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Ghostbusting Black Women and Media Representation: A Qualitative Content Analysis on Leslie Jones and Twitter

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Ghostbusting Black Women and Media Representation: A Qualitative Content Analysis

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by

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Abstract

Media representation plays a huge role in how people form their views about certain groups of people. Even when one has particular personal experiences with said group, images in the media can reinforce those views or help to shape new ones. Social media are more recent when compared to other forms of media such as television, magazines and even music videos. Social media are fast paced and always advancing, and therefore, provide more opportunities to analyze a certain group's media representation. In this thesis, I will discuss the media representation of Black women on Twitter. Specifically, I will look at Leslie Jones during the release of *Ghostbusters.* Understanding how Jones was discussed on this social media platform will provide a better understanding of the traits associated with Black women as well as the language used to discuss them on Twitter.

Key Words: black women, Twitter, black feminist theory, Leslie Jones, *Ghostbusters*

Dedication

Pawpaw, Big Mama, and Big Daddy:

I hope that I'm making you all proud.

Continue to watch over me.

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List of Abbreviations

BFT	Black Feminist Theory
QCA	Qualitative Content Analysis
LJ	Leslie Jones
MTA	Metropolitan Transportation Authority

Introduction

Black women have unique experiences when it comes to how they are treated, how they are discussed and how they are represented via media. Images of Black women across media outlets reflect how others perceive us and how we perceive one another. To better understand these perceptions, it is important to make note of how Black women are being represented across multiple forms of media.

Social media are new compared to other forms of media, and Twitter specifically has active participation from American users daily (Pew, 2017). Twitter is the social media platform that allows users to send messages in 280 characters or less and is perhaps one of the more popular social media outlets, coming in third place among American users (Pew, 2017). Twitter users mostly use the social media platform to keep up with the news, see what people are talking about and to keep in touch with people they know (Sonderman, et. al., 2015). Engagement with others on Twitter allows for users' Twitter identities to be established (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). Although celebrities engage on Twitter in this manner, they also have different approaches to tweets as it relates to their celebrity status. Celebrities use Twitter to communicate with other celebrities and the public and their fans revealing personal information that they otherwise would not share (Stever and Lawson, 2013). We see Leslie Jones use this approach when she begins to share the racist tweets about the premiere of *Ghostbusters.* Jones used Twitter to broadcast them to her following and revealed her personal feelings about the tweets.

The original *Ghostbusters* was released in 1984 and starred an all-male cast, including three white men and one Black man. This adventurous comedy featured these four men investigating paranormal activity. On March 3, 2016, a movie trailer was

released on YouTube, advertising a newer version of *Ghostbusters* to be released in July 2016 (Silman, 2016). This time, the movie would star an all-female cast: three white females and one Black female. The one Black actress was Leslie Jones. As advertisement for the movie continued to roll out, conversations about the anticipation of its release began to be a topic throughout headlines. When the movie hit theatres on July 15, 2016, Jones specifically was making headlines revealing the backlash she was receiving on Twitter in the form of racist tweets. Some of these tweets expressed anger about a Black woman starring in the movie while others pointed to racist remarks about Jones in general (Silman, 2016). By the end of opening week, the hate directed towards Jones led to her deactivating her account on July 20, 2016 (Silman, 2016).

This was a controversial moment on Twitter as the tweets about Jones continued to circulate. These tweets revealed a conversation among users about the newer *Ghostbusters,* as well as Jones as a person, and her character. Using a qualitative content analysis, my research will use the controversy surrounding Leslie Jones after the release of the revamped *Ghostbusters* as an entry point to analyze the discussion and representation of Black women on social media, specifically Twitter. Specifically, my research will attempt to identify any stereotypes or tropes about Black women on Twitter surrounding the release of this movie. These stereotypes, as outlined by Black Feminist Theory, showcase a pattern in history in the way Black women are viewed. If these stereotypes can be identified on Twitter, this will be another example of a form of media that portrays Black women based on stereotypes that are often one-dimensional. Finally, I will analyze Jones' participation in these conversations about her role in *Ghostbusters* and herself on Twitter.

Review of Literature

To understand how my research will contribute to the body of literature that already exists on Black women and their media representation, it is important to first make note of what research already exists. My literature review includes the work of scholars investigating Black women in different spaces, often using Black Feminist Theory. Specifically, my literature review will briefly discuss what is known about the intersectionality of oppressions Black women face and some of the literature that exist on Black women and their representation in the media.

Prior to the release of *Ghostbusters,* Leslie Jones was already known for her roles in other movies as well as her stand-up. Jones is a Black actress and comedian who has a recurring role on SNL and has played in multiple movies such as *Lottery Ticket* and *Top Five.* In July of 2016, Jones made headlines again as she found herself the subject of thousands of tweets after the release of the revamped version of *Ghostbusters* (Silman, 2016). This version now included an all-female cast and Jones was the only Black one. Many thought this movie would be a positive and groundbreaking revamp of the original but it quickly snowballed downhill. Thousands of tweets directly aimed at Jones shed light on the disdain for her role in this movie by negatively discussing her looks, personality and her simple existence (Ukoha, 2016).

My research is important because how Black women are discussed and represented across different forms of media informs many about how they are viewed and understood by society. There has been research done on Black women in media, but much of it relies on a comparison whether it be to their white counterparts or the Black male (Abrams, 2012). The systemic oppression that Black women face is unique because

it is at the intersection at which they exist: being Black and being a woman. Both factors are equally important and to better understand the discrimination that Black women face in media, this intersection of oppression must be explored.

Black Women and Intersectionality

When discussing Black women, it is important to note their unique experiences as being a minority in more than one way. The oppressions that Black women face are a result of being Black but also of being a woman. This simply means that they are members of two different minority groups and the oppressions they face reflect this intersection of race and gender (Collins, 2002).

The way that Black women are oppressed can be seen in the lack of recognition for their achievements and contributions. Rhonda Adams (2008) analyzed the lack of credit given to Black women as it relates to the Black Power movement during the 60s. Even though many of the movements and organizations created during this time were being supported by and involved Black women, Black men were commonly seen as the face of these moments, often acknowledged as the leaders. This pattern of Black women being put on the backburner when being compared to Black men is a common notion that is also seen in the household (Abrams, 2012).

In Jasmine Abrams' (2012) thesis, *Blurring the Lines of Traditional Gender Roles: Beliefs of Black Women,* she recognized the lack of research that used the social role theory and gender scheme theory to discuss how race, gender and class combine to influence the views of gender roles as perceived by Black women. She also noted that much of the research that has been done on gender roles and Black women has been created from the white perspective as to use whites as a point of comparison instead of

solely focusing on Black women. To combat this, Abrams employed the theory of intersectionality to more critically combine those factors of race, gender and class, while examining the views of Black women on gender roles (Abrams, 2012).

In her thesis, Abrams (2012) made note of the common themes among the answers she received about gender roles. The participants, which were all Black women, commonly thought of women as caretakers – having to make sacrifices to care for others as well as the "strong Black woman" stereotypical image. Black men however were providers and heads of the households (Abrams, 2012). This is important because it highlights how Black women think of themselves, as well as their male counterparts. This also speaks to the struggles Black women face in the home by being considered of less importance than the man of the household. Abrams' findings directly correspond to Williams' (2008) research because her work touches on Black women being subservient to Black men once again, but this time, in the household. The answers that Abrams received when surveying Black women show that Black women are thinking of themselves as caretakers and having to make sacrifices, (Abrams, 2012). One of these sacrifices sometimes means not receiving credit.

Black women being put last in their households is a similar concept to that of their lack of representation in the media. Both are instances of Black women not receiving the credit that they deserve. For example, Black women are also found to be underrepresented in popular magazines in the United States. (Alt, et. al., 2015). Using gendered race theory and intersectional invisibility theories, these researchers analyzed six different magazines of different genres to determine whether Asian men and Black women were underrepresented in these magazines. Although this research focused on

Asian men and Black women, the findings on Black women were important to my research. The findings showed that Black women were underrepresented in magazines. In fact, images of Black people at all were more likely to be Black men (Alt et al., 2015). In some ways, this reiterates the 'Black men being head of the household and providers' concept (Abrams, 2012), as well as the notion of Black men being acknowledged for their participation in movements over Black women (Williams, 2008).

Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) recognized the lack of conversation about Black women as it relates to gender and race. Often, the conversation about issues facing Black women pull the "Black" or the "female" card instead of noticing the importance of both at the same time. For example, the conversations that have happened will either point out the hardships Black women face because they are Black, or because they are women. Instead, the conversation should acknowledge how both of those social constructs bring about separate but equally harmful struggles.

When discussing Black women and their oppressions, it is hard for society to think of them without thinking of another group of people to compare them to or while acknowledging their intersection of oppressions. Simply put, it is hard to solely acknowledge the oppressions that Black women face. There is usually a comparison being made or lack of recognition of all aspects (race and gender) that contribute to these oppressions (Crenshaw, 1989). But what is even more damaging than being underrepresented is the notion that *Black women think of themselves in this way.* Black women actively acknowledge their role of having to make sacrifices and leaving certain things to men (Abrams, 2012). It can be hard to understand Black women's perspective

being Black and a woman when they are not being widely represented across different forms of media.

When Black women are represented across different forms of media in repetitive, one-dimensional ways, it often reflects how people perceive them. These controlling images in the form of stereotypes uphold historical meanings that stem from the slave era (Collins, 2002). For example, there is the "mammy" which is the Black woman who takes care of the white family. She is submissive and not able to take care of her own family the way she does the family she works for. The mammy has been present in multiple forms of media such as in the popular movie, *Gone with the Wind* (Collins, 2002). But there are many other stereotypes that Black women face as outlined by Collins throughout Black Feminist Theory. There is the matriarch and she can be described as the exact opposite of the mammy. She is the strong Black woman and sometimes the head of the household. This role usually is seen dominating over her husband and sons and is generally seen as unfeminine (Bowles, 2007). As these persisted across different forms of media, the narrative becomes that these are the only type of Black women that exist (Collins, 2002). It is important to explore and make note of these images and others, because it offers insight as to how Black women are perceived and how we perceive ourselves.

Black Women in the Media

Understanding the literature that already exists about Black women and their media representation is important in contextualizing my research. There has been a significant amount of research concerning Black women and their role in different forms of media. This research has analyzed Black women's role, how they are treated by other

people in these different forms of media, as well as the effects of this. The images that exist of Black women in the media represent a large portion of what people think of when they think of Black women (Ruby, 1988).

Brenda J. Verner conducted a workshop on "The Politics of Combating the Contrived Image of Africana Women in American Media," (Ruby, 1988). In turn, Jennie Ruby (1988) summarized Verner's thoughts in "Off Our Backs," a women's news journal. Verner discussed how Black women deal with the stereotypical images placed upon them by other people. Illustrations of Black women often revealed them as ugly as well as fulfilling the mammy stereotype. Verner went on to discuss multiple images of different races of women, as well as other groups as it relates to their images in the media. But one thing that she discovered was that advertisements, magazine covers and album covers are set up in certain layout schemes. These layouts reveal one person as being the most important or make the audience feel the closest to one subject. Up until the 1950s, the subject of these advertisements was never a Black person, and specifically not a Black woman (Ruby, 1988).

Collins (2002) elaborated on controlling images of Black women in the media when she recognized how the stereotypical images of Black women emerged. Stereotypes such as the mammy or the jezebel have roots in the way Black women were treated by whites during slavery and the Jim Crow era. These stereotypes did not appear out of thin air. When Black women were reduced to behaving a certain way for survival, many times or by force, stereotypes emerged to categorize and control these behaviors (Collins, 2002).

Media are some of the most powerful yet dangerous ways to distribute stereotypical images. It is powerful because the media are mass-produced, reaching a countless number of individuals. This is also dangerous because of the nature of the images being consumed. Ruby (1988) even went as far as to say that media are responsible for how many people learn racist practices. For example, in her analysis of a Prince music video, Ruby (1988) discussed how Prince pointed over a group of Black women to a white woman who he ultimately ended up embracing by the end of the video. This pushes the notion that white women are more important. This common tactic of white women being chosen over Black women is a pattern that Ruby (1988) makes note of in terms of how groups of people are trained to treat other groups of people based on color.

Rana Emerson (2002) used Black Feminist Theory in her research where she analyzed some 56 music videos that included a Black woman. Emerson identified a common factor: the sexualization of the Black female body. Throughout this research, whether they were the artists performing or the model/video vixens, different instances used the body to appeal to the viewer. Most of these women were considered thin by societal standards, with those being bigger or pregnant/mother not seen as attractive. This adds to the notion of size being a factor of what is considered an acceptable form of beauty for Black women. Another limitation that Emerson made the lack of sexual diversity. All women represented in the videos only appeared to be heterosexual (Emerson, 2002).

Just as a certain body image is the standard of beauty for Black women (Emerson, 2002), skin color is also a contributing factor to this standard. A few researchers used

social comparison theory to explore a dilemma within the Black and white youth female community. After using a study to examine the relationship between television exposure and body image, these girls were being bombarded with images in the media that made the ideal women out to be thin, white and blonde (Caruthers, Merriweather, Schooler, Ward, 2004). This research highlighted the idea that size and color are important factors in the media for what is considered beautiful for all women (Caruthers, et. al., 2004).

Researchers initially noted that self-satisfaction would already be harder for Black women/youth specifically. The image of being white and blonde are simply not attainable for this group of people (Caruthers et. al, 2004). However, they found that white women's view of themselves were more so based on mainstream media while those of Black women were related more so to Black-oriented media use. Simply put, the stereotypical image of an ideal woman being white, tall, thin and blonde does not necessarily affect Black women. Reaffirming positive images of Black women in the media helped contribute to a positive sense of self among Black women (Caruthers et. al., 2004). It is also important to note, as it was by these researchers, that this was a very small sample size (Caruthers et. al, 2004). So, though this thought process existed for this research sample, such a small sample size cannot be generalized.

Jennifer Woodard and Teresa Mastin (2005) used Black Feminist Theory and a coding system to look for four dominant stereotypical images of Black women through "Essence" magazines. These were the mammy, the matriarch, the sexual siren and the welfare mother or queen. While looking for images or language to support the existence of these images within different issues of this magazine, Woodard and Mastin (2005) also looked for evidence that either supported or dispelled those stereotypes. Their findings

reflected that these images did exist within "Essence's" issues of magazines but for the most part, the magazine worked diligently to dispel these images whether that be with the language or the context used to surround the image. This showed a clear indication that "Essence" is aware of these stereotypes and puts in effort to dispel them. This is important because although this is only one magazine, it is one of prominence within the Black community that works to actively fight against those stereotypes set in place about Black women (Woodarn & Mastin, 2005). Therefore, when Black women go to view this magazine, they are more likely to see positive images when viewing women who look like them (Woodard & Mastin, 2005).

Movies are another form of media in which the representation of Black women has been studied. R.A. Griffin (2014) took the time to further look at the representation of Black women through a film known as *Precious.* Using Black Feminist Theory and Black feminist spectatorship, Griffin analyzed different scenes within this movie. The main plot is simply this: Precious, the main character, is a dark skinned, overweight teen with many problems. She is being mentally, physically and sexually abused by her mother and her father, has had his children, comes from a very poor background and does not have much education.

When it comes to this movie, it is not as much about Precious herself and what she represents. It is more so about the characters that surround her and what they represent when it comes to their relationship with Precious. Whenever Precious is going through adversity, she often pictures herself to be somewhere else, as someone else, with someone else. These fantasies include her being white, tall and thin with a special appeal to the middle to upper class audience. She also fantasizes about a man of a lighter

complexion. This is one of many instances where we see that the characters who serve as her "heroes" are all light skinned or white with what some sort of education, and a job. These images add to idea that whiteness is the safe space for Precious. Griffins (2014) points out how even though this movie focuses on a Black woman, the focus shifts to the white perspective pointing to the narrative of not being able to recognize Black women without recognizing their counterparts.

Precious is one of many movies that include representation of Black women while upholding some sort of stereotypical role or standard. *Dreamgirls*, a musical film and play, included three characters in a singing group and their rise to stardom. Prominent characters included Jennifer Hudson as 'Effie' and Beyoncé as 'Deena.' Although Effie was a more powerful singer, she was brown skinned, heavy set and at times aggressive. But she was confident in who she was and her voice. In the middle of the movie, Effie who used to be the lead singer was replaced by Deena, who had a more light-hearted voice, but had a slim figure and was light skinned. Deena specifically was chosen to replace Effie because of her appeal to white audiences (McCray, Scholar, Sanchez, Sanchez, 2012). This movie outlined a pattern that Black women with more profitable features or features that appeal to white audiences always advance over those who are brown or dark skinned. They are able to do so by upholding this standard of "lighter" being better (Collins, 2002).

Black women exist in all forms of media, but the way that they are represented adds to the narrative created for Black women. Scholars such as Emerson use BFT in their research to provide background on concepts concerning the stereotypes that Black women face as well as how they are represented in the media. In Emerson's case, she was

elaborated on how Collins identified Black women as being sexualized when she saw that very concept within the music videos she analyzed (Emerson, 2002). The way that Emerson and other scholars applied BFT to their work helped me to decide to use this very theory.

<div align="center">**Theory**</div>

Black Feminist Theory

Many Black feminists have acknowledged the roles Black women play that seldom gain recognition. In fact, in the 1800s, Maria Stewart encouraged Black women to acknowledge that a big part of the poverty Black women faced was due to negative images of Black women and the oppressions they faced when it comes to race, class and gender (Collins, 2002). Patricia Hill Collins – a social theorist, made note of these oppressions and viewpoints made by Black women using the term 'Black Feminist Theory' in 1990 upon the release of her book, Black Feminist Thought – Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment (Collins, 2002).

Collins' *Black Feminist Thought (*2002) helps explain how Black women experience discrimination as it pertains to the intersection of race, class and gender. Black women, their existence, ideas, and contributions have been made largely invisible because of the oppressions they face. Therefore, Black women have always faced a disadvantage in society. These disadvantages are evident in the lack of positions held by Black women both politically and economically, or the lack thereof. These experiences and lack of recognition give Black women a unique standpoint in terms of their experiences of oppression that no other group can identify with (Collins, 2002). As it is more obvious that these disadvantages exist in comparison to white men and women,

Black women also face being at a disadvantage when it comes to their relationship with Black men. Black women are considered the subordinate group (Collins, 2002). Since Black women are the subordinate group, they lack the control and resources necessary to vocalize the difference in their experiences, often leaving the issues Black women face unaddressed. Black Feminist Theory provides a framework to resist oppression by recognizing the intersections of race, gender and class (Collins, 2002).

During enslavement in the U.S., Black women were being denied things such as marriage, citizenship and basic human rights (Collins, 2002). The ability to take care of their own children became more of a job for a selected few rather than a right. Controlling Black women's reproductive rights was an undeniable effort to continue to control them altogether. Black women's bodies were property and slave owners exploited this idea by using their fertility to expand their labor force (Collins, 2002).

The controversy surrounding women's position in the workforce vs. their position at home speaks to gender roles as it relates to BFT. Based on the expectation during past eras where Black women were expected to stay at home and take care of the house and children, instances where women decide to go against this grain and join the workforce face the implication of being "less feminine." On the other hand, Black men in the U.S. were still expected to do much of the work outside of the home. This is not to say that Black men had it "easier" than Black women but the roles they were assigned reflect how Black women are less capable of performing more strenuous work (Collins, 2002).

Although the history of gender roles has remained consistent throughout history, Black women's sexuality is often seen through a narrow viewpoint. It is either ignored altogether or mentioned as a point of comparison to Black men. While this silence is for

several reasons, one of those is the benefit of remaining silent. Black women have steered

away from discussing certain subjects such as Black men raping Black women. When

Black women steer away from addressing certain concepts, a narrative is often created for

them. Meanwhile white women have the opportunity to be more open. If Black women

decided to partake in this, they risk increased sexual violence (Collins, 2002). This

silence may be in the name of protecting their experiences but it also allows sources like

the media to shape their experiences.

Black women's sexuality was also governed by their slave owners. As the owners

tried to create more and more children to use them at their own will, they had to figure

out a way to encourage pregnancy among Black women. To do this, certain techniques

were used such as easier workloads for pregnant women or rewarding them with more

attention and portions (Collins, 2002). Women who could not bear children were deemed

not useful and basically a waste as they were passed from owner to owner. When Black

women in turn became more sexually aggressive, they were then given a stereotype

known as the "jezebel" or a "hoochie." This controlling image of a Black woman has

evolved over time (Collins, 2002). This has been further perpetuated through media.

Media is a pivotal influence in how Black women are viewed simply because of

representation. Across media outlets, there is a history of persistent and controlling

images of Black women, personifying the stereotypes outlined by Collins. These images

are harmful in the fact that they portray the concept of being the only type of Black

women that exist. In this way, media representation of Black women can be misleading

by not outlining Black women and their diversity of existence.

Elena Featherstone once wrote that American-ness is determined by color and Black is not one of them (Collins, 2002). According to Collins, white and Black only carry meaning as they relate to one another. Black women face unachievable beauty standards because the main standard is being white. These standards are upheld by white men, women, Black men and Black women (Collins, 2002). Middle-class Blacks and women do not necessarily face as much institutionalized racism as working-class Blacks. So, although middle-class and working-class Black women share many of the same struggles, the working-class experience a unique form of oppression as they directly face racism implemented by whites (Collins, 1990, p.28).

Division among Black women also comes in the form of colorism as a direct result of this sort of racism that manifests itself through celebrating white beauty standards. Colorism within the community of Black women divides "light skinned" and "dark skinned," favoring the first. This is largely due to the fact that light skinned is closer to being white, a standard of beauty that is not achievable for everyone. As women from both groups are treated, valued and ridiculed differently, this further divides the community of Black women. Hair texture and length also play a key role in a division that creates a struggle within the community of Black women (Collins, 2002). This division stemmed from the slavery era and has persisted throughout history. When we see trends like this still existing to this day, it is clearer how stereotypes of Black women have persisted.

Rupe Simms (2001) used Black Feminist Theory to analyze context and themes surrounding the formation of three stereotypical images: the mammy, the jezebel and the mule. She argues that these images helped slave owners to remain in control of their

female slaves (Simms, 2001). Simms also discussed how these images kept Black women confined as they continued to "know their place" while conforming to these stereotypical images. She analyzed different avenues such as religion and politics and law during the slave era to examine the presence of each of these controlling images. Although media during this era was very different from what we have, Simms research reiterates how media can either maintain or tear down stereotypical images of Black women (Simms, 2001).

Black women in media contributed to how Black women were viewed post-slavery. Oppressing images and roles for Black women continued to exist, including the "Mammy," the 'bad Black woman' or 'matriarch' and the previously mentioned jezebel. The mammy is the Black woman who takes care of a white family. She steps in as another mother for the children in the white family and takes care of them as though they are her own. The mammy often faced the critique of putting her white family before her own (Collins, 2002).

On the other hand, the "bad Black woman" controlling image consists of a Black woman who decides to be more active in her work and is automatically plagued with the idea of not being able to take care of her own children because of her dedication to her work. Different avenues reiterate these images such as media, music, and government agencies (Collins, 2002).

Although Collins and numerous other scholars have explored the realm of stereotypical images surrounding Black women, as the media have advanced so has the number of stereotypes that Black women face. Images such as the mammy and jezebel have origins that stem from the slavery era, but there are other controlling images that

have been created since then. In 2007, John P. Bowles went to further investigate a phenomenon known as Adrian Piper's Mythic Being. In the 70s, Piper (a Black woman) began to dress as a persona known as the Mythic Being, where she portrayed a Black man with a mustache, Agro and a cigar hanging from the corner of her mouth. Piper noted that when she would take on this persona, she would notice specifically how white women would clutch their purses or try to distance themselves (Bowles, 2007). This points to Black masculinity being a concept that incites fear among white women.

These concepts and stereotypes are explored across different forms of media by multiple scholars. These scholars use BFT to explain the origins of these stereotypes and how the way that Black women are perpetuated in the media reflect perceptions of Black women. BFT will guide my research by helping me to understand the ways in which Black women have been discussed and conceptualized in media. BFT provides context and language that will help me identify if any of the stereotypes that have persisted throughout history are being applied to Black women on Twitter. More specifically, BFT will guide how I investigate how Leslie Jones was being discussed on Twitter surrounding the release of *Ghostbusters*.

Methods

Qualitative Content Analysis

Using a qualitative content analysis (QCA), this study analyzed tweets about Leslie Jones and her role in *Ghostbusters* to explore how Black women were being discussed on Twitter. A qualitative content analysis is a type of research method that allows the researcher to interpret content of text through the process of coding and/or identifying themes and patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This method focuses on

language while paying special attention to the content and meaning of the text (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Qualitative content analyses are different from its counterpart, the quantitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis goes beyond counting words and phrases to identify themes and patterns (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2016). Although the quantitative content analysis is more commonly used in mass communication research (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2016), the qualitative content analysis is just as important in the field for various reasons.

Qualitative content analyses are important in mass communication research because of the attention to detail and their ability to identify themes and patterns. One concept in the mass communication and journalism field is media representation. This simply refers to how certain concepts, ideas, and most importantly people, are perpetuated by the media. Are the representations accurate and realistic? Or, do they maybe depict an image that we do not commonly associate with that concept? This method then becomes important in helping researchers analyze how people and concepts are being represented by addressing underlying issues within the text, such as language and implications. Qualitative content analysis was also important to my research because of its ability to allow me to analyze anomalies. While it is important to make note of patterns and themes found among tweets by analyzing tweets with high engagement, it was just as important to include those tweets that gained no activity, but used language pointing to specific stereotypes and concepts as outlined by Black Feminist Theory (BFT).

For my research, I analyzed tweets that discussed Leslie Jones and the movie *Ghostbusters*. This will add to the research about Black women and media representation

on social media, more specifically Twitter. As previously stated, Leslie Jones was subject to harassment on Twitter surrounding the release of the revamped *Ghostbusters*.

To analyze these tweets, I identified themes and patterns within conversations about Leslie Jones on Twitter. These themes and patterns are outlined by different events on Twitter about Leslie Jones (LJ) and/or Ghostbusters. Black Feminist Theory guided my analysis by providing me with background and explanations to help identify language pointing to specific stereotypes that concern Black women.

Data Collection

To collect the tweets I needed for my research, I used the Twitter Advanced Search. This is a search engine created by Twitter where anybody can enter specific search terms, phrases or hashtags and find public tweets. Advanced Twitter Search allows Twitter users to specify who is mentioned in these tweets, the location the tweets are pulled from and most importantly, dates and time periods. Users can also determine if they would like certain phrases to not be included within the search request.

Using this search engine, I input two search terms and one Twitter handle: Leslie Jones, Leslie Jones Ghostbusters, and @lesdoggg (LJ's Twitter handle). I conducted a search for each search term and handle by itself. This means that I analyzed tweets that returned from the first search term, the second search term and the Twitter handle. I pulled tweets from the day that the first trailer for *Ghostbusters* went up on YouTube, which was March 3, 2016. I went on to analyze tweets through the end of opening weekend, which was July 22, 2016. This was also a few days after Jones decided to deactivate her account (Silman, 2016). For each search term and handle, I conducted three searches. On the first time, I briefly looked at the tweets that returned from the

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search and if there was anything that stuck out to me whether that be because of the nature of the tweet or because of a topic being visited multiples times, I made note of it. On the second search of each search term, I began to make note of patterns within hashtags and headlines of articles. This helped identify what topics and events were commonly tweeted about multiple times. On the third search, I began to look for tweets that subscribe to the stereotypes outlined by Black Feminist Thought - mammy, jezebel, matriarch. I also looked for tweets that subscribed to any other stereotypes about Black women. These stereotypes may have not been outlined within BFT.

My research goals include:

1. Investigate how the Leslie Jones controversy was discussed on Twitter surrounding the release of *Ghostbusters*

2. Identify the use of, if any, stereotypes or tropes as outlined by BFT about Leslie Jones

3. Analyze Jones' participation on Twitter about herself throughout the *Ghostbusters* promotion, release and controversy

Analysis

My research aims to investigate the conversation about Leslie Jones surrounding the release of the revamped *Ghostbusters*. My analysis includes tweets from March 3, 2016 to July 22, 2016. I organized my analysis chronologically as to emphasize the importance of time to certain themes and conversations that were happening at specific times. I organized the analysis using four time periods within the total period marked by significant events that generated buzz on Twitter or by select tweets distinct to my research goals. My time periods are as follows:

- The Trailer - March 3-April 25

- The Telemarketer - April 26-June 8

- The Dress - June 9-July 14

- Deactivation - July 15-July 22

The Trailer

The beginning of this first period is marked by the release of the first trailer for

the revamped *Ghostbusters* on YouTube. Twitter users viewed this trailer and to share

their reactions to it. It is important to note that this is the very first day that advertisement

for this movie was released to the public (RT Staff, 2016).

> **Jermaine** 🏳️‍🌈 @jermainedesign
>
> I enjoyed the #Ghostbusters trailer, it looks like loads of fun. But why isn't Leslie Jone's character a scientist, too? Tropes ain't cool.
>
> 9:12 AM - Mar 3, 2016

In this tweet, the Twitter user was making note of Leslie Jones and her role in the

movie on the same day that the first trailer was released. This user is pointing out how

Jones role may be different than her other co-stars. McCarthy, Wiig and McKinnon all

play scientists while Jones plays a Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) worker.

Black Feminist Theory helps explain how Black women occupy spaces as leaders.

However, that notion does not always translate into images and roles in media (Collins,

2002). That tweet was retweeted 7 times and liked 14 times and generated conversation

following the tweet. One user pointed out that Jones' role was mirroring that of Ernie

Hudson - as he played the one Black male Ghostbuster in the original 1984 *Ghostbusters*

and he was not a scientist either. Nonetheless, the Twitter user that initiated the

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conversation by pointing out that Jones' role was different than her co-stars replied to that response in this way:

Prince Jermaine 🐦 @jermainedesign 3 Mar 2016

@3BlackGeeks Even so, on it's own merit, they could've done something different. It stands out a lot--considering the other leads are white.

In this tweet, this user points out that this movie could have been different and provides one of the first instances of the recognition of differences among cast members based on race. The one black main character in this movie is the one with a job title that is seemingly less esteemed than her white counterparts. Black Feminist Theory points to race and gender inequality as contributing factors to Black women's ranking across different job fields. We see that Black women are largely seen in positions that are less than White males (Collins, 2002). A user pointing this out says that users recognize this pattern of Black women fulfilling roles of less importance than their counterparts.

Other users made note of this notion about Jones role in the movie. She replied to the backlash only one day after the first trailer was released.

Leslie Jones
✔ @Lesdoggg

Why can't a regular person be a ghostbuster. Im confused. And why can't i be the one who plays them i am a performer. Just go see the movie!

12:10 AM - Mar 4, 2016

Here, we see that Jones tries to deflect the conversations about race. Collins (2002) recognized that Black women's way of coping with oppressions comes in the form of looking for a voice on behalf of all Black women. So here, it is interesting to see Jones make the most of her individuality as a Black woman

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and not address the situation with a need to defend herself, but rather avoiding the topic at hand.

Conversations about Jones and her role in Ghostbusters could be found under all three search terms between March 4-5, 2016. Shortly after that whole situation surrounding Jones role and her co-star's roles and the tweets that followed, there was conversation concerning allegations about the casting of the movie. Multiple sources reported that Jones' role in *Ghostbusters* was originally written for co-star, Melissa McCarthy (Lawler, 2016; Dornbush, 2016).

> **The A.V. Club**
>
> ✔ @TheAVClub
>
> Leslie Jones' Ghostbusters role was originally written for Melissa McCarthy http://avc.lu/1P2vlrD
>
> 4:30 PM - 10 Mar 2016

The director of the revamped *Ghostbusters,* Paul Feig, revealed that when he was writing the script, the role of Patty Tolan (played by Leslie Jones) was originally meant for Melissa McCarthy (Hewitt, 2016). But when casting began, his image of who was to play the role of Patty Tolan changed. He went on to talk about how he had already seen McCarthy embrace larger than life roles. He was a fan of SNL, so he was familiar with Leslie Jones' appearances on the show. In fact, in an interview he exclusively did for Empire Movies he stated, "She's one of my favourite people on the planet….I don't normally like comedy that's big and loud, but she is able to pull that off in a way that feels real and it's her," (Hewitt, 2016). The words big and loud to describe Jones address a narrative that is often associated with Black women. Although he did not mention angry, the big and loud personality aligns with the sapphire. The sapphire is the Black

woman who is loud and stubborn, overbearing and sassy (Pilgrim, 2012). There were

hundreds of tweets sharing this story as it made headlines. This was the topic of hundreds

of tweets for a few weeks in March, as he revealed these thoughts on March 9, 2016

(Hewitt, 2016).

By the end of the month, Jones continued to be the subject of thousands of tweets.

This time, users began to point out how Jones was listed so far down on the cast section

of iMdb's website. iMdb is a site used to list information about movies including the cast,

director and release date. Many Twitter users thought that the list of cast members was

supposed to be in order of importance, meaning that main cast members are at the top and

as the list dwindles down, so does the prominence of said cast member. Twitter users

then used this assumption to reference how Leslie Jones' role was important, yet she was

not listed with the other main cast members on their iMdb page.

> **ThomRog1621** @ThomRog1621 29 Mar 2016
> How come Leslie Jones is listed far down in Cast section of the
> #Ghostbusters @imdb page? Isn't she one of the primary stars?
> @SonyPictures

This tweet displays one of the instances where users directly mentioned iMDb to

inquire about Jones listing on the iMDb page. Users wanted to know why Jones was

listed so far down if she was a main character. Throughout the following month, other

tweets suggested that this lack of accreditation may have insinuated how her role was not

important enough to be listed with her fellow Ghostbusters. According to iMDb's Help

Page, credits are listed in the order in which they appear on the screen. The truth of the

matter is that it has nothing to do with a character's importance in the film, although main

characters are usually first to appear, that is not always the case (iMDb, 2018). An example of this is with Jones' role in *Ghostbusters.* Black women do occupy spaces of prominence in real life - politically, in the job field - but once again, this does not always translate into the media (Collins, 2002). When users thought that the cast section was in order of prominence, this pointed to a typical condition and even expectation of Black women not receiving their credit when it is due.

Although the main topics of tweets throughout March were about the release of the first trailer and the reveal of Jones role originally being for Melissa McCarthy, there were also isolated instances of tweets that directly spoke to stereotypes as outlined by BFT. Many tweets also used language descriptive of stereotypes that are not outlined by BFT but apply to Black people in general. In the following tweet, language of the "coon" stereotype is used.

> **Crystal Methanny** @RafiDAngelo 7 Mar 2016
>
> **Ghostbusters** Official Trailer, feat. Leslie Coon…I mean **Leslie Jones** | SLTA___
> http://soletstalkabout.com/post/140635111995/ghostbusters-official-trailer-feat-leslie-cooni …
> (.__.)

Immediately, this tweet displays a common stereotype associated with Black people know as the coon. This stereotype has roots dating back to slavery and was used to describe a Black man who was lazy, dumb and good for nothing (Pilgrim, 2012). This stereotype was also perpetuated by the image of an individual doing things, such as eating watermelon, stealing and not being able to speak properly (Pilgrim, 2012). Although this stereotype specifically is not outlined within BFT, it points to a similar

trope - the sapphire. The sapphire portrays Black women as loud, stubborn and overbearing. The coon is like the sapphire in the fact that both stereotypes are often seen as caricatures within the media.

The end of this first period is marked by the release of three new posters for the movie on April 25, 2016. Each main character had their own poster including Jones. The release of these posters was followed by many tweets, with the first tweet earning 28 retweets and 52 likes.

> **Looper** @looper 25 Apr 2016
> Three new Ghostbusters character posters revealed, of Kristen Wiig, Kate McKinnon, and Leslie Jones

The Telemarketer

The first part of this time-period is marked by users still discussing the absence of Jones on the iMdb page. On May 25, the cast made an appearance on the Ellen Show. Here, Jones admitted to once being a scientology telemarketer and the topic instantly began to generate thousands of tweets with headlines pointing out that LJ used to be a scientology telemarketer.

> **Sitara Raqs** @TheDancingGeek_ 25 May 2016 More
> Hilarious! "**Leslie Jones**' **Ghostbusters** Castmates Lose It When She Recounts Her Days as a Scientology Telemarketer" jezebel.com/leslie-jones-g_____
> _____…

The common theme present throughout tweets about this appearance on Ellen displays how audiences were surprised by Leslie Jones' career path as a scientology telemarketer. Black women are historically portrayed to work jobs that are either domestic in nature or involve serving others by essentially having to clean up after them

(Collins, 2002). Therefore, users being surprised that Jones was once in a field pertaining to scientology speaks to how Black women are often seen in more domestic jobs (Abrams, 2012; Collins, 2002). Not to mention that when it comes to Black women in general, there has been a history of Black women being labeled unfit for positions in the science field (Collins, 2002). This once again speaks to the history of how it was rare to see Black women exist in spaces outside of more domestic jobs.

Although May did not have as many major events that made headlines and translated into topics for tweets, I did come across a series of tweets detailing users' opinions about Jones and her role in the movie. They did not generate much activity as far as retweets and likes, but many of these tweets mention stereotypes that Collins pointed out as some of the controlling images of Black women.

> **@JRyanLA** 3 May 2016
>
> Can't wait to see Leslie Jones be over-the-top loud in the new Ghostbusters movie. That is also sarcasm. Loud doesn't equal funny.

This tweet directly perpetuates the sapphire stereotype when the user refers to Leslie Jones as "over-the-top loud." The sapphire is often associated with being loud, rude and the angry Black woman. This user acknowledged Jones and her loudness, especially emphasizing how excessive it is. This language is consistent with the sapphire stereotype by emphasizing the loud characteristic.

> **Asshole** @Angryman85 21 May 2016
> The only thing true to the original ghostbusters is that Leslie jones looks like Ernie Hudson

This tweet stands out because it is one of the times that a user explicitly mentions the original Ghostbusters in comparison to the revamped one. Ernie Hudson was in the

original Ghostbusters and played the role of the only Black ghostbuster - the same

concept as Leslie Jones. Furthermore, this user goes on to say that Jones resembles him,

suggesting that Jones looks like a man. Collins (2002) details a few stereotypes of Black

women that paints them as masculine and/ or unfeminine such as the matriarch and

mammy.

> **Paul King** @TreyKing88 29 May 2016
> Did **Leslie Jones** finish all her scenes before she got shot at the zoo?
> Will this affect the film at all?
> **#Ghostbusters**

In BFT, Collins (2002) stated that Black women's sexual appetite is often

compared to apes. This tweet labels Jones as an ape. The fact that Black women are being

worked, sold and used for profit also reflect mule-like qualities associating them with

animals (Collins, 2002).

These tweets comparing Jones to a zoo animal or calling her a coon show a

glimpse of instances where users pointed out certain aspects/opinions of Jones that reflect

stereotypes about Black women. Towards the end of this time period, users could see a

different side of Jones when she graced the cover of Elle Magazine in June (Reed, 2016).

The entire main cast each had their own cover for this edition, but Jones was praised for

not only her looks, but her journey in the industry thus far by fans, and even other

celebrities.

> **Comedy Hype** @ComedyHype_ 8 Jun 2016 More
> **Leslie Jones** and cast of **Ghostbusters** cover @ELLE, Comedians like
> @LoniLove praise Jones http://bitly.com/1ZxLNaF

For Jones to be compared to animals, men and singled out for being too loud, the praise she received for this cover shows how people acknowledged her more glamorous side. It seems that they could praise her once she was seen in a more feminine light. The mammy, matriarch and bad black woman stereotypes outline the more aggressive, unfeminine, ugly narrative painted for Black women (Collins, 2002). As we recognize the importance of these images being repetitive both in the media and throughout different institutions, we see how this one instance of a Black woman seen in a more soft and feminine light is celebrated.

The Dress

As it got closer to the premiere of the movie, the red carpets began to roll out for special showings of the movie. Jones tweeted at the end of June to express how no one had reached out to her to dress her for the premiere of the movie.

Leslie Jones Verified account @lesdoggg 28 June 2016

> It's so funny how there are no designers wanting to help me with a premiere dress for movie. Hmmm that will change and I remember everything

The tweet's engagement generated over 1,000 retweets and close to 5,000 likes. Within an hour, designer Christian Siriano who had won *Project Runway* tweeted back a few hand waving emojis marking the first designer to reach out to Jones pertaining to a design for the premiere. Jones did make it to the L.A. premiere wearing Siriano's design just two weeks after the tweet.

E! Australia & NZ Verified account @EOnlineAU 12 Jul 2016
Leslie Jones turned heads at the "Ghostbusters" **premiere** after finding the perfect designer http://eonli.ne/29IPTy0

It is important to note the significance of this. Jones was one of the main characters in a movie set to hit theaters nationwide. Yet, no designer had reached out to her. Some of the responses to Jones' plea from other users made note of how her size played a huge role in the lack of designer's willingness to reach out to her. Tweets about her size being the issue help show how Black women are expected to maintain a certain in for to be accepted by designers. This is just one example of how Black women are expected to maintain a perfect body image to be treated like others.

Deactivation

This period is the shortest, but the most controversial because it was during this time that Jones made many headlines, not for the film, but the reaction to the film on Twitter. On July 15, 2016, *Ghostbusters* premiered nationwide. Many users praised the film and Jones' role specifically.

> **Sara Buchan** @SaraBuchan 15 Jul 2016
> New **Ghostbusters** is really good. **Leslie Jones** is EPIC.□□👏

> **PJ Montgomery** @PJMontgomery 15 Jul 2016
> Really enjoyed Ghostbusters. It wasn't perfect, but it is worthy of the Ghostbusters name. Leslie Jones and Chris Hemsworth stole it for me.

> **Hira Bluestone** @hirablue 15 Jul 2016
> Loved ghostbusters - Kristen Wiig and Leslie Jones killed it. Only thing missing was a proper tribute to #HaroldRamis

Many users supported Jones and her cast mates. However, some Twitter users were her biggest critics.

> **Razz King** @vertical_tiger 15 Jul 2016

I didn't even think the old Ghostbusters was that good. Now, you rehash it with Leslie Jones in a lead role? That's so many strikes.

Dora MilAshley @tokenblackchick 15 Jul 2016

#Ghostbusters bone of contention i could use 100% less of leslie jones sassy stereotype schtick. I love her, just not that ok OK HOLLYWOOD?

The controversy did not really begin to make headlines and become the topic of thousands of tweets until July 18 when Jones began to tweet about some of the racist tweets she had been receiving about herself.

Milo Yiannopoulos joined the conversation on Twitter by tweeting his thoughts on Jones and the movie. Yiannopoulos is an associate editor of a conservative news website called Breitbart. He had a following of about 300,000 users on Twitter. On July 18, he tweeted about Jones and her role in Ghostbusters. Although his Twitter account was suspended, I located some screenshots of his tweets.

the
If at first you don't succeed (because your work is terrible), play victim.
EVERYONE GETS HATE MAIL FFS https://t.co/W572qB4Vqw

— Milo Yiannopoulos ひ ✘ (@Nero) July 18, 2016

Barely literate. America needs better schools!
https://t.co/cCAEI5Ks7wpic.twitter.com/BIYVbBq0Ln

— Milo Yiannopoulos ひ ✘ (@Nero) July 18, 2016

A large part of Milo's influence on Twitter was due to his large following. His tweets generated hundreds and thousands of retweets and likes, even prompting some of his followers to mention Jones in racist tweets. As a white male, Milo's ability to occupy

spaces and exercise his agency far past that of the Black woman is shown through his harassment towards Jones.

Jones responded to the backlash from Yiannopoulos and users in general about their racist remarks. Jones participated in the conversation herself to reveal her thoughts about the different racist and stereotypical remarks. After a few tweets, she deleted her account due to the harassment she had been receiving.

> ✔ @Lesdoggg
>
> Ok I have been called Apes, sent pics of their asses,even got a pic with semen on my face. I'm tryin to figure out what human means. I'm out
>
> 1:45 PM - Jul 18, 2016 · Manhattan, NY
>
> I leave Twitter tonight with tears and a very sad heart.All this cause   I did a movie.You can hate the movie but the sh*t I got today...wrong
> 11:20 PM - Jul 18, 2016 · Manhattan, NY

The movie had just been released three days prior and by July 18, Jones was leaving Twitter because of the backlash she received that extended past criticism of her movie role but also attacked aspects of her appearance and personality. Jones detailed her emotional state in her response to the controversy on Twitter, and it was an example of how Black women revealing sad emotions when she reacted to how she was being discussed on Twitter. Collins points out that Black women tend to be labeled with being passionate and emotional in nature to deal with problems and Jones' thoughts about the controversy speaks to this (Collins, 2002).

Nonetheless, Jones was back on Twitter by July 21, 2016.

Daryl Hall @thedealcenter

My findings reveal that these stereotypes about Black women exist on Twitter when it comes to Leslie Jones. The presence of these stereotypes on Twitter reveal that when it comes to media representation of Black women, stereotypes do not always apply to a character or actress' role. Twitter users applied these stereotypes to talk about Jones herself. These stereotypes not only exist for fictional characters in different forms of media but to actual Black women in the media. And, her response to these tweets reveal an example of how Black women cope with these oppressions.

Discussion

It is important for me to remember how I became interested in this topic. Of course, I was already familiar with Jones' work as a comedian and actress and had been following her on Twitter for quite some time. But more importantly, I identify with her in being a Black woman. This further developed my personal connection and investment into exploring how she was discussed on Twitter. I saw firsthand how a Black woman was discussed on Twitter and see how she not only reacted with these discussions but her interaction as well.

Black Feminist Theory guided my analysis of Leslie Jones and the media representation of Black women. Not only was I able to identify language that pointed to these controlling images or concepts outlined within the theory, but also, I was able to explain exactly what these findings meant to the bigger picture. Black women are still being associated with these stereotypes. Therefore, it seems that the narrative is still being controlled and told in a way that highlights Black women in one-dimensional ways.

The goals of my research were to investigate how the Leslie Jones controversy was discussed on Twitter surrounding the release of *Ghostbusters* and identify the use of stereotypes about LJ during this controversy. I also wanted to analyze Jones' participation on Twitter about herself throughout the promotion, release and controversy of the *Ghostbusters.*

When I investigated how Leslie Jones and the controversy was discussed on Twitter, I could see a few things. Conversations about Jones when it came to *Ghostbusters* began as soon as the first trailer was released. This shows that the conversations about LJ persisted from the beginning of my selected time period right down to the last day of opening week. From the beginning, I saw that users immediately began to recognize the difference in race and the possible implications of this. While this aesthetic of one Black character versus multiple white counterparts is central to the older version of *Ghostbusters* as well, Twitter users saw Jones' role as an issue. This was just the tip of the iceberg as the tweets about LJ and *Ghostbusters* continued throughout the summer.

Further along, I was able to see an instance of Black women being expected to fulfill certain job roles. In fact, when LJ revealed that she went against this by being a scientology telemarketers, Twitter users were in shock. The topic of tweets revealed that many were surprised that LJ had a job in that field which speaks to the consistency of Black women in other typical job fields that are generally more domestic in nature.

My most consistent Twitter findings were those that lie within the anomalies in the form of tweets that did not exactly follow the most tweeted about topics. Twitter users used language that supported controlling images of Black women from the moment

advertisement for the movie began. There were comparisons of Jones to animals and men as well as language that outlined her to fulfill the sapphire stereotype. Twitter is yet another platform where the way that Black women are perpetuated does not accurately reflect reality. This is damaging to how Black women are viewed as a whole even though I just looked at Leslie Jones because once again, the way one party is represented in the media can affect how one sees them in real life.

My research is important for a few reasons. My analysis revealed that the stereotypes associated with Black women that help to control the narrative of them were used to discuss LJ personally and about her role in *Ghostbusters.* Although these tweets did not reveal language or direct uses of every stereotype, there were multiple uses of the sapphire, coon, and the matriarch/bad black woman. Though Jones is just one woman, Black Feminist Theory recognizes that the experiences of Black women individually are different. However, it is their collective experiences that contribute to the overall experiences of Black women. Jones' experience on Twitter during this controversy contributes to the narrative of the oppressions Black women face.

I was also able to see different instances of Jones participation on Twitter. This shows that she could see some of the tweets directed towards her and respond accordingly. I could see her defend herself as well as deflect important conversations on race. This speaks to the different ways that Black women deal with the oppressions they face and more specifically, how Jones dealt with facing these tweets on Twitter.

Conclusion

The literature that already exists about stereotypes in media of Black women on television, movies, magazines and music videos is vast. Comparatively, studies of

stereotypes on social media are new. My research extends research about stereotypes about representation and the discussion of Black women across different social media platforms. My research is an effort to explore whether stereotypes and tropes established over centuries still exist on a day to day basis when we look at how Black women are being discussed on Twitter.

Leslie Jones is just one woman and this was just reviewing tweets over one period. This incident happened and 2016 and Twitter has continued and expanded so much since then. There could be a completely different tone concerning the conversation about Leslie Jones on Twitter. It would be interesting to do a comparison to my analysis to see how tweets about LJ have changed since then.

My research supports what has already been discovered about Black women. The oppressions they face as well as the controlling images that contribute to these oppressions were present when it came to Leslie Jones and Twitter. We must recognize that the presence of these controlling images on another form of media about another Black woman contributes to the way people think of Black women. Once this has been acknowledged, we can begin to about how changes these images of Black women in the media will begin to change the perception on them altogether.

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