Exposure to Misogynistic Rap Music and Hostile and Benevolent Sexism: Does Eminem Really Promote Gender Stereotyping?

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As social psychologists recognize, stereotyping is not just an adaptive and efficient information-processing method for making decisions, but also a plague that accompanies prejudice and discrimination (Allport 1954). Although most of the research in social psychology focuses on the power of stereotypes in shaping impression formation and evaluation, that is social perception, political scientists have carried the study of stereotyping into the public policy arena. These studies report that whites' negative racial stereotypes significantly influence their attitudes about welfare policy (Gilens 1996; 1999) and crime and punishment (Cobb 2001a; Hurwitz and Peffley 1997; Peffley and Hurwitz 1998); whites that stereotype blacks as violent and lazy, for example, are less generous and more punitive when policies benefit and crimes involve blacks.

Contrary to the rapidly developing literature on racial stereotyping, political scientists are less likely to consider the implications of gender stereotyping for citizens' political opinions. The oft-investigated "gender-gap" in partisan voting, for example, has failed to engage political scientists' interest in the broader study of gender issues. Granted, a few studies examine whether gender stereotypes affect voters' perceptions of female candidates (Kahn 1992, 1994), but this research is the exception rather than the norm. The discipline's inattention to the potential political consequences of gender stereotyping is curious for several reasons, including the large number of gendered political issues and the fact that social psychologists pay roughly equal attention to the consequences of gender stereotyping as they do to racial stereotyping.

In this paper, we report the results of an experimental survey designed to evaluate less obtrusively how gender stereotypes influence perceptions about the role of women in American society. Our study is unique for several reasons. First, using methods more common to social psychologists we prime subjects' gender stereotypes utilizing rap music rather than measure them directly. Second, our research design is less obtrusive than traditional research on stereotypes because subjects in our study were unaware that the purpose of listening to rap music was to measure the association between their gender stereotypes and their beliefs about the role of women in society. Third, we are able to simultaneously address a popular criticism leveled against the rap star Eminem: Does listening to the overtly misogynist lyrics in Eminem's songs negatively affect listeners, young white males in particular? Before presenting the results of our study, we review the literature on stereotyping, discuss the popular debate about the lyrics of rap music and describe our experimental design.

Measuring Gender Stereotypes and Sexism

Political scientists have not developed a longitudinal database of gender stereotypes and their consequences comparable to those for racial stereotypes. In fact, most of what we know about the relevance of gender stereotypes comes from studies of elections that examine potential voter discrimination against female candidates. Women candidates are seen as more competent in dealing with "feminine issues" (welfare, education, healthcare, etc.), for example, and are assigned typical "feminine" character traits like being compassionate, warm, emotional and cautious (Kahn 1992, 1994). Experimental studies find that subjects infer feminine traits and assign competence to female candidates

primarily on "women's issues," even in the absence of relevant information and faced with conflicting and contradictory evidence (Leeper 1991).[1]

As a result, the political science literature does not offer much guidance in terms of identifying specific kinds of commonly held gender stereotypes or predicting levels of their consequences for public opinion about policies that affect women. Although additional research like the present study will eventually accumulate to help us better understand the political relevance of sexist beliefs, social psychologists have already developed an extensive literature about the nature of sexism and gender stereotypes.

According to these studies, sexism is prevalent across time and culture and it operates differently than racial prejudice (Glick et al 2000). While racial prejudice is unquestionably "an antipathy" (Allport 1954), sexism is not inherently based on hostility. In addition to hostility, sexism can be based on benevolence, "a subjectively positive orientation of protection, idealization, and affection directed toward women" (Glick et al 2000). Whereas hostile sexism (HS) ideologically justifies male superiority and targets women who threaten male dominance, benevolent sexism (BS) combines objectively inferior treatment of women with overtly positive assessments of (most) women.

More precisely, HS is characterized by an adversarial view of gender relations, where women are perceived to be seeking control over men through sex or feminist ideology (Glick and Fiske 1996). Gender stereotypes germane to this type of sexism are negative and include the temptress, the career woman, and the feminist. Conversely, BS is said to more closely approximate medieval ideologies of chivalry (Tavris and Wade 1984), where women are thought to be more pure then men and need their protection. Thus, stereotypes predicted by BS are positive ones (homemaker, wife, mother) that nevertheless create paternalistic pressures (women need to be saved first in emergencies) and secure women's actual compliance in perpetuating them (BS rarely elicits outrage because it lacks outright antipathy).

Based on the examination of the two types of sexism, we assume that HS and BS operate independently and that each form portends different consequences for political beliefs. Take, for example, a hypothetical argument in opposition to a new Equal Rights Amendment. One tactic that the opposition would likely take is to suggest that women are seeking to displace males in high prestige occupations, which would prime subjectively negative stereotypes of women as feminists and career women. These stereotypes define HS rather than BS, and consequently we would expect HS to play a greater role in determining attitudes toward the ERA.

Thus, a question emerges about the larger role that gender stereotypes might play in shaping political opinions. How influential are gender stereotypes in shaping public opinion on gendered issues? Does the assumed independence of HS and BS truly exist in political debate? Can the different types of sexism be independently manipulated? We attempt to provide some initial answers to these questions through an analysis of exposure to misogynistic rap music.

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[1] The main finding from these studies appears to be that women candidates are ideologically perceived as more liberal than men, which leads voters to incorrectly assign women further to the left on an ideological scale than they really are.

Rap, Eminem and Misogyny

Few recent pop-cultural issues have generated as much media attention as when the rapper Eminem was nominated for a Grammy. Almost immediately following the nomination, women's groups (and gay and lesbian groups) mobilized to protest. On the one hand, the public debate about whether Eminem should receive the award for album of the year was interesting because it captured the essence of scholarship on framing (Zaller 1992; Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Nelson Clawson and Oxley 1997). In trying to sway public opinion, one side explained that Eminem's songs should be banned or censored because they were defamatory and offensive to women, while the other suggested that the issue boiled down to freedom of speech[2].

On the other hand, the debate captured media attention because of the secondary claims that were made. Prominent public figures said that they suspected that the content of the lyrics could have consequences beyond merely being offensive. As a result, a less esoteric and more practical concern emerged; listening to Eminem's songs might actually encourage sexism and violence against women. Regarding rap lyrics in general, feminist cultural critics argued, "rape and rap just go together a little too well" (Brownsworth 2001). In terms of Eminem in particular, Patricia Ireland, president of the National Organization of Women (NOW), explained that his lyrics, even if satirical, carried weight with Eminem's largely young, male listeners. Not alone, Ireland stressed that young white males are "impressionable" and among the likeliest age group to commit hate crimes (Boston Globe Feb 22, 2001).

These typical criticisms of rap music, and Eminem in particular, presented an interesting opportunity to empirically evaluate their accuracy while simultaneously conducting a rigorous examination of the consequences of gender stereotype activation for opinions about the role of women that could equally be applied to measure hostile and benevolent sexism.

Expectations

As indicated by our review of the debate, anecdotal evidence largely predicts an increase in sexist attitudes about gender equality as a result of exposure to music performed by Eminem. For example, Kerry Gold, music critic from Vancouver Sun, explains why the lyrics promote violence against women. According to Gold, Eminem's lyrical character, Slim Shady, "stalks his ex-wife [on his infamous 'Bonnie and Clyde'], then murders her in front of their child. On 'Kim', he murders his wife all over again, except he puts her name to it. Where's the satire here? Where's the lesson that 'bitch slapping' is a bad thing, not a right of manhood" (Vancouver Sun, Nov 14, 2000)?

Of course, agreement about the effects of the lyrics is not universal. As one radio programmer counter-intuitively suggested about another Eminem song, "he's doing a great job of...making people realize that [violence against women] is something awful"

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[2] Representative of the former frame, Cathy Renna of the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) argued on a CNN show that "this is not a joke to people who are victims of hate crimes" (CNN Talkback Live, Feb 21, 2001). In terms of the latter frame, a viewer of the same program responded, "it is no different than the Robert Mapelthorp exhibit or 2 Live Crew or even 'The Last Temptation of Christ'. Just because you don't understand a work of art doesn't mean you should condemn it."

(Billboard Magazine, Feb 24, 2001). According to this interpretation, we would expect a backlash against the lyrics to occur; listeners would become more supportive of women's equality with men, or at least no more opposed to it.

Thus far, two qualifications are in order. First, the unnamed mediating factor linking exposure to Eminem and variance in sexist attitudes is gender stereotypes. In this case, exposure to the lyrics supposedly primes listeners' gender stereotypes, which in turn shape their attitudes about the role of women in society. Second, exposure likely primes HS more than BS. The reason for this is that the content of the lyrics (see appendix) has very little in common with principles of BS, such as protecting innocent women; to the contrary, Eminem sings about women that are conniving, scheming, sexual objects deserving of violent retribution for simply being females.

Models of Information-Processing and Gender Effects

Apart from predictions generated anecdotally, theories of information processing suggest a more nuanced effect of exposure. In general, these theories suggest that subjects' gender will mediate their reactions: Males will become more sexist and women less sexist as a result of exposure.

To explain, social psychologists distinguish between central and peripheral information processing (Petty and Cacioppo 1981, 1986). Some individuals will attempt to understand incoming messages more thoroughly—or centrally—while most will less thoroughly attend to the incoming messages—or peripherally. The type of person and the context of the situation help predict which type of information processing will predominate. In situations where individuals are motivated and have the time, for example, they are expected to more carefully consider incoming information. Although everyone in our study has equally ample time to consider the implications of the lyrics, the motivational component is squarely biased toward females. We expect females to be more motivated to centrally process the incoming information because they are the actual targets of the shockingly violent and sexist language in the music.[3]

Thus, several predictions can be generated from the difference between central and peripheral information processing. First, if men peripherally process the incoming messages, the lyrics should prime their negative gender stereotypes and they will not counter-argue with their content. Without the motivation to question the content, the primed stereotypes are now likely to influence judgments related to the content of the stereotypes, such as the role of women in society. Second, if women attend to and consider what Eminem is literally saying (about them), we would expect them to consciously process the claims and thus be more likely to reject them as inappropriate. Furthermore, this suggests we would find a backlash effect among women listeners; priming in-group membership increases the accessibility of positive attributes among the group's members; in this case resulting in females' enhanced belief in greater gender equality.[4]

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[3] In fact, this appeared to be the case. Many males were witnessed bopping their heads to the beats when listening to Eminem at the same time most females sat stone-faced.

[4] The authors are indebted to Cristina Ling for making this observation.

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Priming

Priming is the mechanism that theoretically links exposure to the lyrics and its effects. According to the leading theories of cognition, concepts that are related to one another in memory can be simultaneously activated by mere exposure to one of these, or an associated, concepts, with or without the perceiver's awareness (Bargh 1997). If I evaluate the object ice cream favorably, exposure to the word, *ice cream*, automatically activates this positive evaluation of the attitude-object. Particular attention has been given to the consequences of exposure to various social category and stereotype trait information. Gender stereotypes that are stored in memory, for example, can be automatically activated in the mere presence of symbols or descriptions of category members, such as words describing gender stereotypes and images of women's faces (for equivalent studies on race, see Devine 1989; Dovidio et al 1997; Fazio et al 1995). Moreover, activating one gender stereotype is expected to also activate related gender stereotypes through "spreading activation" (Macrae et al 1994).

These studies further suggest an important distinction exists between stereotype activation and application (Fazio and Dunton 1997; Dovidio et al 1997; Fiske 1989). While activation of the stereotype-associated information is generally considered to be automatic, the application of this information is generally agreed to be a conditional process (Fazio et al 1995; Kawakami et al 2000). Individuals exposed to gender stereotypic information who are motivated to be non-sexist, for example, are predicted to be able to prevent themselves from drawing upon the activated stereotypic information in making judgments (Devine and Montieth 1993; Montieth 1996). Furthermore, Fazio et al (1995) demonstrate that, for race, that personal evaluations and not just stereotypic content are automatically activated in these priming experiments. Thus, priming effects provide one way of implicitly measuring sexism (prejudice) and not just socially shared knowledge of gender stereotypes.

Research Design

Based on procedures more common to cognitive psychology, we conducted an experimental opinion survey to test these hypotheses. In the study, we randomly assign student subjects into three conditions. The conditions identify the type of music that they are exposed to: (1) misogynist rap (Eminem), (2) non-misogynist rap (The Beastie Boys), or (3) no music (control group).[5] After listening to the music (or not), subjects are asked about their opinions regarding potential government regulations and censorship.[6] Subjects are then told that was the end of the study, and that a second, unrelated study on

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[5] We intentionally used the Beastie Boys for the non-misogynist rap condition because the members are white, like Eminem, and their song has an equally aggressive rhythm.

[6] In results not reported here, preferences for censoring rap actually decline from the control group to the Eminem condition to the Beastie Boys, we presume because the schema for hypothetical "rap" music is filthy, and the songs they listened too, even Eminem's, were not as bad as the prototype. This suggests priming "rap music" alone could weakly activate negative gender stereotypes, particularly if "filthy" also means sexist.

decision-making skills will now begin. In this part of the experiment, subjects are asked for their opinions about the role of women in society. These questions have a dual purpose; they quite literally measure respondents' beliefs about the role of women in society and they also constitute individual measures of hostile and benevolent sexism that can be combined into indices. Afterwards, we are able to estimate the effects of gender stereotypes by examining opinions across the experimental conditions.

An Unobtrusive Design

A noteworthy aspect to our research design is that it is largely unobtrusive. We do not ask subjects to directly reveal their acceptance of gender stereotypes and then their evaluations of women in order to measure their correlation. The reason for this strategy is to avoid social desirability effects which are known to exist when asking about socially sensitive topics (for a similar strategy, see Cobb 2001a, 2001b).[7]

It is argued, for example, the self-reports of racial prejudice are deficient because they are based on an inadequate model of how respondents answer questions about sensitive issues in surveys (Kulinski and Cobb 1998; Berinsky 1999). Statistically speaking, traditional survey measures are vulnerable to significant nonrandom measurement error; in this case a preponderance of "false-negatives". The error is pernicious because answers are systematically biased in only one direction, an egalitarian one, even though this does not reflect the "true" distribution of thoughts on the matter (Kuklinski, Cobb and Gilens 1997; Kuklinski and Cobb 1998; Crosby, Saxe, and Bromley 1980; Sigall and Page 1971).

Data and Meaures

During the Fall semester of 2001, students enrolled in Introduction to American Government at North Carolina State University participated in this study to partially fulfill a course requirement. In all, 232 subjects, a majority of them first-year students, took part in the study. Of these, 54% were male, 77% white, and an equal percentage self-identified Democrats and Republicans (40-40, with 20% independent).[8]

Dependent Variables

To explore the potential impact of negative gender stereotypes (primed by exposure to misogynistic rap) on attitudes about gender roles, we asked subjects to answer five questions. Three of the questions were constructed to tap stereotypes associated with hostile sexism and the other two with stereotypes associated with benevolent sexism (see Appendix B for question wording). Subjects were asked on a ten-point scale whether they thought a statement about the role or behavior of women was a very good or a very bad thing, with intermediate categories in between. An example of a question intended to measure hostile sexism asked for subjects' reactions to the statement, "Women are

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[7] The drawback is that we can't directly measure the activation of gender stereotypes and their influence on the dependent variables; this process must be assumed.

[8] An error during the administration of the survey led to the loss of some demographic data for 41 subjects, which explains the loss of subjects in some of the multivariate data analysis.

increasingly likely to identify themselves as, "feminists." Conversely, benevolent sexism was measured through reactions to the following statement, "In the United States military, women are not allowed to serve in combat roles."[9] As expected, in results not reported here confirmatory factor analysis revealed that three questions (2, 3 and 4) measuring hostile sexism loaded on a different dimension than do the two questions (1 and 5) measuring benevolent sexism.

Although one possible analytic strategy would be to evaluate respondents' answers to each question individually[10], we also combine them into three additive indexes measuring: (1) hostile sexism, (2) benevolent sexism, and (3) the combination of HS and BS. We failed to find significant effects using the first two indices[11], so we report results here using the third index.[12] Scores for this index of sexism range from 13 to 50, with a mean of 31.4 and a standard deviation of 6.6 (N= 232; alpha =.48). Higher scores indicate greater sexist beliefs.[13]

Independent Variables

The primary independent variable consists of the priming condition subjects were exposed: no music, non-misogynist rap, and misogynist rap. We are able to code the treatments several different ways. The first is to create two dummy variables, one for each type of rap music where the control group is coded "0" and the specific type of rap is coded "1" while the other type of rap music is eliminated from the data. Although we examined the data using this coding scheme to verify that listening to Eminem was qualitatively different than exposure to the Beastie Boys, we do not use it in the results presented below. Instead, we create a dummy variable to measure exposure to Eminem, where listening to Eminem is coded "1" and both the control group and the Beastie Boys group are coded "0". We use this latter coding scheme because it saves the most amount of data and our first cut of the data revealed null effects for exposure to the Beastie Boys. The lack of significant effects for the other rap condition has important implications for our findings. When attempting to explain the impact of gender stereotypes on beliefs

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[9] We recognize that the statement is factually incorrect.

[10] In results not presented here, the pattern of findings actually reported here is matched by a question-by-question analysis, although several questions produced null results. Overall, our findings by individual questions are less robust than those obtained using the combined index.

[11] We will have more to say about the null results when analyzing the first two indices in the final section of the paper.

[12] Respondent scores on the dependent variable are calculated by adding the responses on questions 1 and 5 to an inverse scale of the responses to questions 2, 3 and 4.

[13] The relatively high mean on this index that ostensibly measures "sexism" is bothersome for two reasons. First, the non-normal distribution of responses is a bias against finding significant priming effects. Second, one must either assume sexism is rampant among college students or that the scale measures more than sexism alone.

about the roles of women, the content of the rap music listened to is critical and that rap itself does not result in increased sexism.

We included respondents' gender in the analysis for obvious theoretical reasons, coding men as the higher value. In the more rigorous regression analysis, we created and used an interaction term between gender and the type of prime. Higher values for this term indicate males who were exposed to Eminem.

Subjects' race was measured and used here as a dichotomous variable—called "White"—because of the racial characteristics of rap music. Participants were also asked if they had a brother(s) or sister(s) and dichotomous measures of each are included. Here the thinking is that participants with sisters are less likely to hold sexist attitudes, those with brothers more likely to.

An additional control variable indicated respondents' primary source of news. Those who answered "television" are coded '1', those who stated "newspapers" or "the Internet" are coded '0'. This measure is designed to examine one of two effects. First, hypothetically television is the medium best suited to the transmission of sexist values. It is reflective of societal norms and much of its content is designed to pull at very basic human emotions. Newspapers and the Internet, on the other hand, tap into more cerebral qualities. Second, although the study provides an in-built control for educational attainment, the "news" variable may be a proxy for intellectual aptitude. We suggest newspaper and Internet readers are perhaps academically stronger and, by inference, hold fewer sexist attitudes than those who get their news primarily from television.

Finally, standard control variables measuring participants' self-placement on a five-point party-identification and political ideology scale were created. The categories for these measures, respectively, ranged from "Strong Democrat" to "Strong Republican" and "Strong Liberal" to "Strong Conservative."

Results

Initial analysis of the effects of priming respondents' gender stereotypes suggests that minimal effects occurred. Table 1 reports the means for the sexism scale by the Eminem prime first without controlling for gender and then controlling for gender. In this second analysis, by gender, we see a very different pattern. Although mean scores on the dependent variable measuring sexism do not vary by condition in the first column, they certainly do once gender is considered. Although the absolute value of the difference in means across conditions by gender is not overwhelming, the change itself is in the expected direction.[14]

==Table 1 about here==

Figure 1 visually displays the means by gender and by condition. In this visual presentation, notice how the sexism index scores for males in the Eminem group become higher than those of males in the control group, a pattern predicted by peripheral information processing and priming. Quite literally, it also suggests that listening to misogynist music solicits sexist attitudes, even after brief exposure to just one song. Second, we also see that females exposed to Eminem provide responses that are less

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[14] Ceiling effects are one possible reason for the relatively small differences. When we examined the responses to the individual questions, several of the questions had answers skewed in the "sexist" direction so that very little opinion change could actually result.

sexist than female participants in the other group do. This pattern fits with the predicted backlash hypothesis among females. In all, this initial analysis seems to confirm cultural critics' worst fears about young males who listen to Eminem, but it offers encouraging signs regarding the reactions of females.

==Figure 1 about here==

We now examine whether these initial results hold up when controlling for other influences. To do this, we constructed an OLS regression model. Table 2 presents the regression results.

==Table 2 about here==

Cumulatively, the variables explain about thirty percent of the variance in the sexism index. Individually, some of the effects are quite interesting. Note first that, as hypothesized, participants who received most of their news from television were more likely to hold sexist attitudes. Interestingly, it is also the case that Republicans and conservatives do, suggesting that thoughts about gender roles play a role in the formation of political attitudes. Oddly, having a brother is associated with reporting less sexist attitudes, even after controlling for having a sister. Second, the variable representing the prime is statistically significant. Counter to our hypothesis, participants in the Eminem condition were actually less likely to hold sexist attitudes—as revealed by the negative sign of the coefficient. Given the high degree of collinearity due to the introduction of the interaction term and our primary theoretical interest in the interaction between gender and the priming condition itself, we are not overly concerned with this otherwise puzzling result. Critically, the interaction term's coefficient is positive and significant. In other words, the additive effect of exposure to the misogynistic prime to gender is to make young men exhibit more and young women less sexist about gender roles. This result confirms what we presented visually about the effects of listening to Eminem.[15]

Discussion and Implications

An important caveat to our findings is that overall they are not as robust as we would prefer. In particular, we failed to uncover significant priming effects on each of the distinct types of sexism indices. Only when the two indices were combined into a master index of sexism did we find significant priming effects. One explanation is that exposure to Eminem was such a hard-hitting prime that subtle differences in sexism became blurred in the face of such an onslaught of sexist vulgarity. Another is simply that too much time takes place between the treatment and measuring the dependent variable, making it less likely that any association between them will be accurately recorded. Most social psychology research investigating similar complex mental relationships, for example, use tightly controlled computer experiments that don't allow respondents the chance to control their reactions to the stimulus; indeed, they measure these hypothetical mental associations with reaction times. In retrospect, we assumed a trade-off would

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[15] These findings are largely replicated in comparable regression analysis where the sample is split by gender to avoid including an interaction term. In these models, exposure to the Eminem prime is significant (and has a negative sign) for females, but not for males, although the sign of the coefficient is in the expected direction and approaches statistical significance ($p < .15$, one-tailed test).

exist between the unobtrusive design and opportunity for respondents to control their reactions, but perhaps it was an unequal one.

Nevertheless, we present results that are congruent with both anecdotal and theoretical expectations. These results have at least two important implications for the effect of exposure to misogynist rap on attitudes about the proper role and rights of women. First, misogynist rap may not have a particularly coherent cumulative effect on society's collective attitudes toward women, but it has discernible and different effects on male and female attitudes. Misogynist rap, as Figure 1 shows, seems to prime negative gender stereotypes that lead to more sexist attitudes in males and defensive ones in females. Second, the most meaningful way to think about the impact of rap on sexist attitudes is to understand its content. The most robust conceptualization of our three groups occurred when grouping participants in the control group with those who listened to the Beastie Boys and differentiating these two groups from those who listened to Eminem. Rap itself does not appear to inherently prime gender stereotypes; rap that overtly denigrates women, however, does prime these stereotypes.

Lyrics to "Kill You" by Eminem

When I was just a little baby boy,
my momma used to tell me these crazy things
She used to tell me my daddy was an evil man,
she used to tell me he hated me
But then I got a little bit older
and I realized, she was the crazy one
But there was nothing I could do or say to try to change it
cause that's just the way she was
They said I can't rap about being broke no more
They say I can't rap about coke no more
(AHHH!) Slut, you think I won't choke no whore
til the vocal cords don't work in her throat no more?!
(AHHH!) These motherfuckers are thinkin I'm playin
Thinkin I'm sayin the shit cause I'm thinkin it just to be sayin it
(AHHH!) Put your hands down bitch, I ain't gon' shoot you
I'ma pull YOU to this bullet, and put it through you
(AHHH!) Shut up slut, you're causing too much chaos
Just bend over and take it slut, okay Ma?
"Oh, now he's raping his own mother, abusing a whore,
snorting coke, and we gave him the Rolling Stone cover?"
You god damn right BITCH, and now it's too late
I'm triple platinum and tragedies happen in two states
I invented violence, you vile venomous volatile bitches
vain Vicadin, vrinnn Vrinnn, VRINNN!
Texas Chainsaw, left his brains all
danglin from his neck, while his head barely hangs on
Blood, guts, guns, cuts
Knives, lives, wives, nuns, sluts

Chorus:
Bitch I'ma kill you! You don't wanna fuck with me
Girls leave - you ain't nuttin but a slut to me
Bitch I'ma kill you! You ain't got the balls to beef
We ain't gon' never stop beefin I don't squash the beef
You better kill me! I'ma be another rapper dead
for poppin off at the mouth with shit I shouldn'ta said
But when they kill me - I'm bringin the world with me
Bitches too! You ain't nuttin but a girl to me
I said you don't, wanna fuck with Shady (cause why?)
Cause Shady, will fuckin kill you (ah-haha)
I said you don't, wanna fuck with Shady (why?)
Cause Shady, will fuckin kill you
Bitch I'ma kill you! Like a murder weapon, I'ma conceal you
in a closet with mildew, sheets, pillows and film you
Buck with me, I been through hell, shut the hell up!

I'm tryin to develop these pictures of the Devil to sell 'em
I ain't ask to rap, but I rap on acid
Got a new blow-up probe and just had a strap-on added
WHOOPS! Is that a subliminal hint? NO!
Just criminal intent to sodomize women again
Eminem offend? No, Eminem on assault!
And if you ever give in to him, you give him an impulse
to do it again, THEN, if he does it again
you'll probably end up jumpin out of somethin up on the 10th
(Ahhhhhhhh!)
Bitch I'ma kill you, I ain't done this ain't the chorus
I ain't even drug you in the woods yet to paint the forest
A bloodstain is orange after you wash it three or four times
in a tub but that's normal ain't it Norman?
Serial killer hidin murder material
in a cereal box on top of your stereo
Here we go again, we're out of our medicine
out of our minds, and we want in yours, let us in

Chorus

Eh-heh, know why I say these things?
Cause lady's screams keep creepin in Shady's dreams
And the way things seem, I shouldn't have to pay these shrinks
this eighty G's a week to say the same things TWEECE!
TWICE? Whatever, I hate these things
Fuck shots! I hope the weed'll outweigh these drinks
Motherfuckers want me to come on their radio shows
just to argue with 'em cause their ratings stink?
FUCK THAT! I'll choke radio announcer to bouncer
from fat bitch to off seventy-thousand pounds of her
from principal to the study body and counselor
from in-school to before school to out of school
I don't even believe in breathin I'm leavin air in your lungs
just to hear you keep screamin for me to seep it
OKAY, I'M READY TO GO PLAY
I GOT THE MACHETE FROM O.J.
I'M READY TO MAKE EVERYONE'S THROATS ACHE
You faggots keep eggin me on
til I have you at knifepoint, then you beg me to stop?
SHUT UP! Give me your hands and feet
I said SHUT UP when I'm talkin to you
YOU HEAR ME? ANSWER ME!

Chorus

Hahaha, I'm just playin ladies
You know I love you

Lyrics to "Sabotage" by the Beastie Boys

I Can't Stand It I Know You Planned It
But I'm Gonna Set It Straight, This Watergate
I Can't Stand Rocking When I'm In Here
Because Your Crystal Bal Ain't So Crystal Clear
So While You Sit Backand Wonder Why
I Got This Fucking Thorn In My Side
Oh My, It's A Mirage
I'm Tellin' Y'all It's a Sabotage

So Listen Up 'Cause You Can't Say Nothin'
You'll Shut Me Dow With A Push Of Your Button?
But I'm Out And I'm Gone
I'll Tell You Now I Keep It On And On

'Cause What You See You Might Not Get
And We Can Bet So Don't You Get Souped Yet
You're Scheming On A Thing That's A Mirage
I'm Trying To Tell You Now It's Sabotage
Why; Our Backs Are Now Against The Wall
Listen All Of Y'all It's A Sabotage

I Can't Stand It, I Know You Planned It
But I'm Gonna Set It Straight This Watergate
I Can't Stand Rockin' When I'm In This Place
Because I Feel Disgrace Because You're All In My Face
But Make No Mistakes And Switch Up My Channel
I'm Buddy Rich When I Fly Off The Handle
What Could It Be, It's A Miracle
You're Scheming On A Thing; That's Sabotage

Appendix B

Survey Instructions: "We are presently involved in research on the public view of potential policy concerns. The following questions ask you to indicate your feelings about various issues. After each statement you read below, please indicate whether you think the statement indicates a good thing or a bad thing. You can do this by circling the number on a ten-point scale that best corresponds to your opinion. For example, the number "1" stands for a very bad thing and the number "10" stands for a very good thing."

Q1 Women rather than men are most likely to stay home and raise children.

Q2 Men are increasingly likely to lose their jobs because of a woman's claim of sexual harassment.

Q3 Women are increasingly likely to identify themselves as, "feminists."

Q4 Women who divorce their husbands, even after being unfaithful, are often awarded half of the couple's assets.

Q5 In the United States military, women are not allowed to serve in combat roles.

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Table 1.
Mean Sexism Scores, by Priming Condition and Gender

	Total	Males	Females
Control Group	31.21 (6.65) n = 159	33.33 (7.33) n = 82	28.86 (4.99) n = 77
Eminem	31.78 (6.54) n = 73	34.56 (6.21) n = 43	27.80 (4.72) n = 30)

Table 2.
The Impact of Priming on Sexist Attitudes (OLS Regression Estimates)

Variable	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients
BROTHER	-1.72** (.81)	-.14
SISTER	.41 (.82)	.03
TV	1.59* (.84)	.12
PID	.84* (.44)	.18
IDEOLOGY	.91* (.47)	.18
WHITE	.06 (1.0)	.004
GENDER	.57 (2.42)	.05
PRIME	-4.63* (2.78)	-.35
GENDER X PRIME	2.77* (1.70)	.46
Constant	26.63*** (4.31)	
R^2 = .32, N=184		

Note: standard errors are in parentheses; ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.10