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“Black Feminism and Hip Hop: A Cross Generational Disconnect”

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Abstract

Using the 1993 National Black Politics Study, this project employs bivariate and multivariate analyses to investigate the impact of strength of feminism on the likelihood of listening to rap music among black women. Contributing one of the very first statistically grounded arguments to the largely theoretical discourse in the emergent epistemology of Hip Hop Feminism, this research shows that age mediates the aforementioned relationship by positively corresponding with strength of feminism and negatively corresponding with the likelihood of listening to rap music. These findings suggest that, in addition to a more recent study that allows this relationship to be assessed in a contemporary context (which acknowledges Black feminist consciousness as more than a biological phenomenon), a cross-generational dialogue is also crucial to revealing a collective identity, and to birthing and sustaining a sociocultural and political movement which fosters the change for which both Black feminists and young people have cried out.
“Black Feminism and Hip Hop: A Cross-Generational Dis connect”

Introduction

Art is a form of expression, an instrument of protest, a product of advocacy, and a means of creating social change by fomenting awareness within the community; it can reveal the historical and contemporary effects of inequality while underscoring the need for change and proposing possible solutions (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). In a decade during which “post-racial” propaganda and tensions abound obfuscating reality, there is exigent need for the social injustice incessantly inflicted upon the African American community to be re-exposed (Wise, 2010). Various illustrations of such wrongs exist in the inherently discriminatory nature of institutional policies and procedures, both historically and contemporarily, in family, class, education, occupation, and housing systems (Dill, 2011; Lui, 2011; Pager, Western, & Bonikowski, 2011; Shapiro, 2011). The legacy of racial inequality still “extracoercively” (e.g., psychologically, emotionally, and socially) asphyxiates many Black citizens of America (Shapiro, 2011; Wise, 2010). However, one means of inciting this necessary transformation lies in educating the Black community, namely especially the youth. Accordingly, this effort may prove most effective if they are met on their own terms—if the artistic culture of their generation, hip hop, is actively and intellectually engaged (Brown, 2008).

The composition of the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s supports this proposition. The ideas of the intellectual community inspired the music, art, and literature of the time (and vice versa) as both forms strove to convey the political and socio-cultural message of the New Negro Movement. In the pivotal 1925 text that embodied the movement, The New Negro, Alain Locke (1997) illustrates both the impetus for and aims of the Harlem Renaissance:
For generations the Negro has been the peasant matrix of that section of the America which has most undervalued him…the releasing of our talented group from the arid fields of controversy and debate to the productive fields of creative expression…should in turn prove the key to that revaluation of the Negro which must precede or accompany any considerable further betterment of race relationships. (p. 15)

This movement fomented unity through mutual appreciation: the artistic for the intellectual sphere and the intellectual for the artistic one. The Harlem Renaissance essentially facilitated a much-needed self-definition and recreation of the collective African American identity.¹ The community stood together against the stereotypical misrepresentations and began to define their own culture and experience through self-expression. Moreover, other Americans (who typically spoke for as opposed to with them) finally had no choice but to recognize the voices of African American citizens.

Even still, in 2011, the impetuses for that movement persist in the myriad misrepresentations of Black life, especially Black womanhood, in American popular culture. The need for African American recreation and self-definition increases as the “four controlling images” of Black womanhood (the mammy, the matriarch, the Jezebel, and the welfare queen) are incessantly reasserted and reinforced in the media and, therein, perceptually in American society (Collins, 2000). These images continually threaten the self-esteem of Black women of tomorrow by silently advocating for “internalized oppression” today (Collins, 2000, p. 12). Many intellectual feminists have spent their lives writing and speaking of these perils, but their words often seem to have fallen deaf on the ears of the African American community and especially on the ears of young Black girls who need to hear it most. Therefore, despite the lack of momentum

¹ Although some may argue that the women were not fully represented in the constructed identity of the Harlem Renaissance, the theoretical argument of this study rest upon the forcefulness and effectiveness of this intellectual-artistic union.
associated with Black feminism in this modern context, these images and their impressions on
the self and the youth necessitate a unified movement that encompasses the fundamental
principles of feminism and the artistic and influential nature of hip hop.

However, Black women are often cited by scholars as the object or “mule” of the hip hop
industry (Kitwana, 2003; Watkins, 2006). An understanding of Black women’s relationship with
hip hop may oppose or support the existence of a cross-ideological dialogue, which will
contribute knowledge of what barriers or foundations are in place that might prevent or promote
present-day intellectual and artistic unity. In essence, if a divide exists between the Black
feminist and hip hop communities, the findings will create new knowledge that will be essential
to repairing this rift. If unity exists, the findings may encourage others to take the sympathetic or
otherwise Black feminist perspective into account when critiquing hip hop, which might foster
more support for a union. This study specifically examines Black feminists’ perceptions (whose
fundamental beliefs often starkly contrast with the purported notions of Black womanhood in hip
hop) as an extreme microcosmic case that might represent a magnified version of the seemingly
tense relationship between hip hop and the intellectual community.²

Therefore, using the 1993 National Black Politics Study, this research investigates the
impact of the strength of feminism on the likelihood of Black women to listen to rap music.
Some research has been conducted on race and gender using this data (Calhoun-Brown, 1999;
Simien & Clawson, 2004); however, none of these studies have focused on this specific
relationship. Similarly, many studies have focused on the culture and history of hip hop (Chang,
2005; Forman & Neal, 2004; Rose, 1994; Watkins, 2006). In addition, many feminist scholars

² Thus, as opposed to investigating the differences between feminists and non-feminists, this study focuses on a
dichotomous measure of the strength of feminism (either as a “strong” or “not so strong” feminist) among African
American women who self-identify as “feminists.” (That is, non-feminists are without the scope of this analysis; the
sample for this study is solely comprised of “feminists.”)
have written on the subject of hip hop, expressing their relationship with it alongside a vast array of perspectives (Collins, 2006; Morgan, 1999, 2000; Pough, 2007; Rabaka, 2011; Rose, 1991, 1992, 1994). Nonetheless, very few have quantitatively grounded their theoretical arguments regarding the African American expressive art and sociocultural movement that is hip hop (Weitzer & Kubrin, 2009), and even fewer, if any, have used statistical information to perform an analysis of Black feminists’ relationships with hip hop.

It may be presumed that the stronger the feminist, the less the likelihood of listening to rap music due to the afforded representations of hip hop that often seem to conflict with the primary principles that underlie many feminist ideologies. However, age cohort may be an intervening socio-demographic variable which explains the relationship between strength of feminism and likelihood of listening to rap. If age were to mediate the relationship between strength of feminism, and the likelihood of listening to rap, these findings would also highlight a disconnect between the feminist elders of the Black community and the younger Black women of the hip hop generation. While personal preference of the participants would be an arguable factor, this mediation would also be indicative of a lack of communication and of cross-generational dialogue between women within the Afro-American community.

**Literature Review**

After the feminist as well as the Black Nationalist movements proved inadequate, Black feminism was born out of the necessity for Black women to voice their lived experiences at the intersection of race and gender discrimination, as neither of the aforementioned movements had (hooks, 1981). That is, Black feminism acknowledged the fact that being Black and being a woman created a “matrix of domination” in which systems of oppression (such as racism,
sexism, and often times classism) are interconnected and are simultaneously enacted upon a Black woman (Collins, 2000). Many have defined Black feminists, not simply as women of African descent, but as those who have some sense of Black feminist ideology to which they ascribe (hooks, 1981; Smith, 2000). One of the significant premises of the theory is that African American womanhood is a collective or shared experience, linking each woman in the Diaspora to the others within societies that vilify Black womanhood (Collins, 2000). Very specific issues were historically and are contemporarily faced by women of color within American society and abroad (Davis, 1990). It is plausible, then, that this “crisis” of Black womanhood connects women not only transnationally, but also transgenerationally.

Black feminism calls for a struggle to redefine the self in the face of prevailing stereotypical representations that are deleterious to the Black youth (Brown, 2008; Collins, 2000). The mammy, the matriarch, the welfare mother (or queen), and the jezebel are considered to be the four most perpetuated and oversimplified images of Black womanhood against which Black feminists have toiled to dispel (Collins, 2000). External ideological forces, such as the American standard of Euro-centricity and particularly “the cult of true womanhood” (to which Black women have historically been denied access), are cited as roots of internal identity conflicts (Collins, 2000). Therefore, “identity politics” are often discussed in relation to intergroup interaction in an attempt to explicitly reconnect the personal with the political and reveal the dire effects of social and institutional discrimination on the individual (Crenshaw, 1997). The intragroup identity politics—those which exist within the Black community and were

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3 Moreover, if black feminist consciousness is not rooted in biology, but instead in awareness, understanding, and sense of responsibility, then it is not restricted to Black women. (The lived experience may be; however, it does not, in and of itself, ensure that one will develop the consciousness associated with Black feminist ideologies.) Thus, a man might also possess such an understanding. It is plausible that many male emcees may sympathize with Black feminists and ascribe to the ideology. However, the 1993 National Black Politics Study (on which this statistical analysis is based) only poses the question of whether or not the participants identify themselves as feminists to women; therefore, men are excluded from the follow-up question in which the “feminist” female participants were asked to self-assess their personal “strength of feminism.”
One impetus to the Black feminist movement—nevertheless, are often neglected in the process; women of color face assaults against their identities, at times by Black men, that are neither addressed by a movement focusing solely on an anti-racist or an anti-sexist agenda (Crenshaw, 1997; hooks, 2000a).

Furthermore, the ideological distance pragmatically placed between private and public sphere has been examined as a tool used to maintain the division between the personal and the political and thereby, to reinforce existing hierarchal structures (hooks, 1989). Moreover, the ordained silence to which African American girls are taught to adhere as well as the strategic actions taken to invalidate and “suppress” any subjective voice, perspective, and will of her own (that a girl may discover) have been at the forefront of many discussions on Black women’s lives; after acknowledging the fear of punishment alongside the prospect of healing, Black women are exhorted to dismantle the invisible, institutionalized barrier between these “two” experiential spheres (hooks, 1989). Therefore, those industries that indulge in promoting and reinforcing any of these oversimplified notions, concepts, or stereotypes would likely be assumed to be at odds with Black feminism and its aims.

One historical stereotype, the Jezebel, depicts Black women as lascivious and as possessing large propensities for sex (Collins, 2000). This calumny was developed and employed as an instrument for removing blame from the slaveholders who raped enslaved Black women and in turn, placing the accountability onto the scientifically-proven, biological condition of the victimized women of color (Hartman, 1997). Accepting this misunderstanding of Black female sexuality is detrimental as it poses the threat of encouraging Black women (whom this stereotype allegedly characterizes) to embrace this persona, experiencing only the “pornographic” or sensational, or to deny the sensual self, facing great challenges in describing and relating to it
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The persistence of this oversimplified image may prevent Afro-American women from accessing the “erotic” by limiting the understanding of their sexual selves to the “pornographic” (Lorde, 1984, p. 54). Women are urged to evolve into erotic, as opposed to pornographic, beings and possess all the powers, privileges, and pleasures entitled therein.

The Jezebel image and its pornographic associations are seemingly incessantly reinforced and perpetuated through the “misogynistic” narratives that abound in rap culture (Kitwana, 2003; Watkins, 2006). Hip hop, or rap, has often been described in the media and in scholarship as a perpetrator of violence against women (Adams & Fuller, 2006). Therefore, it is logical to presume that Black women—particularly, Black feminist intellectuals would not be supportive of such an art, and that they might even be starkly opposed. However, it has also been asserted by Black feminists that it may be presumptuous to attribute all fault to the individual artists of this male-dominated industry without considering the patriarchal American context in, after, and for which these performances and identities were constructed (Rose, 1992); furthermore, an analysis of rap music from 1987 to 1993 found that only 22% of the lyrical content in rap songs was “violent” and “misogynistic” (Armstrong, 2001).

Prior to the period during which the 1993 National Black Politics Study was conducted, there were also various female emcees that inserted their perspectives into the context of the hip hop industry despite the purported degradation of Black women, reasserting the ideological principles of Black feminism. Lauryn Hill (of the Fugees), Queen Latifah, Lefteye (of TLC), MC Lyte, and Salt-N-Pepa are a few of the Black female emcees whose music embodied various

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4 In her critical essay, “Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power,” Audre Lorde (1984) conceptualizes the “erotic” as “a resource within each of us that lies in a deeply female and spiritual plane, firmly rooted in the power of our unexpressed or unrecognized feeling,” while she defines the “pornographic” as “a direct denial of the power of the erotic…[which] represents the suppression of true feeling…[emphasizing] sensation without feeling” (p. 54).
aspects of Black feminism, such as liberation and pride in being a Black woman, before and during this time. However, this may have seldom been acknowledged or respected by intellectual feminists prior to the emergence of “Hip Hop Studies” and its entailment, “Hip Hop Feminism” as valid epistemologies in academia. Therefore, this rouses the question of how Black feminists related to hip hop or rap music in 1993.

Although the 1993 National Black Politics Study offers the statistical tools to empirically address this inquiry, it has been employed only so far as to analyze black feminist consciousness relative to race consciousness and policy attitudes. Few studies have provided statistical (as opposed to theoretical evidence) for assessing certain qualitative claims about the political and social orientation of black feminists (Simien & Clawson, 2004). Although black feminist ideology is concerned with the plight and betterment of the African American women as well as all people of Black descent (hooks, 2000b), evidencing this dual investment in the self and in a more inclusive community has been an longstanding struggle for black feminism (as well as many other perspectives that centralize the non-standard/minority group—the “other”) (Bobo & Seiter, 1991). In 2004, the 1993 National Black Politics Study was employed to empirically ground the theoretical claims that a conviction to Black feminism does not interfere with or diminish Black feminists’ support for racial unity or race consciousness (Simien & Clawson, 2004).

Though it focuses on black feminists, the focus of the aforementioned study is too broad to capture certain important aspects of these Black feminists’ perspectives. Art, when intellectual and critically engaged, has the potential and the power to effect social changes desired by Black feminists (Eyerman & Jamieson, 1998; Brown, 2008). Having recognized this, many of the most respected black feminist intellectuals, in addition to their academic scholarship and community
activism, often birthed and reinforced their values through artistic expression (Brooks, 1971; Lorde, 1982; Walker, 2006). Recently, an emerging intellectual area of study, Hip Hop Feminism, has created a qualitative academic dialogue about the paradoxical relationship between hip hop and Black feminism and about the potential for change that artistic culture inherently possesses, which has created a need for empirical evidence to support the theoretical claims (Collins, 2006; Morgan, 1999, 2000; Pough, 2007). Nonetheless, considering that this epistemology had not yet to emerge at the time that the 1993 Black Politics Study was conducted, it is logical to presume that the results of this analysis may not reflect the recognition of such Black feminist presence in hip hop, or rap. With consideration for the predominantly theoretical nature of the discourse in Hip Hop Feminism, this analysis uses the tools afforded by the 1993 National Black Politics Study to empirically investigate the relationship between hip hop and feminism in 1993.

**Hypothesis**

“Strong” feminists are less likely than “not so strong” feminists to listen to rap music.

**Sample**

Using the 1993 National Black Politics Study, this research assesses of the relationship between strength of feminism and the likelihood of listening to rap music among Black women. The 1993 National Black Politics Study was designed to offer information about African American attitudes towards myriad topics. Distributed by the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, the survey data was collected through telephone interviews. The stratified, census-based sampling frame consisted of at least 50 percent of African American
households in the United States, selected via random-digit dialing. The 255 person sample for this analysis consisted only of the women who self-identified as “feminists.”

**Measures**

**Dependent Variable: Likelihood of Listening to Rap Music**

This discrete nominal variable was dichotomously measured by question I6, which indicated whether or not survey participants listened to rap music.

**Independent Variable: Strength of Feminism**

This discrete nominal variable was dichotomously measured by question Q12a, which indicated whether Black women (who identified themselves as “feminists” in question Q12) were “strong” or “not so strong” feminists.

**Control Variables**

In addition, this study considers certain demographic variables: age, education, and region. Age and education (measured by the “highest grade level completed”) were both constructed as a continuous variables, ranging from 18 to 88 and from 0 to 26, respectively. In addition, there were originally four regions (Northeast, North Central, South, and West); however, the former three regions were placed into a non-western region group and compared with the western region variable. The western region was isolated with respect for both the history of progressive political activism that occurred in the area and the impact that hip hop had, especially in the 1980s and 1990s on the social and cultural context of the “West Coast.”
Data Analyses Methods

With respect for the discrete, nominal level independent and dependent variables, bivariate analysis was conducted through cross-tabulations; subsequently, in order to further test the research hypothesis, a multivariate analysis was conducted through logistic regression as the dependent variable is dichotomous.

Results

The findings partially support my research hypothesis. The independent variable, strength of feminism, does negatively correspond with the dependent variable, likelihood of listening to rap music; however, age mediates the relationship between the two.

Bivariate Analysis

As the strength of the respondents’ feminism increases, the likelihood of listening to rap music decreases (as shown in Table 1). That is, the stronger the feminist, the less likely she was to listen to rap music. Strong feminists were approximately 15% less likely than their “not so strong” counterparts to listen to rap music.

Multivariate Analysis

The multivariate analysis, however, indicates that an intervening variable, age, has a significant effect whether or not respondents listened to rap music (as shown in Table 2). Age positively corresponded with the strength of feminism while age negatively corresponded with likelihood of listening to rap music. In essence, the older the feminist respondent was, the more likely she was to identify herself as a “strong” feminist and not listen to rap music. The younger
the feminist respondent was, the more likely she was to listen to rap music and identify herself as a “not so strong” feminist. In addition, whether or not you live in the western region of the United States does have a significant impact on whether or not the respondents listened to rap music. There is a subtle negative correlation between region and likelihood of listening to rap, which indicates that if the respondent did live in the West, he or she was slightly less likely to listen to rap music.

**Discussion**

This analysis contributes a quantitative argument to the largely theoretical discourse in Hip Hop Feminism (Collins 2006; Pough, 2007; Rose, 1991, 1992, 1994; Rabaka, 2011). However, the findings only offer partial support to the research hypothesis and the negative correspondence between strength of feminism and the likelihood of listening to rap music, as age is shown to be an intervening variable. That is, although the two former variables negatively correspond in the bivariate analysis (as shown in Table 1), the multivariate findings (as shown in Table 2) indicate that the older the Black feminist respondent was, the less likely she was to listen to rap music and the more likely she was to identify herself as a “strong” feminist. Conversely, the younger the Black feminist respondent was, the more likely she was to listen to rap music and the more likely she was to identify herself as a “not so strong” feminist.

One might argue that these results suggest a lack of concern for the feminist principles and ideology among younger adults; however, it may actually indicate a lack of awareness. Regardless, both of the aforementioned premises seemingly entail the same argument: the feminist movement is dying. Nevertheless, this is not so as various feminist scholars have

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5 Consequently, age is a more accurate indicator of whether or not a feminist will listen to rap music than is the strength of feminism.
recently connected the lyrical messages of hip hop artists to Black feminist aims and ideological principles (Collins, 2006; Morgan, 2000; Sharpley-Whiting, 2007). In addition, Eve, Lil’ Kim, Missy Elliot, Foxy Brown, Jean Grae, Rah Digga, and Solé are several of the female lyricists whose music and persona stand in opposition with this argument. Therefore, it is not implausible that—although it may not have been recognized in 1993, prior to the inception of Hip Hop Feminism—the Black feminist movement may have taken on a new form (Collins, 2006). The conceptualization of the rap industry as both “violent” and “misogynistic” (which is largely perpetuated by the mainstream American media in lieu of other aspects, such as the often non-violently resistant nature of rap) may have also influenced many Black feminist respondents perceptions (Chang, 2005; Rose, 1994).

Moreover, the fact that older feminists, whether due to tastes or otherwise, reported that they did not listen to rap music may indicate that they felt as if they could not relate rap music. It may be the case that neither the older, nor younger generations recognize the relationship between the ideology of Black feminism and the art of hip hop. It is conceivable that this condition results from a lack of dialogue between the African American elders and the younger members of the community. The existence of such a gap evidences a disregard (whether conscious or unconscious) for theories which assert that art can create foment social awareness and that the youth, having learned from the past, have the potential and the power to better the future (Davis, 1992; Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). It also ignores the fact countless Black intellectuals have historically affirmed that education and consciousness are key components to the process of Black progress (Douglass, 1997; Du Bois, 2008; hooks, 1989; Kelley, 2002; Shor, 1992; Washington, 2007). Nevertheless, the findings of this study empirically reiterate previous

6 Likewise, the music and personas of certain male emcees (e.g., the late Tupac Amaru Shakur, Common, Most Def, Talib Kweli, Dwele, and Lupe Fiasco) have historically and do contemporarily stand in opposition with the idea that Black feminism is dying and also with the argument that Black feminism is a biological consciousness.
arguments regarding the lack of connection to the feminist movement and the lack of commitment to liberation among contemporary women of color (Smith, 1995). Myths have been created to keep Black women from desiring their deserved freedoms and to render Black feminism irrelevant or obsolete: they have been taught to believe that they are “already liberated;” that racism (as opposed to sexism) should be “confronted;” that feminists are “man-hat[ers];” and that women’s concerns are secondary and “apolitical” (Smith, 1995).

Despite these myths and the lack of recognition for the presence of a cross-ideological dialogue, there is still significant and crucial need for specific concerns to be voiced and a movement to be advanced by Black women in this 21st century. In order to further investigate this relationship and move towards achieving said ends, a more recent study that allows the relationship to be assessed in a contemporary context is needed.7 In addition, as opposed to simply inquiring about “feminism” among black women, a questionnaire that considers an array of terminologies, ideologies, and therein identities may be necessary in order to construct an accurate representation of the relationship Black women have with hip hop music.8 A future study might also include non-feminists and men in order to create greater variability in the results; moreover, men might be asked whether they self-identify with one or more types of feminism or womanism that they can be included in the measurements and results accordingly. It is also plausible that feminists and womanists are likely to listen to socially conscious and

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7 The dire effects of the economic recession, the increased emphasis on globalization, and the dawn of the digital revolution (by way of the internet) might have significantly affected the hip hop industry. How might a lack in financial backing affect the content musicians and artists release independently? How might financial difficulties affect the amount of variety produced for the mainstream market? Furthermore, the concept of “feminism” itself might be evolving as well, especially with respect for the activism within LGBTQ community (regarding equal marriage rights) and the progress towards redefining (or eliminating) gender roles. Moreover, the “Natural Hair Movement” is a burgeoning, race-conscious effort which encourages African American women to learn to care for and take pride in their natural hair as opposed chemically altering it. How are the ways in which African American women (and men) understand and relate to Black womanhood being transformed through such movements?

8 Black women who relate more closely with womanism, and/or Africana womanism may be unlikely to identify themselves as “feminists.”
politically progressive hip hop songs and artists, especially those that align with their own ideological aims. However, when such music and activists are grouped under the overarching label of “rap,” the popular understanding of such a term—such a culture (e.g., the media-perpetuated images of violence and misogyny)—might eclipse these positive individuals and messages. There might even be a difference in the ideas associated with “rap” as opposed to those associate with “hip hop,” specifically among the younger generation. Thus, separating hip and rap as well as the artists and/or types of hip hop/rap music might increase variability, while painting a more detailed portrait of the feminist/womanist perspective among Africana women.

Nonetheless, this study also points to critical steps can also be taken in the here and now to ensure a more positive there and then for our youth. A cross-generational dialogue also is crucial to revealing a collective identity, and to birthing and sustaining a movement which fosters the change for which both Black feminists and young people alike have cried out (Collins, 2000; Eyerman, 2001). Thus, the exchanging of experiences—the sharing of stories is essential to discovering a collective identity among Black women (not only within but) across generations (Collins, 2000; Eyerman, 2001). In order to educate each other and mend this cross-generational rift, this dialogue will require all Black feminists to focus on listening for the fundamental commonalities in Black women’s experiences despite differences in modes, tones, mediums, and styles of expression.

References


Appendix

Table 1: Impact of Strength of Feminism on Likelihood of Listening to Rap Music
(Cross Tabulation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strength of Feminism</th>
<th>% Listens to Rap Music</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not So Strong</td>
<td>52.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Pearson Chi-Square significance value is 0.035.

Table 2: Impact of Strength of Feminism, Age, Education, and Region on Likelihood of Listening to Rap Music (Logistic Regression)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likelihood of Listening to Rap Music</th>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Control Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strength of Feminism</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.062**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Western Region</td>
<td>-2.411*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>.042</td>
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*<.05, **<.01