



On the defensive or deliberately dazzling

Black women professors'
performative body rhetorics of
success

Michelle Grue

Start here

Contents

□ Introduction

□ Methods

□ Complicating advice about dress

□ Gaze

□ Hair

□ Queering
Stereotypes

□ Beauty

□ Conclusions

□ References

□ Photo Credits



Introduction

The marginalization and isolation of women of color in the academy is a well-documented phenomenon (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1991; Goodburn, LeCourt, & Leverenz; 2012; Muhs, Niemann, Gonzales, & Harris; 2012). Persisting through an academic career often leads women of color to engage in thoughtful bodily performances. They frequently consider how they are perceived in multiple parts of their academic career (Butler, 1988; Foucault, 2012; Logan, 2006), from conference presentations (McGee & Kazembe, 2016) to the classroom (Saavedra, 2006). Of course, White women professors also must make rhetorical decisions about dress.

However, the stakes are higher for Black women, who already operate in marginalized spaces in academia (Collins, 1990). Further, in the field of writing, rhetoric, and composition, White women make up the majority of faculty (Ballif, Davis, & Mountford, 2008) and have more advice available to them that was cultivated by people who look like them (Ballif et al., 2008). Black professors in particular are aware of the surveilling White gaze, which consciously and subconsciously critiques Black bodies (Foucault, 2012; Logan, 2004; McGee & Kazembe, 2016; Nunley, 2004).

In order to better serve and represent Black women in the academy, I argue that it is necessary to expand the literature on academic dress practices that other scholars have already discussed (Ballif et al., 2008; Cooper, Morris, & Boylorn, 2017; Johnson, Levy, Manthey, & Novotny, 2015; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992).

Introduction

As one step in that direction, this article draws from a completed, larger study of four Black women in academia, who represent different career stages and universities, sexual orientations, and regions. In particular, clothing and natural hair, particularly locs (aka dreadlocks), were heavily discussed, followed by beauty and the tensions surrounding their decisions.

To bring to life the variety of ways the participants wear and think about their clothing, hair, and beauty ideals, this article takes the form of an interactive photo essay, in which images that represent key frameworks, thematics, and findings can be clicked by the reader to learn more about the specific topic. Clips from the interviews are imbedded where appropriate and with permission. It is designed such that each section following this introduction interrelates to other areas but could be read out of order without affecting comprehension.

[Contents](#)

Methods

The research displayed herein is part of a larger study on Black women's rhetorics of success. Qualitative inquiry was used to answer this study's questions through a phenomenological approach utilizing:

- Black women's rhetoric (Kynard, 2016; Logan, 2004; Royster, 2000; and Smitherman, 1977)
- Black feminist methodological approaches
 - intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins & Bilge, 2016),
 - womanism (Walker, 2011),
 - the importance of identity and the revolutionary work that identity exploration can be (Collins, 1986; Lorde, 2007),
 - and liberatory writing, activism, and pedagogy (hooks, 1994).

The data used in this study is a set of semi-structured interviews (n=4).

The women selected for this study meet traditional definitions of academic success as tenured, well-published, and both nationally and internationally regarded scholars in their field, yet they also expand on this definition through their physical and digital public work that furthers their academic profile while also bringing attention to the needs of the Black community.

Approval for conducting human subjects research was obtained before conducting the interviews, which took place in the United States. Pseudonyms are used below to protect the anonymity of participants. To allow for flexibility, probing questions (Murphy, 1980) and a joint construction of meaning (Mishler, 1986), one researcher, also a Black woman, conducted all the interviews. If you would like to know more details about the methodological process, please contact the author at michallengrue@gmail.com

I dress my
best
(because of
pressure)

The
advice
from
*Women's
ways*

Complicating advice from White women

Women's ways of making it (Ballif et al., 2008), a seminal text in the field of writing, rhetoric, and composition, begins with an illustration of the perception of a woman's bodily performance of professionalism, anchored by the clothes she wore that made the authors of that text admire a woman who "seemed to have 'it'...she was always impeccably dressed, impeccably prepared for the seminars she taught, impeccably articulate, impeccably published...impeccably *professional* [italics original]" (Ballif et al., 2008, p. vii).

The performance of success was multi-pronged: publications, fluent academic language, excellence in teaching, and an irreproachable wardrobe. However, a successful bodily performance of professionalism does not stop at superficial things like the "skirts, slacks, suites, sweaters" (Ballif et al., 2008, p. vii) that the authors found in their academic idol's closet. Rather, it includes bodily performing the tasks necessary for academic success, wrapped in the trappings of professional clothing, worn by a professional. Further, it includes all the private prep work to engage in those public performances, the closet full of clothing "all neatly hung and categorized" (Ballif et al., 2008, p. vii).

Clothing

Dressing
my best is
"ethnic"

Contents



Confidence



Complicating advice from White women



Motherhood

Clothing and motherhood

“I was also at this very high position, it took a lot of time, and so I adopted this rule that I would never do anything myself that would take time away from my kids, that I could pay someone to do, provided I could afford it. So, I had someone cooking for me and cleaning for me and you know, and I had someone picking out my clothes.

And it turns out, when you have someone picking out your clothes who really loved clothes and loved to shop, they’re really good at it! And so, once you get used to that whole thing, it just takes on a life, at this point, it’s kind of on autopilot. Like, I don’t, I go shopping once a year at Nordstrom’s and my person picks out my clothes and I, you know, it’s actually pretty cost-effective, too.”

-Dr. Tamora



Clothing and confidence

“I find that you are, or at least I find it for myself, to be much more effective presenting when you have great clothes, that fit. Sometimes it’s as simple as having a good bra, which changes your posture and changing your posture makes you approach things differently.”

-Dr. Tamora

[Contents](#) [Clothing](#) [Complicating advice](#)





Dressing my best is ethnic

10

Clothing Complicating advice Contents Gaze

I don't know how to describe how I dress. It's sort of some version of bohemian academic something. But I strive for comfort over style. And if the comfort has style in it, all the better, but I guess what I try to communicate, either consciously or unconsciously, is that it's okay to be comfortable in your body.

-Dr. Evelyn

The clothing advice in *Women's ways* (Ballif et al., 2008) runs contrary to this advice, specifically around wearing 'ethnic' clothing that may or may not have fringe. While Dr. Evelyn feels confident enough as a rhetor to send the message that her comfort and health matter more than the potential discomfort of and backlash from predominately White audiences, not all the participants feel similarly.

I dress my best (because of pressure)

Dr. Veronica represents the Black woman academic who does not feel free to wear comfortable styles, like those in McGee and Kazembe's (2016) study.

I can't do what many of my white male and some female counterparts do, I don't wear jeans, I don't even wear jeans to work, not even on non-teaching days. I don't. I always try to dress my best when I'm on campus.

[Contents](#) **[Complicating advice](#)** **[Clothing](#)** **[Gaze](#)**



Advice from/for white women

In the field of rhetoric and composition studies, one of the most significant pieces about how women navigate academia is *Women's ways of making it in rhetoric and composition* (Ballif et al., 2008). Despite claiming to speak for “women” in rhetoric and composition, Ballif et al. spent little time in the main text discussing the institutional and structural racism that they briefly acknowledge in their introduction.

The methodological overview reveals one potential reason for Ballif et al.’s (2008) limited discussions of race: professors from non-white racial backgrounds are not well-represented in the surveys (sent only to professors at PhD granting institutions) on which the authors base much of their book. Out of 142 survey participants, 131 self-identified as “Caucasian, non-Hispanic,” 3 identified themselves as ‘Native American’, 4 as ‘Caucasian, Hispanic’, 1 as ‘Bi/Multi Racial’, and 3 as ‘Other’ (Ballif et al., 2008, 7). In their own words, “not one respondent identified her race as ‘African American’” (Ballif et al., 2008, 7).

Contents Complicating advice

Clothing Advice from Women’s ways

Categories	Advice
For an interview	<p>“Probably not in gray trousers and a white shirt, nor in the equivalent of a tailored ‘power-suit,’ both of which could make her appear too ball busting, too scary, too ‘manly’. But not in anything too soft or ‘feminine’ either, as that could make her appear too weak, too unprofessional, too ‘girly’.” (p. 33)</p> <p>“Aim for a look that’s stylish but conservative. Wear a fashionable business suit in a low-key color, a minimum of jewelry, simple accessories and low-heeled pumps” (p. 33).</p>
For a conference	<p>“The best clothes for a professional woman to wear to a big-time academic conference are dresses or skirts that no one will notice or remember: not too tight, not too short, not too colorful” (p. 34)</p> <p>“A mature woman should avoid looking ‘frumpy’ at all costs; she should instead go for an’ earthy, ethnic, or elegant’ look” (p. 34)</p> <p>“understated elegance can be valuable” (p. 34)</p> <p>“miniskirts are always incorrect...pants can be risky for conservative schools...dressing as a Wall Street Banker...will seem too powerful” (p. 34)</p> <p>“Ms. Mentor retains some skepticism about ‘earthy’ and ‘ethnic’, especially if ‘ethnic’ means turbans and swirling fringe” (p. 34)</p> <p>“colorful scarves are tasteful and welcome accessories” (p. 34)</p>

Gaze



A quick look at the literature



The pressure of the gaze

Contents

Gaze: a quick look at the literature

The pressure to dress a particular way in a professional setting is hardly one only felt by Black women. However, the surveilling White gaze, employed by both men and women, has multiple layers and the impact is multiplied (Saavedra, 2016). According to McGee and Kazembe's (2016) research on 33 Black presenters at an academic conference, bodily critiques received after 'presenting while black' were based on: "demeanor, dress, mannerisms, and behaviors...[and] assumptions about the presenter's personality [as well as] energy level, appearance, poise and posture, authenticity" (McGee & Kazembe, 2016, p. 109). These presenters shared strategies they use for coping with racialized bias, which include: intentional choice to use humor or not, being "purposefully pleasant and upbeat" (p. 110), and "making white audience members comfortable" (p. 110). Three out of four of my participants expressed using similar techniques. Audience member critiques also included commentary about clothing being too tight or revealing, which is one Saavedra (2016) notes reflects a history of attempting to separate the sexual or sensual from teachers' bodies. It also connects to the history of racialized gender stereotypes around Black women, which paint them as either hypersexualized Jezebels, angry Sapphires, or sexless mothering Mammies (Harris-Perry, 2011; Satchel, 2016).

Wearing Afro-centric clothing also led to presentation disruptions. Strategies for handling these critiques sometimes included assimilating in dress, much like 19th century Black orators did (Logan, 2004). Black public figures have struggled with this tension for centuries. White/Western clothing, like a tailored business suit with glasses, received no detractions from audience members, then or now. Participants (McGee & Kazembe, 2016) considered changing outfits like this a sign of assimilation that ran counter to their views, but led to better reception and funding opportunities. Black women made other sacrifices, including straightening their hair, wearing significantly lighter makeup to appear fairer, and shopping at predominately White stores, in the hope that they would be more readily accepted (McGee & Kazembe, 2016). White women's conflicting advice further confuses the issue. Some senior scholars say wearing ethnic clothing is fine, others say it is not, and the presumption of telling someone they can or cannot wear clothing that reflects their own culture is never mentioned (Ballif et al., 2008).

Remember, this is the advice given to White women, by White women

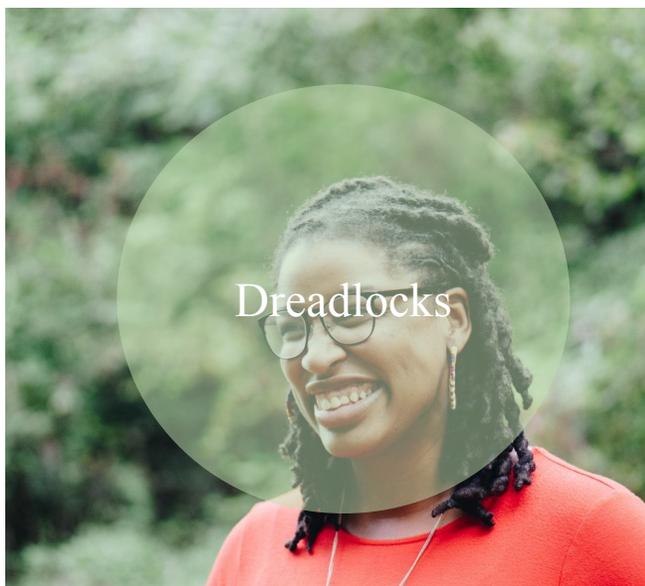
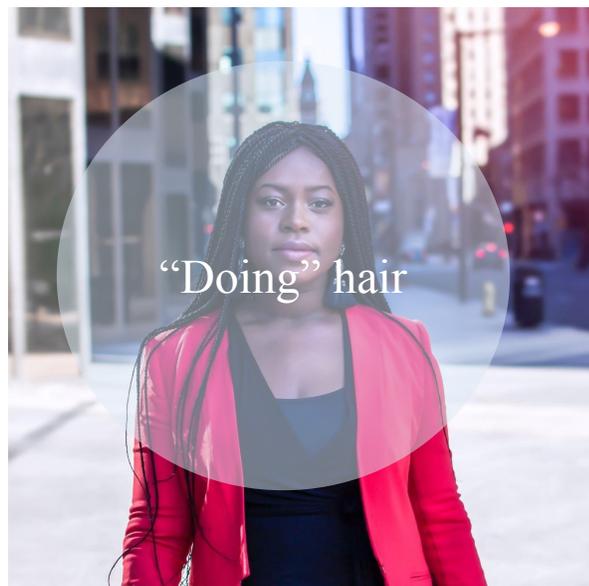
In the field of rhetoric and composition studies, one of the most significant pieces about how women navigate academia is *Women's ways of making it in rhetoric and composition* (Ballif et al., 2008). Despite claiming to speak for “women” in rhetoric and composition, Ballif et al. spent little time in the main text discussing the institutional and structural racism that they briefly acknowledge in their introduction.

The methodological overview reveals one potential reason for Ballif et al.’s (2008) limited discussions of race: professors from non-white racial backgrounds are not well-represented in the surveys (sent only to professors at PhD granting institutions) on which the authors base much of their book. *Out of 142 survey participants, 131 self-identified as “Caucasian, non-Hispanic,”* 3 identified themselves as ‘Native American’, 4 as ‘Caucasian, Hispanic’, 1 as ‘Bi/Multi Racial’, and 3 as ‘Other’” (Ballif et al., 2008, 7). In their own words, *“not one respondent identified her race as ‘African American’”* (Ballif et al., 2008, 7).

[Contents](#) [Gaze](#)

Clothing Advice from Women’s ways

Categories	Advice
For an interview	<p>“Probably not in gray trousers and a white shirt, nor in the equivalent of a tailored ‘power-suit,’ both of which could make her appear too ball busting, too scary, too ‘manly’. But not in anything too soft or ‘feminine’ either, as that could make her appear too weak, too unprofessional, too ‘girly.’” (p. 33)</p> <p>“Aim for a look that’s stylish but conservative. Wear a fashionable business suit in a low-key color, a minimum of jewelry, simple accessories and low-heeled pumps” (p. 33).</p>
For a conference	<p>“The best clothes for a professional woman to wear to a big-time academic conference are dresses or skirts that no one will notice or remember: not too tight, not too short, not too colorful” (p. 34)</p> <p>“A mature woman should avoid looking ‘frumpy’ at all costs; she should instead go for an’ earthy, ethnic, or elegant’ look” (p. 34)</p> <p>“understated elegance can be valuable” (p. 34)</p> <p>“miniskirts are always incorrect...pants can be risky for conservative schools...dressing as a Wall Street Banker...will seem too powerful” (p. 34)</p> <p>“Ms. Mentor retains some skepticism about ‘earthy’ and ‘ethnic’, especially if ‘ethnic’ means turbans and swirling fringe” (p. 34)</p> <p>“colorful scarves are tasteful and welcome accessories” (p. 34)</p>



Hair

Some Black women wear their hair straightened or in weaves that match White expectations of beauty and professionalism, evoking the politics of respectability (Harris-Perry, 2011; White, 2001) and assimilation (McGee & Kazembe, 2015; Saavedra, 2006) that are frequently necessary to be viewed as 'professional' women. Others wear these styles because of ease and genuine enjoyment.

Braids of widely variant styles are also common to the Black community. Unsurprisingly, the women in this study wear their hair differently, though most in a type of natural style. Two women wear dreadlocks, also known as locs or dreds. The other two women wear their hair in natural curls of different textures.

Academics need to become more familiar with these types of styles so they can understand that they are, indeed, professional. Black women should not need to make decisions about their hair based on critiques of colleagues about the unsuitability of their natural hair or protective styles (McGee & Kazembe, 2016). If seeing a Black woman's hairstyle makes a non-Black scholar uncomfortable, critical, or overly fascinates them, introspection is needed on the part of that scholar, not the Black woman.

Contents

Locs (aka dreadlocks aka dreads)

Dr. Veronica: "...in graduate school, I decided to lock my hair and it was a difficult decision, I had been straightening my hair so the only way to go from straightened and you know chemically straightened hair to natural hair is by cutting off the chemically straightened hair. You can't grow your own hair out and just transform it somehow. Still um, so I found that I don't look very good with short hair (chuckles) I didn't like how I looked. That made me turn even more inward um but by the end of graduate school you know I had pretty decent looking locks. They weren't great, they weren't long, but they were obviously locks, and not whatever else was going on with my head" - because Dr. Veronica decided to loc her hair in part because of a few friends' suggestions, she considers this an outwardly influenced decision.

For Dr. Evelyn, the decision to maintain her locs is about having stability: "I think um, the fact that I've had dreads for over twenty years or so, something like that, close to twenty, if not more, I don't know. I've had dreads for a long time. And they come and they go in popularity. And right now, um, I see so many of the young women, Black women in particular, on campus who um, are not wearing their hair in natural styles. Although a lot are, so we really are a compendium, but I think for me at least, maintaining a natural look is um, important. Um, it gives me personally a stabilizing point for who I am and what I am about."



[Hair](#)

[Contents](#)

“Doing” hair, even when it is ‘natural’

Dr. Tamora “does” her hair by experimenting with different styles, from updos to different ways of wearing her natural curls. Other common ways Black women do their hair include weaves and braids. These styles are still considered natural by some, because they can protect the hair from weather and are not chemical treatments. There is some disagreement in the Black natural hair community about whether these styles are considered “natural” but many Black women prefer them because they allow them to style their hair in what is considered more professional styles without chemically altering their hair (Gill, 2015).

[Contents](#) [Hair](#)



Beauty: two reflections

“When I grew up in Queens, and I remember seeing on Jamaica Avenue or something, a Black, Muslim woman. I know she had flowy clothing on and she also had a pearl in her nose, and I thought that was the most beautiful thing I had ever seen and when I grow up I'm gonna do that. So um wow, it took about 15 years for me to see that and then do it.”

-Dr. Veronica

“You know, um, at the beginning of my career, I did make a decision like I wasn't going to try. You know, I was one of those people who didn't wear makeup, and I didn't shave my legs. You know, I did all of that stuff. It was also exploring the relationship between femininity and having a career. And then I made a decision that I was always going to be dazzling, in every manifestation of that term. I would blind people with science, and I would also have the best clothes. I would be the person that people would be 'wow'! You know?”

-Dr. Tamora



Queering the angry Black woman: dress and demeanor

Dr. Tamora uses a similar tact – flipping a stereotype to her advantage - though it looks different in action because of their spheres of academic work. Because Dr. Tamora’s work in both law and policing places her in spaces that are pervasively masculine, Dr. Tamora must perform differently than the other participants (Zhanatayeva, Muhambetova, & Saliveva, 2014). The older, funny maternal figure or the humorous aunt performance do not work for her. Instead, she takes on more typically masculine behaviors to protect her racialized female body in an environment that is often not respectful of Blackness or femininity (Zhanateyeva et al., 2014).

So, I do a lot of work with police chiefs and, you know, it’s interesting. I will get emails from them, and they’re often, they admire the work, but I gotta be real. In that world, full of a lot of masculine men... to be a woman who is attractive, and super smart, who doesn’t take any BS, you know. I am well known for not suffering fools.

She owns that to be an attractive, intelligent woman in the physical spaces she navigates, she needs to perform a certain way to protect her body and her intellect, so she can do the work she wants to do. Channeling current Western body and behavior ideals for women, or the humor and mothering roles other participants utilized, would likely have backfired. Instead she subverts both the Jezebel and Sapphire (Harris-Perry, 2011) stereotypes of Black women and uses them for her purposes.

In some ways, it’s like queering the angry Black woman. It’s like, I’m not getting angry, but I am not, I’m not playing with you, you know? And I’ll have my colleagues, my white male colleagues, “Well, I’m scared of Tamora” you know. That’s the thing.

Dr. Tamora performs daily as a woman to be feared so she does not have to be a fearful woman in environments where she has few allies. In the classroom, that translates into channeling the governor and CEO types of personas (Gose, 1999), which works well for her as a law professor. The “ball busting” persona that *Women’s ways* advises against actually works in her favor.





Conclusions

This research project began after I read “the book” about succeeding in the field of rhetoric and composition, but not seeing or hearing people who look like me in its pages until the back of the book. *Presumed Incompetent* (Muhs et al., 2012), considered in the web of other scholarship produced by academics on both sides of the pond, establishes the fraught situation for Black and other women of color faculty in the academy (Collins, 2008; Cooper & Stevens, 2002; Gardner, 2008; Grant, 2012; McGee & Kazembe, 2016; Stanley, 2006; Wright et al., 2007). There was no denying that creating an environment of success for Black women faculty would be a challenging and multi-faceted task.

Part of the task of retaining Black faculty is to examine successful Black academics and to share their practices. It was vitally urgent to provide a resource for Black women, by Black women to help not just survive but thrive in the academy. While there were limitations to this study, the results of this small-scale study yielded rich data. Additionally, it served to begin bridging the gaps in the conversations around dress and faculty success currently taking place in the literature. Further, the findings here can be used to help White faculty better serve their Black students and be better supporters of their Black colleagues.

From the beginning of this project, I have promised the participants that I will provide a digital, open access resource of their stories and advice. This multimodal essay marks the first step toward answering that promise. Future publications will include their advice on using Twitter and other digital resources as ways to live out their Black feminism, as well as rhetorically performing success in the physical environment (classrooms, public scholarship, etc.)

References

- Ballif, M., Davis D., & Mountford R. (2008). *Women's ways of making it in rhetoric and composition*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1988). Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre Journal*, 40(4), 519–531.
- Collins, P. H. (1986). Learning from the outsider within: The sociological significance of Black feminist thought. *Social Problems*, 33(6), s14–s32.
- Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. New York: Routledge.
- Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2016). *Intersectionality*. Cambridge, UK: Malden, MA: Polity.
- Cooper, B.C., Morris, S. M., Boylorn, R.M. (2017). *The Crunk Feminist Collection*. New York: Feminist Press at CUNY.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299.
- Foucault, M. (2012). *The history of sexuality: An introduction*. NYC, NY: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.
- Gill, T.M. (2015). #TEAMNATURAL: Black hair and the politics of community in digital media. *Journal of Contemporary African Art* 37(1), 70-79. DOI 10.1215/10757163-3339739
- Goodburn, A. M., LeCourt, D., Leverenz, C. (2013). *Rewriting Success in Rhetoric and Composition Careers*. Anderson, S.C.: Parlor Press.
- Gose, M. D. (1999). *Creating a winning game plan: The secondary teacher's playbook*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Corwin.
- Harris-Perry, M. V. (2011). *Sister citizen: Shame, stereotypes, and Black women in America* (1 edition). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- hooks, bell. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom*. New York: Routledge.
- Johnson, M., Levy, D., Manthey, K., and Novotny, M. (2015). Embodiment: Embodying Feminist Rhetorics. *Peitho* 18(1), 39-44.
- Kynard, C. (2016). This bridge: The Black feminist compositionist's guide to the colonial and imperial violence of schooling today. *Feminist Teacher*, 26(2), 126–141. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5406/femteacher.26.2-3.0126>
- Logan, S. W. (2004). Black speakers, White representations: Frances Ellen Watkins Harper and the construction of a public persona. In E. Richardson & R.L. Jackson II (Eds.), *African American rhetoric(s): Interdisciplinary perspectives*. (pp. 21-36). Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Lorde, A., & Clarke, C. (2007). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches* (Reprint edition). Berkeley, Calif: Crossing Press.
- McGee, E. O., & Kazembe, L. (2016). Entertainers or education researchers? The challenges associated with presenting while black. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 19(1), 96–120. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2015.1069263>
- Mishler, E. G. (1986). The analysis of interview-narratives. In T. R. Sarbin (Ed.), *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct* (pp. 233-255). Westport, CT: Praeger/Greenwood.
- Muhs, G. G. y, Niemann, Y. F., González, C. G., & Harris, A. P. (Eds.). (2012). *Presumed incompetent: The intersections of race and class for women in academia*. Louisville, CO: Utah State University Press.
- Murphy, J. J. (1980). *Getting the Facts: A Fieldwork Guide for Evaluators and Policy Analysts*. Santa Monica, Calif: Goodyear Publishing Company.
- Nunley, V. L. (2004). From the harbor to da academic hood: Hush harbors and an African American rhetorical tradition. In E. Richardson & R.L. Jackson II (Eds.), *African American rhetoric(s): Interdisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 221-241). Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Roach-Higgins, M. E., & Eicher, J. B. (1992). Dress and identity. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*. 10(4), 1-8. doi-org/10.1177/0887302X9201000401
- Royster, J. J. (2000). *Traces of a stream: Literacy and social change among African American women*. Pittsburgh, PN: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Saavedra, C. M. (2006). *The teacher's body: Discourse, power, and discipline in the history of the feminization of teaching* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Texas A&M University, Texas, US.
- Satchel, R. M. (2016). *What movies teach about race: Exceptionalism, erasure, and entitlement*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Smitherman, G. (1977). *Talkin and testifyin: The language of Black America*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.
- Walker, A. (2011). *In search of our mothers' gardens: Prose*. NYC, NY: Open Road Media.
- White, E. F. (2001). *Dark continent of our bodies: Black feminism & politics of respectability*. Philadelphia, PN: Temple University Press.
- Zhanatayeva, U., Muhambetova, K., & Saliyeva, A. (2014). Female police officers: Life plans and values. *International Multidisciplinary Scientific Conference on Social Sciences & Arts SGEM*, 311–317.

Contents

Photo Credits

Photo by Prince Akachi on Unsplash



Photo by Pawel Czerwinski on Unsplash



Photo by Victoria Heath on Unsplash



Photo by Antenna on Unsplash



Photos by Eye for Ebony on Unsplash



Photos by Godisable Jacob from Pexels



Photo Credits

Photo by Christina Morillo on Pexel



Photo by rawpixel on Unsplash



Photo by Leighann Renne on Unsplash



Photo by Oscar Obians on Unsplash



Photo by Alex Sorto on Unsplash



Photo by Hust Wilson on Unsplash

