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Analysis of Black Female Belizean Stereotypes in Visual Media: Jezebel, Mammy, Sapphire, and their Contributions to Violence against Women

By Kiesha Warren-Gordon¹, Deborah Mencias McMillan²

Abstract

Around the world, the representation of Black women in media is often flawed, as ideologies shaped by racism and white supremacy dominate the social construction of the representation of Black women in print media. This paper examines the use of “click speech” responses to a Facebook post where we condemn the use of what we perceive to be negative images of Black women used to market rum. Specifically, we ask the question: How do Belizeans respond to our request and our framing of the marketing campaign as being racist and sexist? Using a Belizean feminist lens, we analyze click speech responses to our request. A mixed response of those who supported our requests to remove the caricature from the rum label and those who did not support our position that the marketing campaign was both racist and sexist were found through content analysis. Many of the comments suggested that we were creating an issue, that there is nothing wrong with the image, and that we were importing American ideas of racism and sexism to Belize where they do not exist. This study contributes to that gap in the literature that ensures that Belizean women are represented in ways that their voices are not misrepresented and ensures that this research contributes to Belizean knowledge.

Keywords: Content Analysis, Belize, Print Media, Visual Media, Black Women, Violence against Women, Jezebel, Mammy, Sapphire, Stereotypes

Introduction

Around the world, the representation of Black women in media is often flawed, as ideologies shaped by racism and white supremacy dominate the social construction of the representation of Black women in print media. Being dominated by white hegemony results in Black women being represented negatively, and in ways that narrowly depict their intersectionality of being Black and a woman (Adams-Bass et al., 2014). Print media is the major source of image production, and psychological stressors from these images include the encouragement of body dissatisfaction and low self-esteem through the perpetuation of unrealistic and unhealthy beauty and weight ideals; limited career development and opportunities. Additionally, these negative

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images also contribute to victimization and negative treatment of Black women by the criminal justice system as they enter the system as victims and offenders.

Examining the impact that negative representations of Black women in various forms of media has on a particular ethnic/cultural group of Black women must be informed from the perspectives of that ethnic group. Belize is a small, English-speaking Caribbean country located on the northeastern coast of Central America, and bordered by Mexico, Guatemala, and the Caribbean Sea. The country is home to the largest diversity of ethnic groups in Central America (Bonner, 2001; Premdas, 2002), with over 39% of the population identifying as Black, either as Kriol (i.e. Creole) or Garifuna (Merrill, 1992), making Black Belizeans the second largest ethnic group in Belize. For this paper, we utilized the social media platform of Facebook to gauge a sample of Belizeans’ perceptions of a local rum print media advertisement depicting a Black woman as a demeaning caricature.

Literature Review

Stereotyping occurs when a negative and/or misleading generalization is made about a category of people, and then used to predict or explain behavior (Davis & Harris, 1998). Stereotypes usually evolve over a period of time as a result of repetitious erroneous portrayals of specific groups of people (Devine, 1989). Although research is limited, it does suggest that portrayals of Black women in print media are often inaccurate, and that these false representations can have devastating impacts on the perceptions of Black women worldwide. While Black women have historically been ignored in the area of feminist media studies (Mendes & Carter, 2008), a review of the literature suggests research conducted on Black women’s negative and stereotypical portrayal in print media have historically been dominated by three images: Jezebel, Sapphire, and Mammy (Jerald et al., 2017; Thomas et al., 2004), and each of the three stereotypical representations of Black women cause harm in that they inaccurately represent Black women.

The Jezebel representation of Black women came out of slavery as a way for white men to justify their victimization of Black women owned as slaves (Pilgrim, 2012), as the Jezebel was depicted as a Black woman with an insatiable appetite for sex. This stereotype continued to evolve into representations in print media and in objects such as ashtrays, postcards, sheet music, fishing lures, drinking glasses, and so forth, depicting naked or scantily dressed Black women lacking modesty and sexual restraint. Although the depiction of Black women as Jezebels in everyday objects has been obliterated, the depiction is still present in print media. Contemporarily, the Jezebel image still persists today. Turner (2011) found that Black women were more likely to appear in provocative clothing and to appear oversexualized in music videos compared to white women. In contrast, the Sapphire image of Black women is one that depicts Black women as overly aggressive, hostile, and nagging, especially toward Black men (West, 1995). According to West, the stereotype was first identified in radio shows in the 1940s and 50s, and today this representation is seen in the “Angry Black Woman” stereotype.

The most pervasive image of Black women is the Mammy. Originating in the South during the time of slavery, this image is one of Black women being obese, having dark skin, a wide nose, dressing in bandanna clothing, and always wearing an apron. The Mammy’s primary role is to sacrifice herself, her family, and their wellbeing in order to work as a domestic servant with little to no financial compensation by her white employers. Unlike the Jezebel and Sapphire whose physical images have evolved, the physical representation of Mammy has remained constant. The print image of Mammy has been and continues to be, images used to market goods. One of the more famous uses of the image is on the Aunt Jemima pancake mix and syrup, which first emerged
on products in the early 1900s (Davis, 2007). Over the last 100 years, the Aunt Jemima brand has been criticized for its use of Mammy. Renewed criticism recently emerged amid protests across the United States and around the world sparked by the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis police custody. The Quaker Oats Company, who owns Aunt Jemima, announced that after 130 years they would discontinue the Aunt Jemima marketing of its breakfast brand “as the company moved to racial equality.”

The impact that these images have on Black women, and how Black women are perceived and treated, affects every aspect of their lives. Research has found that these images contribute to violence perpetrated against Black women, and the perpetuation of the Jezebel image contributes to the sexual exploitation of Black women and contributes to lower conviction of Black-on-Black rape compared to other same race and ethnicity rape cases (Olive, 2012; West & Johnson, 2006) as it portrays Black women as overtly sexual and promiscuous. According to Hampton et al. (2003), intimate partner violence committed by Black men against Black women can be attributed to the stereotypical representations of African American women as aggressive, domineering, castrating, independent, sexually promiscuous, and money hungry and may reduce socialized inhibitions against hitting a women or treating a women like a man (Gooden, 1980; Hannerz, 1969). Moreover, negative representations of African American women may lead some Black men to rationalize that violence is required to control women who are perceived to be physically dangerous and capable of taking away a man’s manhood. Furthermore, Gillum (2002) suggests that African American men’s endorsement of stereotypical images of Black women contributes to their justification of violence against Black women. Niemann et al (1994) suggest that Black women being negatively stereotyped may contribute to police, prosecutors, and judges treating them less as victims of intimate partner violence, and more as aggressors.

Within this research project, we examine “click speech” responses to a Facebook post where we condemn the use of what we perceive to be negative images of Black women used to market rum. Specifically, we ask the question: How do Belizeans respond to our request to remove the product from the shelves and our framing of the marketing campaign as being racist and sexist? Using a Belizean feminist lens, we analyze click speech responses to our request.

Click Speech

Click speech refers to a form of opinion expressed via online communication on social media platforms that allows users to give opinions and/or reactions to others’ posts with comments and emojis that affirm and/or refute a post. According to Wu et al (2020), commenting on a post is considered to resemble more traditional forms of text-based communications, while the liking and the use of thumbs-up, thumbs-down and various emojis highlights one’s ability to engage in “lightweight expressions,” communication without using verbal messaging. Although research investigating click speech is emerging, preliminary findings suggest that individuals who comment on social media posts do so out of fear of social isolation (Naslund et al., 2014; Wu et al., 2020). Studies found that Facebook and other social media platforms provide opportunities for people to build and develop/sustain relationships (Pang et al., 2016; Wu et al., 2020). Various studies have found that individuals who feel that their position is supported are more likely to post a comment, and that individuals who feel more involved with an issue are more likely to engage in various types of click speech to endorse their opinion (Holt et al 2013; Kushin & Yamamoto, 2010; Wu et al., 2020).
Belizean Feminist Framework

Assuming that all of the various ethnic/cultural groups of Black women will have the same perceptions dismisses the heterogeneity that exists amongst Black women around the world. This narrow thinking also dismisses various frameworks that inform Black female identity worldwide. Within this particular study, the authors utilize a Belizean feminist framework to examine how Belizeans perceived the negative representation of Black Belizean women that is the focus of this study. We acknowledge our positionality as being two Black women; one being Black Belizean Kriol and the other being Black American, and that these two positionalities create a unique opportunity to utilize a Belizean feminist framework to analyze responses. Belizean feminism is rooted in the activism of articulating the voices of heterogeneous groups of women who make up Belizean culture and whose work have been marginalized and mostly unheard.

Belize is made up of seven distinct cultural and ethnic groups: Creole, Mestizo, Garifuna, Maya, Mennonite, Chinese, and East Indian people (Beske, 2009). The Creole people of Belize are mixed race, primarily of African and English descent, whose ancestry is traced to slavery originating from West Africa or the West Indies, and people from India who arrived as indentured servants. Mestizo people are one of the largest ethnic groups whose origins are traced back to Yucatán peoples, like the Maya. The Garifuna, who are African descendants of the slave trade, migrated from St. Vincent Island in the Caribbean in the mid-1800s, and the Mennonites arrived in the late 1950s during their quest to find a place to live autonomously. None of these groups (except the Maya) can claim to be original to Belize, but each group brings their own cultural norms of language, food, spiritual beliefs, and ideologies regarding the role of women in society. All of these cultural and ethnic groups are dominated by heteropatriarchal ruling classes that dominate every aspect of the lives of Belizean women.

In keeping with feminist scholars and activists in the Caribbean and Latin America, we are clear that this Belizean feminist framework is not an offshoot of white Eurocentric feminism of the Global North (Alvarez et al., 2003). However, we do recognize that Belizean feminism shares some of the same tenants of Caribbean, Latin American, Black feminism, and Black feminist criminology with the goals of disrupting patriarchal, racist, and sexist systems of structural oppression (Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Collins, 2002; Crenshaw, 1989; Potter, 2006). Belizean feminist theory also concerns itself with community and culture, intimate and familial relations, and Belizean women as active members who contribute to society in various ways.

We root this work in the guise of the intersection of Belizean women’s struggles against colonialism, racism, sexism, and other discriminatory practices that plague Belizean women, and have contributed to violence against women as being a leading cause of women’s death in Belize (Warren-Gordon, 2020).

Like Black feminist theory and Black feminist criminology, Belizean feminism continues to defy the preeminence of partisan politics. Alvarez et al. (2003) reminds us that the autonomous feminist movement in Latin America and the Caribbean has evolved into what they term as “engaged autonomy,” where we recognize the heterogeneity of Belizean women. The need is to acknowledge positionalities when utilizing this framework in that Belizean women do not have one lived experience, and may experience sexism, racism, and classism differently, given their differing race, ethnicity, and cultural background. However, we also recognize that the patriarchal social structure in which Belizean women exist contributes to 50% of women reporting being a victim of intimate partner violence during their adult life. Images that degrade, disparage, and
stereotype contribute to the various forms of violence that Belizean women endure (Shoman, 2010).

**Methodology**

Within this study, we utilize content analysis to analyze responses to a social media post requesting that the company that makes Big Titty rum rebrand their rum (Figure 1). The rum uses a caricature of a Black woman, which represents a mix of Jezebel, Sapphire, and Mammy on its label. The post read:

The image is a familiar caricature of a Black woman. Our features are exaggerated: large red lips and bulging eyes. The sexist image is our oversized breasts, hence the name “big titty.” Also look at the female’s mouth, which is drawn to depict her as flirtatious. The added stereotypical features of this particular image are the African head wrap and the “gangsta rapper” jewelry, which really does not fit, but could be explained by the label maker’s over-anxious efforts at perpetuating the stereotype of the Jezebel.

The post was authored and then placed on the public Facebook page of the Belizean author of this paper and a popular media outlet. Once we created the post, we did not post any other comments. The intention of the post was to draw attention to the rum company and the disparaging image of Black women used to advertise the rum. According to Facebook, 220,000 people in Belize use Facebook monthly, and Facebook is considered a popular means of communication for people in Belize (Yung, 2018). We saw the post as one of many feminist actions that they have taken to draw attention to the racism, sexism, and misogyny that plague Belizean women. Once we started reading the responses to the post, we began to recognize various patterns that form the content analysis of this study.

**Figure 1**
The image is a familiar caricature of a Black woman. Our features are exaggerated: large red lips and bulging eyes. The sexist image is our oversized breasts, hence the name “big titty”. Also look at the female’s mouth, which is drawn to depict her as flirtatious. The added stereotypical features of this particular image are the African head wrap and the “gangsta rapper” jewelry, which really does not fit but could be explained by the label maker’s over-anxious efforts at perpetuating the stereotype of the Jezebel. The message that Black women are sexually promiscuous is conveyed by innumerable images like this one. The not-so-subtle message is that you drink the rum and you get to “enjoy” her. This is unabashed objectification of women. How dare you!

The question is: How can such multiple layers of stereotypes be anything but intentional?

When you continue to caricature us and portray us as sex symbols, you are perpetuating the negative stereotypes of Black women. The undiluted message and objective of a caricature is that of mocking and belittling. In short, the “Big Titty Rum” label is an offensive, sexist and racist mockery of Black women, and it must be discontinued. Punto final.

Yes, all races have been caricatured, but that does not make your caricature of my race and gender “okay”. This kind of blatant racist and sexist advertising needs to stop. We must not allow it to take root in our tierra querida, Belize. The producer, sellers, and enablers need to stop sending this message that being Black and female is an invitation to devalue us. It is NEVER okay. Take the “Big Titty Rum” off the Belizean market today.

Content analysis is a commonly used method for analyzing various aspects of data regarding communication patterns and interpretations of these patterns, making it an appropriate tool for analysis for this study (Lacy et al., 2015). Content analysis allows for a systemic, replicable, analytical study that provides explicit written protocol to allow for replication of the study (Stemler, 2001). This form of analysis also offers insight into patterns in documents. In the case of our study, the response to our request that the Big Titty rum producers remove the label allows for insight into how others view an advertisement that we find to be demeaning and harmful their label to Black women. Content analysis also allows for us to monitor shifts in public opinion via empirical analysis (Stemler, 2001).

Data Analysis

Prior to conducting analysis, this project was vetted through the Institutional Review Board to ensure that all ethical concerns or considerations were addressed (Franz et al., 2019). A code sheet was created to gather information on the responses to our Facebook post. The two co-authors of the paper served as the two coders and independently coded each comment. In the event of no consensus, a third coder would have been utilized; however, the co-authors were consistent in their coding. The coders presented their work to each other to ensure 100% intercoder reliability. The unceasing reflective coding process included both an integrated individual examination and a team-integrated analysis approach. The following quantitative data were collected: 1) those who support our request, 2) those who opposed, 3) lastly, those who are unsure.

Qualitative content analysis is commonly used to examine the content of a text (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). A qualitative thematic analysis was also utilized to develop a deeper understanding as to why some supported our post and to why others did not. Utilizing an inductive coding method
provides insight into how individuals feel about our post. In keeping with traditional qualitative content analysis, the findings below are presented as exemplars of each code (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

**Results**

The results presented are based on comments and “likes” after the post had been in place for four days. We conducted our analysis based on those who engaged with our post during the first four days because there was a sharp decline in engagement starting on day five. We also felt that the most robust comments were represented in the first four days following our original post. Our findings suggest that the majority of individuals who commented on our Facebook post did not support our request for the rum company to rebrand the rum. In an examination of responses to our condemnation and request of the rum company to rebrand its Big Titty rum, there were a total of 106 emojis, of which there were 68 “likes,” 27 “laughs,” 9 “loves,” 1 “wow,” 1 “care,” and 1 “sad,” along with 14 shares. There were no “angry” emojis posted. A total of 152 comments on our post were made by 58 people. Three people made between 11-15 comments, eight people made between 4-10; 141 people made between 1-3 comments. 38.64% of the commenters were female, 54.6% were male, and 8.6% sex was unknown. 30.92% of comments supported our request, 65.79% did not support our request, and 3.29% were unsure as to whether they supported our request or not.

**Qualitative Analysis**

In the following section, we report the five most prominent themes that emerged from the Facebook comments to our request for the rebranding of the rum. Our qualitative analysis revealed the following: racism and sexism do exist, the advertisement should be removed, racism does not exist in Belize, making a joke out of our request, and accusations against us as being agitators. In keeping with the Belizean feminist framework, we interwove our perspectives within the analysis as we recognized that some individuals may have framed their comments based on our positionality. This also keeps the research in alignment with Belizean feminist framework as it ensures the research process encapsulates all voices.

*Racism and Sexism Exist in Belize.*

Although there were fewer comments that supported our positions compared to those that did not support us, the comments that were made that supported our view acknowledged that racism and sexism exist in Belize. For example, one Belizean female commented, “if YOU do not understand WHY this caricature is racist and sexist, you won’t understand no matter what.” Another Belizean female wrote, “Racism does exist in Belize, and we need to have those conversations. We need to stop pretending that we live in a separate universe.” In response to a comment denouncing our position a Belizean female wrote, “You’re the only person finding it “ok” because the next race does it. As a Black woman, this is very offensive and disgusting. If it was any other race being marketed through a stereotype it would be unacceptable as well.”

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3 We did not code for race or ethnicity as many of the comments did not have that self-identifying information.
The Advertisement Should be Removed.
Some individuals commented on the advertisement and indicated that they supported our call to have it removed. Those individuals that did support our assertion responded in very short phrases with very little elaboration, if any. For example, one Belizean male made the three-word comment, “to be removed.” Another Belizean stated, “boycott Belikin and ask them to stop printing the Belikin calendar . . . an no mo panty rippers fun yu,” panty ripper being an alcohol drink that is very popular in Belize.

Racism is Not an Issue in Belize.
The theme of racism not existing in Belize was expressed by many of those who disagreed with our post. Most of the comments that expressed not agreeing with the post commented that racism did not exist in Belize. They also remarked that racism is an idea exported from the United States and does not exist in Belize. For example, one female responded, “Does Belize ever have an original thought? Or do you just stand by and wait to see what happens in America and then mimic it? It’s amusing.” A Belizean male wrote,

This is not America where people get offended and would change names like 'mankind' to 'peoplekind'. If you don't like the rum, then don't go to bars and stores that sells it. That's the reason Belize is in the tropics, to keep far away from snowflakes.

Another Belizean stated, “Don't bring that (shit) here. Leave the American race issues in the US and stop trying to promote race propaganda in Belize.”
We had anticipated the rejection of racism existing in Belize, as Belizeans have historically framed their identity around cultural and linguistic commonalities as opposed to identity being formed solely based on collective phenotypes (communication with McClaurin, Sept. 11, 2020). We also were not surprised that some equated racism as something that was imported from the United States. Given that a number of Americans have made Belize a second home, or have relocated permanently, the impact of their presence on Belizean people cannot be ignored.

Minimizing Our Request (Issue).
Minimizing our request was a theme that also emerged. This was articulated by individuals commenting with sarcastic, demeaning statements dismissing our Facebook post. For example, one Belizean female commented, “I'll be glad to sample and support our local businesses down south this weekend. See what all the fuss is about.” Another Belizean male wrote, “What I'm really offended by is that how come this "titi rum" is not available in all major stores in Belize.” Examples of individuals dismissing our post can be seen in the following comment by a white non-Belizean male; “bottom line it's a rum bottle no reason to go nuts. Just chill and enjoy yourself.” A Belizean female stated, “Just because you are offended, doesn't make you right. Ignore what you don't like and move on.” A Belizean female commented, “Haha here we go. If she is offended then don't fucking buy it. Simple.”; “Uno stop uno rass.” Another male posted, “you do know god invented whiskey so Irish couldn’t rule the world. lmao so my grandfather use to tell it. I also am left handed so double cursed lol.”

Being Agitators.
The final theme that emerged was being agitators. Some felt that we were looking to create a problem where one did not exist. This theme was illustrated by the following comments. A
Belizean male wrote, “Next shes gonna attack "suk mi titty"4 tc. no one looks at that pic and thinks the owner must hate blk people.” A similar sentiment was posted by another Belizean male, “Whoever wrote this definitely needs a man in her life. The writer obviously lacks the assets of black females so she's trying to create division.” Another Belizean male wrote, “Some writers have too much idle time on their hands. She should do an article about the sargassum or the lobst.”

Discussion

The result of the project suggests that many of those who commented on the post did not support our position to remove the caricature from the rum label. Many of the comments suggested that we were creating an issue, that there is nothing wrong with the image, and that we were importing American ideas of racism and sexism to Belize where they do not exist. Previous research has found similar sentiments as Warren-Gordon (2020) suggests that many Belizeans do not recognize issues of racism in particular due to the strong nationalist identity. Warren-Gordon found in interviews of Belizean women who have been victims of intimate partner violence that many of the women were hesitant to acknowledge their ethnic and cultural identities and referred to themselves as Belizean. It should also be noted that Belize does not share the same history of segregation as the United States, which also may contribute to inability to recognize racism (McClaurin, 1996; Premdas, 2002). The paucity of research done on racism and sexism in Belize could be attributed to the fact that many Belizeans identify as “Belizeans” and not as Afro-Belizean or Latino-Belizeans. Also, racism will not represent itself in the same ways in which it does in countries who have histories of segregation, and as a result it would be a flawed analysis to assume that the various ethnic and cultural Belizean groups see and experience racism the same way, if at all. As presented in the comments, those that recognize racism in Belize were clear in expressing that the image was racist and represented a stereotype that should be condemned.

The idea of sexism not existing in Belize can be attributed to its Latin roots of patriarchy and machismo and marianismo, which are still prevalent today. Although some of the contributors did not recognize sexism existing in Belize, previous research suggests that some of the women in Belize are limited in their ability to live independent empowered lives where their voices are heard in every aspect of their existence due to expected gender roles dictated by machismo and marianismo gender role expectations. Cianelli et al. (2013) suggest that cultural norms of machismo and marianismo dominate navigation of the social environment and social interactions and contribute to intimate partner violence. Researchers have found that over 50% of women in Belize are victims of intimate partner violence at some point in their lives, with homicide being a leading cause of death for women in some age groups (Beske, 2014; Women’s Commission, n.d.). Along with the lack of acknowledging the advertisement as racist and sexist, there was also a lack of sensitivity regarding how the advertisement may make Black women of Belize feel. Fuller (2001) found that the lack of sensitivity regarding advertisements is not just prevalent in those who create the ads, but also by those who view them. The lack of sensitivity is demonstrated by the individuals who commented on the post by minimizing our request and making accusations that we are agitators. Research has found that images similar to the one that is the focus of the piece have a negative impact on the way Black girls/women see themselves (Townsend et al., 2010), and how they are treated as victims of crimes (Wood, 1994). These images also impact how others see Black women. The accusation that we are agitators and the inability to see the request as serious

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4 There is a popular Belizean song named “Suk mi titty” (Suck my breasts) and it is sung by a Belizean Kriol (Black) artist. So, the assumption is that I am now going to go after the artist (song) and condemn it.
speak to the lack of understanding of the impact that these types of images have on Black women and how others see Black women. As previously mentioned, men and women were very comfortable not supporting our view which could be attributed to the Spiral of Silence (SOS). SOS theory posits that when individuals perceive that their opinion is congruent with the opinion climate—in other words, they hold a majority-held opinion—they are more likely to express those opinions (Neuwirth et al., 2007; Noelle-Neumann, 1991).

**Conclusion**

The results of the study suggest that for some Belizeans issues of racism and sexism do not exist as salient social problems. That Belizeans who commented on the post did not recognize the impact that the negative media images have on Black women, and Black Belizean women in particular, suggests that more research in this area is needed to continue to investigate this issue. Hazell and Clarke (2008) suggest that racism and white supremacy continue to pervade advertisements featured in Black magazines, and this is problematic because new images and texts concerning Black people will be based on such negative attitudes. It is not enough to increase the number of positive portrayals of Black people; negative portrayals must also decrease and eventually be eliminated altogether.” (p. 18-19)

As we continue to examine the production of the images that frame Black women negatively, we must also continue to examine how negative representation contributes to violence against women. The continued development of the Belizean feminist theory will allow for the examination of the various social conditions of Belizean women through a guise that acknowledges their heterogeneity. As violence against women in Belize is a significant social problem, utilizing a feminist framework allows for the examination of the cultural context of how and why violence is perpetuated against Belizean women. This framework will also allow for questions that not only address victimization, but how social systems respond and support women who have been victimized. Additionally, research on the impact of the Latinization of Belize on Belize’s Black population is urgent. We recognize that there are limitations in our study, the first being we only evaluated comments made four days after we made our post, and this short time frame impacted the number of comments in our analysis. Although we do not think that the trend in the responses would have changed with more comments, having more may have allowed for the development of additional insights. Future studies should also explore the cultural context of why some Belizeans respond to social media posts, and if Latin American expectations of machismo and marianismo impact whether or not women respond to social media posts. Women in Belize have been excluded from studies that examine the social conditions of women both broadly and narrowly defined. This study contributes to that gap in the literature that ensures that Belizean women are represented in ways that their voices are not misrepresented and ensures that this research contributes to Belizean knowledge.
References


