a. What are the causal conditions?
  - i. This frame arises out of stories that deal with personal struggles in various areas of life, such as love and relationships, careers and health.
- b. What is the context (historical and otherwise) in which the frame is embedded?
  - i. The Conqueror frame is closely connected to the Strong Black Woman frame and Superwoman frame, because of the focus on strength. This image of strength is often accredited to the days of slavery where Black women had to endure unimaginable circumstances.
- c. How is the frame is handled and carried out, what are the consequences?
  - i. What differentiates this frame from the SBW frame is that this frame speaks to the strength and courage of Black women, no matter their social status, economic status, religious beliefs or age. Also, this frame focuses on Black women's ability to get through difficult personal situations, such as illness or abuse and come out better on the other side. There's also an undercurrent of hope and that isn't in the SBW frame.

#### 5) Conflicted Jezebel

- a. What are the causal conditions?
  - i. This frame arises out of stories that deal with Black women's struggle to define and carry out their sexuality in a way that is

productive and healthy for them.

- b. What is the context (historical and otherwise) in which the frame is embedded?
  - i. This is a progression of the historical frame of The Jezebel. The Jezebel comes from the slave master's view of Black women as "promiscuous, lustful and hypersexual" (Donovan, 2011, p. 459). Historically, the sexual experience of The Jezebel came from being raped and taken advantage of by their masters and other men who had power over them. Now, Black women seem to be gravitating toward the hypersexualized image of the Jezebel in order to gain attention from men in hopes that they will find love. It seems that Black women are unsure how to handle their sexuality in a way that is safe and productive for them, since sex and sexuality is rarely discussed because of religious beliefs and the need for the older generations (mothers, grandmothers, aunts) of Black women to move away from a sexualized image and strive to be seen as respectable.
- c. How is the frame is handled and carried out, what are the consequences?
  - i. In Essence, the frame is handled and carried out in a way that offers historical perspectives and seeks to help Black women navigate the difference between embracing their sexuality and exploiting their sexuality.
  - ii. In Glamour, this frame shows up in only one story ("Rihanna:

Woman of the Year”). In this story, Rihanna’s sexuality/highly-sexual persona is highlighted throughout and is seen as an asset to her star power.

#### 6) Politicized Black Woman

- a. What are the causal conditions?
  - i. This frame arises out of stories that deal with issues of racism and sexism as it applies to the experience of Black women. The women in these stories usually have strong experiences, e.g. living during Jim Crow or being denied a job because of race/gender, that have shaped their world view and how they navigate through the politics of being a Black woman.
- b. What is the context (historical and otherwise) in which the frame is embedded?
  - i. The Politicized Black Woman frame is embedded in stories about racial, political and gender struggle. In this frame, Black women are examined through the lens of political struggle and are often used as a personification of that.
- c. How is the frame is handled and carried out, what are the consequences?
  - i. Essence and Glamour handles and carries out the frames in similar ways, but Glamour relies on this frame much more to share the stories of Black women.

#### 7) Faith-filled Black Woman

- a. What are the causal conditions?

- i. This frame arises out of stories that deal with struggle— personally, professionally and otherwise. Women in these stories cite that their personal struggles cause them to grow in faith.
- b. What is the context (historical and otherwise) in which the frame is embedded?
  - i. Again, like the other frames, this comes out slavery and overall struggle of Black people in America. The Black community has relied on their faith to get through the toughest of times, and that reliance on faith continues.
- c. How is the frame is handled and carried out, what are the consequences?
  - i. Glamour doesn't deal with this frame much, but in Essence, it is an undercurrent for all six previous frames. Faith is discussed as shelter in tough times, and it is also discussed in terms of how faith interacts with love and sexuality.

## Appendix E: Dimensionalization

### Strong Black Woman

The Strong Black Woman frame is defined through some of the following keywords and phrases: ‘single,’ ‘successful,’ ‘drama,’ ‘negative,’ ‘attention hungry,’ and ‘self-sabotaging.’ In *Essence* magazine, this was the most prevalent frame, with 69 occurrences. In *Glamour*, the Strong Black Woman frame was used second most, with 18 occurrences. In *Essence*, the Strong Black Woman was defined by her financial, educational and professional success, her lack of healthy romantic and platonic relationships, and inability to share emotions and seek outside help for personal issues.

In short, the Strong Black Woman only projects an air of strength— she doesn’t actually have it. For example, in the August 2009 article, “Black Women Behaving Badly,” writer Kierna Mayo writes:

You’d never know it, looking at Nikia Macklin. For one, she’s gorgeous, feminine to a fault. A curvy, hair-always-done 34-year-old who’s employed as an intake worker at a social service agency, she rides the commuter rail to work in an adorable yellow linen dress and open-toe heels. She’s the prototype of a sharp, hardworking Black woman (2009, p. 105).

Down the paragraph, Mayo reveals that although Macklin seems to have it all on the outside, she deals with constant negativity from other Black women, especially when it comes to getting a man. Macklin says, “We did so much fighting and so much beefing— ‘Such and such was with someone’s man.’ There was so much hating on people, and people hating on us” (Mayo, 2009, p. 105).

The next year, *Essence* published another article “Can’t Let Go,” which revealed the emotional toll that all that fighting, beefing and competition has on Black women. In the article, Stephen A. Diamond, Ph.D talks about the bitterness that many Black women hold on to. He says bitterness is an “unconscious build up of unexpressed anger or resentment that drives us into hostile, violent or self-destructive behavior” (Solomon, 2010, p.151) Later in the article, another psychologist, Michelle Callahan, says “Black women have been dogged on so many levels that many of us have adopted this bravado to protect ourselves” (Solomon, 2010, p. 153).

In each of the articles that carry the Strong Black Woman frame, the writer discusses the SBW in terms of turning away from that persona to reach a higher level of vulnerability and a new understanding of what strength really means.

In *Glamour*, the writers have a different take on the Strong Black Woman frame. Whereas *Essence* uses keywords that could be interpreted as negative, such as ‘confront,’ ‘alone,’ ‘backstabbers,’ and ‘hiding’, *Glamour* uses keywords such as ‘single,’ ‘sassy,’ ‘attitude,’ ‘confident’ and ‘honest.’

In the 15 articles from *Glamour*, the SBW frame occurred six times, and five of the six occurrences were found in stories about Rihanna (there were two). Rihanna’s singleness wasn’t framed as a problem to be fixed per se, but as something to be celebrated. Her attitude and controlling personality seems to be something to reach for. In the 2011 story, “RIHANNA TALKS: this is my story,” writer Logan Hill begins the article with “Rihanna likes to be in control” (2011, p. 324). Throughout the article, Hill mentions that drama that seems to surround Rihanna and he eventually asks, “Does that mean you naturally look for trouble? You’re drawn to drama” (2011, p. 324)? But, that

drama isn't necessarily seen as something negative, like in *Essence* stories. It's seen as something, at least in Rihanna's case, that is the spice of life.

The main difference between *Essence* and *Glamour*'s approach to this frame, and all frames, is that all of *Essence*'s writers are Black and all of *Glamour*'s writers are White. *Essence*'s writers have a personal reference that colors their understanding of what a Strong Black Woman is and the emotional toll that bravado can take. On the other hand, *Glamour* writers are almost looking from the outside in. They notice the bravado, the sassiness and the attitude, but there is context on where that stems from.

### **Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama**

The Superwoman a.k.a Michelle Obama frame is defined through some of the following keywords and phrases: 'successful,' 'doing things the right way,' 'class,' 'self-assured,' 'smart,' 'trusted,' 'mother,' 'wife,' 'devoted,' and 'power.' In *Essence*, this was the second most prevalent frame, with 33 occurrences. In *Glamour*, this was the most prevalent frame, with 18 occurrences.

In this case, *Essence* and *Glamour* handle the frame in the same way. The Superwoman a.k.a Michelle Obama frame, was defined by her ability to achieve educational and professional success as well as personal success, e.g. healthy marriage, family, friendships, etc.... Also, there is a focus on having a healthy emotional life, which allows these women to freely and effectively express themselves, which leaves no room for drama or catty competitions, which was an underlying factor *Essence*'s version of the SBW frame. Essentially, the Superwoman is the SBW at a higher, and happier, level.

For example, in a January 2010 *Essence* article about Susan Rice, “Face of the Nation,” writer Charlayne Hunter-Gault highlights Rice’s role as a mother and wife and shows a level of vulnerability that is absent in many stories about Black women. She writes: “I ask how she balances a job that keeps her traveling across continents and between two cities with two young children. Her quick reply is ‘Marry the right man. I could not be dealing with this without him’ ” (Hunter-Gault, 2010, p. 120).

Another element of the Superwoman a.k.a Michelle Obama frame is a focus on the physical presentation of these women. The keywords associated with this element of the frame are: ‘chic,’ ‘stylish,’ ‘elegant,’ ‘swagger,’ and ‘sportin.’ For instance, in *Glamour*’s December 2009 article about Michelle Obama, “Michelle Obama: Your First Lady,” Katie Couric describes Obama as a “combination of elegance and sportiness (I would definitely want her on my softball team if I played softball)...” (Couric, 2009, p. 224) And, in a small profile about Susan Rice in the same issue, Rice was described as “‘sportin’,” which came from her days as a high school basketball player (Kramer-Jenning, 2009, p. 228).

Another hallmark aspect of the Superwoman a.k.a. Michelle Obama frame is the connection to the Trailblazer and Politicized Black Woman sub frames. The Trailblazer subframe discusses the ability of Black women to push past racial and gender barriers various professional arenas, and the Politicized Black Woman frame discusses the how Black women are viewed through the lens various historical political events, such as the Civil Rights Movement, and how those events have impacted their lives.

### **The Trailblazer**

The Trailblazer frame is defined through the following keywords: ‘legacy,’ ‘barriers,’ ‘define,’ ‘founder,’ ‘leader,’ ‘advocate,’ and ‘give.’ In *Essence* and *Glamour* magazine, there were an equal number of occurrences (12). The Trailblazer frame focuses on Black women’s ability to push past racial and gender barriers in educational, professional, social and political arenas and their ability to redefine the image of Black women through their achievements. Furthermore, this frame highlights Black women’s willingness to give back to their communities through finances and through the creation of community organizations.

For example, In *Glamour*’s April 2009 spread, “American Icons,” featured three Black women: Billie Holiday, Althea Gibson and Michelle Obama. In each article, the women were celebrated for being the ‘first’ in each of their areas — music, sports and politics. In *Essence*, they not only celebrated Black women’s ability to break professional barriers, but they celebrated their ability to blaze new definitions of Black women.

In the November 2009 *Essence* article, “The Root of the Issue,” TV Personality Tanika Ray says, “White women were the ones who were considered pretty, right? So, we’re defining for ourselves as the years go on. We have more power now and we can say, ‘No, Nia Long is beautiful. Michelle Obama is beautiful’ ” (Taylor, 2009, p. 137).

### **The Conqueror**

The Conqueror frame is defined by these keywords and phrases: ‘tragedy,’ ‘struggle,’ ‘comeback,’ ‘beat the odds,’ ‘challenge,’ and ‘positive.’ In *Essence*, this was the third most used frame, with 32 occurrences. In *Glamour*, it was the second most used frame, with 17 occurrences. The Conqueror frame focuses on Black women’s ability to conquer personal tragedies and struggles and come out on the other side as a better

woman. This frame is best explained through Viola Davis in her August 2011 *Essence* article, “Voila, Viola.” She says:

As Black women, we’re always given these seemingly devastating experiences—experiences that could absolutely break us. But what the caterpillar calls the end of the world, the master calls the butterfly. What we do as Black women is take the worst situations and create from that point (Ogunnaike, 2011, p. 111).

For example, in the March 2011 *Glamour* article, “The World Watched As Their Father Was Beaten,” writer Gretchen Voss tells the story of Lora and Candice King, the daughters of Rodney King. In the section about Lora, Voss writes:

Lora hung on. On top of coping with her father’s infamy, she’d grown up in various rough L.A. neighborhoods and had witnessed shootings and drug deals on her street. But she sought lifelines: an aunt who tutored her, the high school principal who took her to work at a soup kitchen (Voss, 2011, p. 241).

Another aspect of the Conqueror frame is a connection to the Faith-filled Black Woman subframe. In each of these stories, women cited faith, specifically the Christian faith, as the main sources of strength to get through trying times.

### **The Conflicted Jezebel**

This frame is defined by these phrases/keywords: ‘visual,’ ‘magnetic,’ ‘body,’ ‘sex,’ ‘sexy,’ ‘payoff,’ ‘attention-seeking,’ ‘discovery,’ ‘looking for love.’ In *Essence*, this frame occurred 11 times, and it occurred once in *Glamour*. This frame is a progression of the historical Jezebel frame, which represents the portrayal of Black women as the “bitch or whore” (Woodard & Mastin, 2005, p. 272). Furthermore, this

comes from the slave master's view of Black women as "promiscuous, lustful, and hypersexual." (Donovan, 2011, p. 459).

The current representation of this frame deals with Black women's struggle to define and use their sexuality on the slim line between empowerment and exploitation. For example, in the June 2009 *Essence* article, "The Body Shop," writer Demetria Lucas writes about the rising rates of plastic surgery among Black women, mainly to get bigger busts and backsides. In the article, one woman says, "When you see those women in hip-hop videos and urban magazines, they are so curvaceous. I would look at those bodies and think, *Now that's what ethnic men like*" (Lucas, 2009, p. 112). Lucas also covers the struggle that Black women are having determining the difference with being sexually confident and being a sexual object. In the article, Psychologist Michelle Callahan says there is a "difference between taking a workshop to learn how to act like a sex object and using a class to build sexual confidence and keep a healthy relationship fresh" (Lucas, 2009, p. 113).

Another *Essence* article, "Black Women: Redefined," sheds light on another aspect of this frame, which is the conflict between religion and sexuality. In the article, writer Cora Daniels highlights the stories of three women: Sophia A. Nelson, Antoinette Dalton and Lori Price. In Price's story, "I reexamined my relationship with God," Daniels presents an interesting fact from Nelson's survey of 211 Black women for her book, *Black Woman Redefined*. She writes that women in the survey stated the need to "choose between their commitment to God and their standards for men, implying that one would have to be compromised in a relationship" (Daniels, 2011, p. 148). Nelson goes on to say: "We need a healthy intersection of faith and humanity and sexuality. Let me put this on

record: You can have a vibrant sex life and still be a godly woman” (Daniels, 2011, p. 148). Nelson’s survey, along with this article, seem to suggest that a large part of Black women’s conflict with their sexuality stems from religious pressure to remain chaste until marriage, and the lack of discussion about sex and sexuality because of religious ideas.

### **The Politicized Black Woman**

This subframe is defined by these keywords: ‘race,’ ‘racism,’ ‘slavery,’ ‘history,’ ‘politics,’ ‘achievement,’ and ‘activism.’ This frame occurred nine times in *Essence* and 10 times in *Glamour*. This frame focuses on how politics (racial, gender, class, etc...) shapes the existences of Black women and how they view and fit into the world around them. The hallmark feature of the articles that carry this frame is the focus on how certain events, mainly The Civil Rights Movement and Jim Crow, shaped the world-view of these Black women. For example, In the November 2010 *Glamour* article about Condoleezza Rice, “I Don’t Miss Washington Very Much,” Rice discusses how “deeply she was shaped by her upbringing in a tight-knit family in the deeply segregated South of the 1950s and 1960s” (Couric, 2010, p. 181).

In the December 2011 *Essence* article, “Colorstruck,” writer Denene Millner explores how the politics of race not only affects Black/White relations, but impacts Black/Black relations as well. In the article, Miller addressed the rampant colorism, e.g. light skin vs. dark skin, that still plagues the Black community. Miller writes, “Before we can tackle our color issues and retrain our thinking, we first have to understand where our attitudes began. Birthed on plantations by slave owners who intentionally created a divide-and-conquer hierarchy between dark-skinned field hands and light-skinned house servants...” (Millner, 2011, p. 136)

Another aspect of this subframe is the responsibility that Black women seem to carry to become advocates for issues that impact their community. For example, in the October 2012 *Glamour* article, “You Are Not Going To Believe These Women (Glamour Top 10 College Women Competition),” writer Christen Brandt highlights the story of Jasmine Mans, a 21-year-old University of Wisconsin Sociology and African-American studies student. Mans, who is known for her spoken word poetry on Black life says, “We have to speak up! Being quiet only enables the violence and ills in society” (Brandt, 2012, p. 230).

In short, like Tonya Lewis Lee states in the November 2009 *Essence* article, “The Root of the Issue, “Simply being a Black woman is a political statement” (Taylor, 2009, p. 141).

### **The Faith-filled Black Woman**

This subframe is defined by the following keywords: ‘faith,’ ‘prayer,’ ‘God,’ ‘positive,’ ‘strength’ and ‘hope.’ This frame occurred six times in *Essence* and once in *Glamour*. This frame focuses on Black women’s reliance on faith, the Christian faith in particular, to provide strength and hope in times of struggle and guidance for life decisions. For example, in the August 2012 *Essence* article, “Undefeated,” 17-year-old boxer Clareesa Shields says:

God let all that stuff [poverty, sexual abuse] happen to me because he saw that I was strong enough to handle it. He knew that I would be successful. His purpose was that all this would happen and when I make it, when I win a gold medal, I’ll be able to tell my story, and they’ll be able to see that God is real (Armstrong, 2012, p. 115).

