

Getting a Bad Rap: Misogynistic Themes in YouTube's Top 100 Most Viewed Pop and Hip Hop/Rap Music Videos by Artists' Gender

Frank Benton

Sociology

Faculty advisor: Dr. S. Lynn Rich

Using data collected from the 2014 one hundred most popular YouTube pop and hip hop/rap videos, this study explores misogynistic themes conveyed in pop and hip hop/rap music videos. The author found that misogynistic sexual scripts are continually being produced that reinforce stereotyped misogynistic expectations by both men and women, and this is carried out more frequently by the hip hop/rap genre. Furthermore, male and female hip hop/rap artists convey misogynistic themes, thus both genders are perpetuating the continuation of these sexual scripts which ultimately suggest a lack of gender equality. However, male pop videos and artists conveyed less misogynistic themes than female pop artists or both genders of hip hop/rap artists.

Introduction

This paper explores how pop and hip hop/rap music videos portray misogynistic themes. How do pop and hip hop/rap videos and artists perpetuate stereotypes regarding sexual images of men

CLA Journal
3 (2015)
pp. 11-35

and women? Data from pop and hip hop/rap music videos is analyzed as this study aims to determine how the content of pop or hip hop music videos portray misogyny.

Literature Review

The Concept of Misogyny

While culture is considered a dynamic construct, certain aspects of culture have remained static for decades that have come at the expense of marginalized various groups of people. These marginalized groups include women (Connell and Connell, 1995) and they are being sexually exploited in the music industry (Conrad et. al, 2009; Hansen and Hansen, 2000; Vincent, 1989). Weitzer and Kubrin (2009) found that misogyny was a significant theme in rap songs (Weitzer and Kubrin, 2009); however, to understand the impact of that statement, one must first be able to define the term "misogyny." Adams and Fuller (2006) define misogyny as an ideology that reduces women to objects for men's ownership, use, or abuse (Gourdine and Lemmons, 2011, p. 58). Tyson (2003) found that when these negative images of females are combined with a gangster lifestyle, the media promotes and gives the impression that certain communities adhere to these lifestyles (Gourdine and Lemmons, 2011). Misogyny and related themes (i.e., violence against women) are popularly thought to be more prevalent in "gangsta rap"; however, these themes are not exclusive to "gangsta rap" (Weitzer and Kubrin, 2009, p. 491). Many of these misogynistic themes can be found in other genres of music, such as pop music as well. Andsager and Roe (2003) argue that pop music videos have become increasingly sexually explicit (Jackson and Vares, 2015, p. 482). This isn't a relatively new development, however; early content analyses of music videos since MTV went to cable in 1981

have found that 40-75% of music videos contained sexual imagery (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011, p. 478). One can argue that four decades of misogynistic images on screens has led to the development of some interesting trends and there have been some interesting patterns indeed.

Objectification through Degradation and Appearance

Weitzer and Kubrin (2009) revealed that 49% of the misogynistic songs engaged in the theme of “status degradation ceremonies”, or “the ritual destruction of the person denounced” in which females were negatively labeled as sluts; tramps; whores; “hoochies”; “lying-ass bitches”; “shitty hoes”; “prima donna bitches”; and so forth (Weitzer & Kubrin, 2009, p. 496). These degradation ceremonies extend beyond lyrical content; more-so, the true degradation comes in the form of objectification of the female body. Recent content analyses such as Conrad et al. (2009) found that permissive sexual attitudes, exploitation, objectification, and degradation are prominent in music videos (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011, p. 478). Additionally, Hansen and Hansen (2000) found that music videos show that there is a heavy emphasis on physical appearance and attractiveness for women (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011); Vincent (1989), too, found that female characters in music videos has a heavy emphasis on their sexual appeal (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011). In layman’s terms, female actors in music videos are more-often objectified than their male counterparts on the basis of their appearance (Conrad et. al, 2009; Hansen and Hansen, 2000; Vincent 1989) – yet, it seems to only get worse as the number of ways the female body is objectified seem to add up.

The Focus on the Female Body

The female body is objectified through the way it is presented and focused on in various music videos. The way the female body is presented comes through the general presentation of dress or a lack thereof, with women dressing in “provocative” outfits meant to expose excessive amounts of skin. Conrad et. al (2009) found that women were ultimately portrayed as sex objects by use of revealing clothing (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011, p. 478). Fitts (2008) found that female characters in hip hop/rap videos “flank” male artists by wearing revealing clothing items, so as to portray an image of “sexual bravado” in which the male artist is seen as powerful in his ability to “collect” attractive women (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011, p. 481). Words like “power” and “collect” resonate with the Adams and Fuller definition of misogyny, yet unfortunately there are additional ways by which female actors are objectified. Seidman (1999) and Sommers-Flanagan et. al (1993) found that operationalization of sexual objectification has occurred in instances in which the focus is on isolated body parts (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011, p. 480). This was expanded by Mulvey’s (1975) attention to the notion of the gaze, which is invoked when camera shots linger on bodies or body parts instead of focusing on the face or the total subject (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011, p. 480). Not only are women objectified through the manner in which their bodies are exposed, but additionally, they are objectified through the way that the attention of the video is focused on their body. As one would imagine, there are implications of this consistent objectification that has been documented since MTV’s origin in 1981 (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011), yet the market for sexual objectification is as prevalent as ever.

Marketing Desirability

Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) use of objectification theory posits that objectification of women's bodies through media teaches women to internalize an outsider's perspective on the self so they come to see themselves as objects to be evaluated by others (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011, p. 479). Women are representing misogynistic ideals as part of their concept of beauty, and there is research to support the negative repercussions of doing so (Emerson, 2002). Aubrey and Frisby (2011) discussed a consistent finding that music videos place a great deal of emphasis on women's appearance and sexual appeal (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011, p. 476). Emerson (2002) supports this by examining the female image and black womanhood through the means of music videos; in the 30 videos analyzed, the thin, physically attractive performers were clearly constructed as objects of male desire (Emerson, 2002, p. 122). However, pregnant women and mothers, as well as women older than thirty years old, were not desirable as objects of the music video camera's gaze, reinforcing the sense that only certain women are viewed as sexually available and acceptable in music videos. Emerson concluded that sexual diversity is an element of black womanhood that is conspicuously absent and reflects the desirability of perceived sexual availability for men (Emerson, 2002, p. 123). While these findings indicate the impact of misogyny on black womanhood, they may be reflective of womanhood in general. Lowe (2003) examined how Britney Spears and Miley Cyrus, both pop stars, reinvented themselves from sexually-innocent teen stars to hypersexual performers (Jackson and Vares, 2015, p. 482) which further supports that aforementioned perceived sexual availability that men seem to socially covet. This negative perception of womanhood as a whole

imaginably has negative impacts on social relationships, which will be further discussed.

Repercussions of Objectification on Socialization

Misogynistic themes within the pop and hip hop/rap music genres may be reflective of modern cultural views about sexuality in heterosexual relationships, and may further shed light on male socialization with misogynistic ideals. The Kaiser Family Foundation (2005) found that 65% of 7th-12th graders listen to hip hop/rap more than other genres of music (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011, p. 477). Jackson and Vares (2015) suggest that adolescent exposure to the pop music genre and its misogynistic themes present a “taboo domain, crossing the boundary from ‘innocence’ to an adult, sexual world” (Jackson and Vares, 2015, p. 494). With these songs come accessible music videos, which Arnett (2002) and Jhally (2007) argue are important because music videos contain rather potent messages with regard to gender and sexuality; furthermore Ward, Hansborough, and Walker (2005) found that they were popular among adolescents who are likely refining their schemata regarding gender and sexuality (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011, p. 476). In analysis of the hookup culture that exists in modern day heterosexual relationships, Hamilton and Armstrong (2009) found that gender beliefs carried over into college students engaging in this hookup culture. Women explained that men at parties showed a lack of respect for their feelings and interests – treating them solely as “sex objects” (Hamilton and Armstrong, 2009, p. 141). Weitzer and Kubrin argue that one can see a consistency of the male view of avoiding commitment whereas women are to be sexually pursued and then quickly discarded (Weitzer and Kubrin, 2009, p. 497). This further reiterates the theme of sexual objectification, or the reference to women as only being food for sex. Tolman (2012, p. 106) suggests

that male engagement in pornography may be creating “sexual maps” of unreal portrayals of girls being sexually ravenous and ready at all times, who have bodies that are physically impossible to achieve or maintain in terms of the size and look of sexual parts, thinness, and looking perennially young. Tolman concluded that this sexual objectification is the central way that boys and men establish and maintain masculinity, and that the learning and reinforcement of sexual scripts for boys begin at young ages and creates a sense of normalization surrounding these behaviors (Tolman, 2012, p. 106). Aubrey and Frisby (2011) found that music videos of male artists were more likely than those of female artists to portray women as merely decorative objects (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011, p. 494). One can conclude that this normalization of male sexual desires as part of the male sexual discourse and cultural pressures of females to fulfill those desires are bound to cause problems with heterosexual relationship dynamics.

Most of the existing research indicates and supports the hip hop/rap genre as highly misogynistic (Weitzer and Kubrin, 2009; Fitts 2008; Emerson, 2002; Aubrey and Frisby, 2011), yet there is an overwhelming lack of research conducted in regards to misogyny in pop music (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011). Aubrey and Frisby (2011) found that female artists were more sexually objectified than male artists in pop and hip hop/rap genres of music (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011). However, an interesting finding from Aubrey and Frisby (2011) concluded that there were no differences between R&B/hip hop and pop videos on appearance ideals, global sexualization, or provocative dress; additionally, there were few differences in sexual objectification of women between R&B/hip hop and pop music (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011). The research overwhelmingly suggests that misogyny is not only common but disturbingly normative in the

hip hop/rap music genre (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011; Emerson, 2002), however there seems to be little research on the existence of misogyny in the pop music (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011). In addition, females are increasingly viewed and treated like objects of sexual desire based on male-created and -enforced sexual scripts. Based on the existing research of hip hop/rap music and a lack of research of pop music, this has led the author to hypothesize that hip hop/rap music videos will be more likely than pop videos to contain misogynistic themes. Additionally, this author will hypothesize that male artists are more likely than female artists to objectify female actors.

Methodology & Data

This study serves to examine the portrayal of misogyny through the means of music videos of the music genres, pop and hip hop/rap. Music videos were collected from YouTube's provided list of most viewed videos (by number of views). Using the classifications listed on the Billboard charts, artists were tagged in "Pop-Shop" as an indicator that the artist was classified as a pop artist; artists tagged under "The Juice" link as an indicator that the artist was classified as a hip hop/rap artist. Music videos in foreign languages were omitted on the basis that a portion of the criteria deals with the analysis of the lyrics and the relation they have with the video. Duplicate videos were omitted if they were not official music videos of an artist (as dictated by the artists "VEVO" YouTube account), or contained the song but were "fan-made" videos. The full list of videos examined can be found in Appendix A.

A coding scheme was used to code the videos so that patterns were more easily identified among the videos. Six categories were used in the coding scheme. First, *provocative dressing* may be defined

as a female actor wearing clothing or outfits that may be intended to highlight or draw attention to her sexual characteristics by a male actor, another female actor, and/or the viewer. Provocative dressing is coded to include bra & panties or a lingerie equivalent, revealing one- or two-piece swimsuits, revealing workout attire, any general sexual outfit or costume, and nudity. Second, *provocative touching* may be defined as how a female actor is touched in the areas of her breasts, buttocks, various extremities (i.e., neck, inner thighs, etc), by herself, another male actor(s), another female actor(s), or a group of actors, or the female actor's use of sexually-suggestive notions (i.e., finger-licking, etc) with the goal of generating arousal from another actor or the viewer. Third, *degrading song lyrics* may be defined as song lyrics that are directly explicit or overwhelmingly suggestive of the use of women for sexual fulfillment. Fourth, *subjection to sexual gaze* may be defined as the visual focus on a female actor's body with underlying sexual desire by another male actor, another female actor, or by the viewer. Fifth, *emphasized femininity* refers to what Praechter (2006) defined as the "particularly exaggerated, emphasized, and ideal performance of femininity" (Cvajner, 2011); this was coded through the presence of one or more female actors that meet what Jackson and Vares (2015) refer to as the aesthetic that fashions hyper-femininity (i.e., stiletto heels, heavy make-up) and hypersexuality (i.e., clothing emphasizing breast and hips, being perpetually sexually desiring) (Jackson and Vares, 2015, p. 482). Sixth, *subjection to abuse* may be defined as the harsh physical and/or sexual mistreatment of a female actor.

Results

Table 1 reveals the findings of the content analysis performed on the top 100 pop and hip hop/rap music videos on YouTube.

Examining the breakdown of the 100 videos revealed that male pop artists were responsible for 33 of the videos; female pop artists were responsible for 35 of the videos; male hip hop/rap artists were responsible for 14 of the videos; and female hip hop/rap artists were responsible for 18 of the videos. Of the 100 videos, 93 videos contained at least one instance of provocative dressing; 79 videos contained at least one instance of provocative touching; 25 videos contained at least one instance of degrading song lyrics; 68 videos contained at least one instance of sexual gazing; 35 videos contained at least one instance of emphasized femininity; and 2 videos contained an instance of abuse. Of the 100 videos examined, 302 instances of at least one form of coded misogyny occurred.

Among pop artists, males demonstrated 59 instances of misogyny in their 33 videos, displaying misogyny at a rate of 179%. For male pop artists, 21 instances of provocative dressing occurred; 13 instances of provocative touching occurred; 6 instances of degrading song lyrics occurred; 13 instances of sexual gazing occurred; 6 instances of emphasized femininity occurred; and 0 instances of abuse occurred. Female pop artists demonstrated 106 instances of misogyny in their 35 videos, displaying misogyny at a rate of 303%. For female pop artists, 32 instances of provocative dressing occurred; 32 instances of provocative touching occurred; 5 instances of degrading song lyrics occurred; 22 instances of sexual gazing occurred; 15 instances of emphasized femininity occurred; and 0 instances of abuse occurred.

Table 1. Misogynistic Characteristics in Music Videos by Artists' Gender and Genre

	n=100	Male Pop Videos (n=33)		Female Pop Videos (n=35)		Male Hip Hop/ Rap Videos (n=14)		Female Hip Hop/ Rap Videos (n=18)	
			%		%		%		%
Provocative Dressing	93	21	64	32	91	18	129	22	122
Provocative Touching	79	13	39	32	91	17	121	17	94
Degrading Song Lyrics	25	6	18	5	14	7	50	7	38
Subject of Sexual Gaze	68	13	39	22	63	18	129	15	83
Emphasized Femininity	35	6	18	15	43	6	43	8	44
Subject of Abuse	2	0	9	0	0	1	7	1	5
Totals	302	59	179%	106	303%	67	479%	70	389%

Among hip hop/rap artists, males demonstrated 67 instances of misogyny in their 14 videos, displaying misogyny at a rate of

479%. For male hip hop/rap artists, 18 instances of provocative dressing occurred; 17 instances of provocative touching occurred; 7 instances of degrading song lyrics occurred; 18 instances of sexual gazing occurred; 6 instances of emphasized femininity occurred; and 1 instance of abuse occurred. Female hip hop/rap artists demonstrated 70 instances of misogyny in their 18 videos, displaying misogyny at a rate of 389%. For female hip hop/rap artists, 22 instances of provocative dressing occurred; 17 instances of provocative touching occurred; 7 instances of degrading song lyrics occurred; 15 instances of sexual gazing occurred; 8 instances of emphasized femininity occurred; and 1 instance of abuse occurred.

The results support the initial hypothesis that hip hop/rap videos displayed misogyny at higher rates than pop music videos. Additionally, hip hop/rap videos by male artists contained the most misogynistic themes with the least amount of eligible videos; these videos displayed 300% more misogyny than music videos by male pop artists, 176% more misogyny than music videos by female pop artists, and 90% more misogyny than music videos by female hip hop/rap artists. While relatively few accounts of abuse toward a female actor were present, it is important to note that both cases occurred within the hip hop/rap genre. Overall, the data supports that women were predominately portrayed as sex objects through their dress and actions. Similar to Martino et al (2006), this study revealed that videos produced by male hip hop/rap artists contained degrading song lyrics. In the current sample of hip hop/rap videos by male artists, half of them contained degrading song lyrics. Like Emerson (2002), this study revealed that videos produced by all 4 groups of artists contained various forms of provocative dressing (93%), and videos contained a component of women being gazed upon by another actor and/or viewer with sexual desire (68%). Like

Aubrey and Frisby (2011), this study too found that hip hop/rap videos were more likely to feature women in sexually decorative roles.

Discussion

While previous research has supported the notion that male hip hop artists demonstrated larger amounts of misogynistic themes in their work, an analysis of the current most viewed YouTube videos supported previous research and concluded in this study that male hip hop/rap artists are displaying relatively large amounts of misogynistic themes. It is important to also note that female pop artists and female hip hop/rap artists too demonstrated large amounts of misogyny in their videos. While male hip hop/rap artists were found to have displayed higher rates of misogyny, it is important to note that female artists were displaying relatively higher rates of misogyny than expected. One argument made from research suggests that female artists have ultimately been unsuccessful in opposing misogynistic themes in hip hop/rap for various reasons. An explanation of this trend presented in Keyes (1993) suggests that female hip hop artists lack the opportunities to spread empowering messages because of dominate male esthetics that control the music genre (Keyes, 1993). Oware (2009) continued this explanation by arguing that the use of sexual objectification of female artists' own bodies might convey the message that for women, a primary way they can succeed in the music industry is to sexually objectify themselves (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011, p. 496). Rebollo-Gil and Moras (2012) supported this by suggesting that any failure to comply with the misogynistic themes of the genre could be seen as social treason and a career setback (Rebollo-Gil and Moras, 2012). Further support from Collins (2004) argues that female hip hop artists are socially restricted to the behavior of objectifying

themselves to be “accepted within this male-controlled universe” (Collins, 2004).

These behaviors are not restricted to solely the hip hop/rap genre; although there have been few studies conducted on it, Jackson and Vares (2015) argue that the pop music video is a conduit for expressions of gendered, “sexualized porno-chics” that have been pulled into the mainstream (Jackson and Vares, 2015, p. 482). Female hip hop/rap artists are also reinforcing the misogyny created by their male counterparts more freely than others. Rabaka (2011) suggests that some female hip hop artists further the portrayals defined by male rappers’ misogyny (Rabaka, 2011); cited examples in Oliver (1998) suggest artists such as Lil’ Kim and Rihanna refer to not only themselves but other women as “bitches” (Oliver, 1998). Interestingly enough, it is important to reflect on the fact that Rihanna was a prominent misogynistic artist that appeared frequently in the conducted content analysis. Kobin and Tyson (2006) identified that female hip hop/rap artists feel empowered when they use strong lyrics such as the “b word” and make the word their own; doing so creates the image of strong women who can take care of themselves that is ultimately desired and sought-after (Gourdine and Lemmons, 2011, p. 61). Other content analyses of music videos such as Aubrey and Frisby (2011) use objectification theory to claim that this sexual objectification of women does not only occur in the music videos of male artists, but that many women artists, particularly female rappers and R&B artists, self-objectify themselves to the same image (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011). Furthermore, Pough (2004) suggests that many of these self-objectifying women assume the role of a “ride-or die’ chick,” an idealized woman willing to do anything for men (e.g., engaging in criminal activity or serving time in prison) (Pough, 2004). While female hip hop artists may be reportedly

restricted in the content of their music, some artists are “buying in” and further enforcing these sexual scripts that Tolman described as women who have bodies that are physically impossible to achieve or maintain, and who are unquestionably loyal to the men who treat them as sexual objects. These mixed reactions and interpretation of misogynistic ideals is argued in McRobbie (2004) as symptomatic of a popular culture that contributes to the “undoing of feminism” through the presentation of texts that oppose goals of equality while masquerading as enlightened and contemporary (Aubrey and Frisby, 2011, p. 496).

Findings revealed that male pop artists use less sexual objectification yet still remain successful and relevant. Why? Connell and Connell (1995) argue that there is a system of hegemonic masculinity in place that allow for white, heterosexual, wealthy, able-bodied men to accrue more opportunities to not only dominate women, but also other men (Spade and Valentine, 2014, p. 321). This author suggests that male pop artists may be put in a position of social power where they are able to focus on musical talent rather than focus on strategically objectifying women. Yet even so, one could further ask, what does that mean for marginalized groups of people who are not white, heterosexual males? Connell and Connell (1995) further suggests that marginalized men such as men of color conform to the hegemonic ideal because they benefit from the subordination of women within their subgroup (Spade and Valentine, 2014, p. 321). Fitts (2008) suggested that male hip hop/rap artists demonstrate signs of power over women in their videos, which may suggest that this marginalized group is propelling itself further at the expense of marginalized females. In a nutshell, this author will go as far as to suggest that as a marginalized group, male hip hop artists may possibly play into this hegemonic ideal because as males they too benefit from objectifying women.

Hatton and Trautner (2011) suggest that female artists in the pop and hip hop/rap music industries may see fewer cultural scripts for ways of doing femininity (Spade and Valentine, 2014, p. 304). This author would like to raise the argument that these scripts may further undermine feminism. Competing ideologies of femininity, in this author's opinion, may truly stall progression with respect to women because of a lack of consensus about femininity. Adolescent girls and young women are receiving messages about equality and at the same time, receiving messages of using their bodies and sexuality to climb the metaphorical ladder to success. This author challenges all readers to examine the process of internalizing the word "bitch" to mean a positive connotation as discussed in Korbin and Tyson (2006); for those women internalizing the role of a "bitch," does that truly redefine femininity, or does it only reinforce those misogynistic ideologies that they face? If the latter happens to be true, this author stands fast that competing ideologies about femininity will ultimately lead to a step backwards for equality.

Limitations & Future Research

One limitation identified by this author is the classification of artists into the genres of "pop" and "hip hop/rap." Using Billboard's classifications of artists, there may be existing discrepancies between a "pop artist" and a "hip hop/rap artist" which can impact the existing data. Another limitation of the research is the sole focus on the pop and hip hop/rap genres; inclusion of other genres (i.e., rock music, country music) may or may not reveal similar rates of misogyny in those genres. While this research focused primarily on gender, a focal point of future research may be to examine the impact of race, as race certainly impacts involvement in hegemonic masculinity and perhaps, competing ideologies of femininity.

References

- Adams, T. M., & Fuller, D. B. (2006). The words have changed but the ideology remains the same: Misogynistic lyrics in rap music. *Journal of Black Studies*, 36, 938–957. In Gourdine, R. M., & Lemmons, B. P. (2011). Perceptions of misogyny in hip hop and rap: What do the youths think? *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 21, pp. 57-72.
- Andsager, J., & and Roe, K. (2003). What's your definition of dirty baby? Sex in music video. *Sexuality and Culture* 7(3): 79-97. In Jackson, S., & Vares, T. (2015). 'Too many bad role models for us girls': Girls, female pop celebrities, and 'sexualization'. *Sexualities*, 18 (4), pp 480-498. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Arnett, J. (2002). The sounds of sex: Sex in teens' music and music videos. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14 (4), 475-501.
- Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14 (4), 475-501.
- Collins, P. H. (2004). *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism*. New York: Routledge.
- Connell, R. W., & Connell, R. (1995). *Masculinities*. In Spade, J. Z., & Valentine, C. G. (2014). *The Kaleidoscope of Gender: Prisms, Patterns, and Possibilities*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Conrad, K., Dixon, T., & Zhang, Y. (2009). Controversial rap themes, gender portrayals, and skin tone distortion: A content analysis of rap music videos. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 53, 134-156. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual

-
- objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14 (4), 475-501.
- Cvajner, M. (2011). Hyper-femininity as decency: Beauty, womanhood, and respect in emigration. In Spade, J. Z., & Valentine, C. G. (2014). *The Kaleidoscope of Gender: Prisms, Patterns, and Possibilities*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Emerson, R. (2002). Where my girls at? Negotiating black womanhood in music videos. *Gender and Society*, 16, pp. 115-135. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. Florence, KY: Taylor & Francis Group, LLC.
- Fitts, M. (2008). "Drop It Like It's Hot": Culture industry laborers and their perspectives on rap music video production. *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism*, 8, 211-235. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14 (4), 475-501.
- Fredrickson, B. L., & Roberts, T. A. (1997). Objectification theory: Toward an understanding women's lived experiences and mental health risks. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21, 173-206. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14 (4), 475-501.
- Gourdine, R. M., & Lemmons, B. P. (2011). Perceptions of misogyny in hip hop and rap: What do the youths think? *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 21, pp. 57-72.
- Hamilton, L., & Armstrong, E. (2009). Gendered sexuality in young adulthood: Double binds and flawed options. *Gender and Society*, 15. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. In

-
- Risman, B. J. (2015). *Families As They Really Are*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc.
- Hansen, C. H., & Hansen, R. D. (2000). Music and music videos. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14 (4), 475-501.
- Hatton, E., & Trautner, M. N. (2011). Equal opportunity objectification? The sexualization of men and women on the cover of rolling stone. *Sexuality & Culture*, 15, 256-278. In Spade, J. Z., & Valentine, C. G. (2014). *The Kaleidoscope of Gender: Prisms, Patterns, and Possibilities*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Jackson, S., & Vares, T. (2015). 'Too many bad role models for us girls': Girls, female pop celebrities, and 'sexualization'. *Sexualities*, 18 (4), pp 480-498. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Jhally, S. (2007). Dreamworlds 3: Desire, sex, and power in music video [Motion picture]. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14 (4), 475-501.
- Kaiser Family Foundation. (2005). Generation m: Media in the lives of 8-18 year-olds. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14 (4), 475-501.
- Keyes, C. (1993). We're more than a novelty, boys: Strategies of female rappers in the rap music tradition. In Radner, Joan Newton, *Feminist Messages: Coding in Women's Folk Culture*, pp. 203-220. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Kobin, C., & Tyson, E. (2006). Thematic analysis of hip hop music:

-
- Can hip hop in therapy Facilitate empathic connections when working with clients in urban settings. *Arts in Therapy, 33*, 343–356. In Gourdine, R. M., & Lemmons, B. P. (2011). Perceptions of misogyny in hip hop and rap: What do the youths think? *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 21*, pp. 57-72.
- Lowe, M. (2003). Colliding feminisms: Britney Spears, tweens,' and the politics of reception. *Popular Music and Society 26* (2): 123-140. In Jackson, S., & Vares, T. (2015). 'Too many bad role models for us girls': Girls, female pop celebrities, and 'sexualization'. *Sexualities, 18* (4), pp 480-498. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Martino, S. C., Collins, R. L., Elliot, M. N., Strachman, A., Kanouse, D. E., & Berry, S. H. (2006). Exposure to degrading versus non-degrading music lyrics and sexual behavior among youth. *Pediatrics, 118* (2), 430-441.
- McRobbie, A. (2004). Post-feminism and popular culture. *Feminist Media Studies, 4*, 255–264. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society, 14* (4), 475-501.
- Mulvey, L. (1975). Visual pleasure and narrative cinema. *Screen, 16*, 6-18. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society, 14* (4), 475-501.
- Oliver, W. (1998). Hip hop culture: An alternative site for gender socialization in the african-american community. In See, Letha A, *Human Behavior in the Social Environment from an African-American Perspective*, pp. 382-384. New York: Haworth Press.

-
- Oware, M. (2009). A “man’s woman”? Contradictory messages in the songs of female rappers, 1992–2000. *Journal of Black Studies*, 39, 786–802. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14 (4), 475–501.
- Pough, G. D. (2004). *Check It While I Wreck It: Black Woman Hood, Hip-Hop Culture, and the Public Sphere*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Praechter, C. (2006) Masculine femininities/feminine masculinities: Power, identities and gender. *Gender and Education* 18(3): 253–263. In Spade, J. Z., & Valentine, C. G. (2014). *The Kaleidoscope of Gender: Prisms, Patterns, and Possibilities*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Rabaka, R. (2011). *Hip Hop’s Inheritance: From the Harlem Renaissance to the Hip Hop Feminist Movement*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Rebollo-Gil, G., & Moras, A. (2012). Black women and black men in hip hop music: Misogyny, violence, and the negotiation of (white-owned) space. *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 45, 118–132.
- Seidman, S. A. (1999). Revisiting sex-role stereotyping in music videos. *International Journal of Instructional Media*, 26, 11–22. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14 (4), 475–501.
- Sommers-Flanagan, R., Sommers-Flanagan, J., & Davis, B. (1993). What’s happening on music television? A gender role content analysis. *Sex Roles*, 28, 745–753. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14 (4), 475–501.

-
- Spade, J. Z., & Valentine, C. G. (2014). *The Kaleidoscope of Gender: Prisms, Patterns, and Possibilities*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Tolman, D. (2012) It's bad for us too: How the sexualization of girls impacts the sexuality of boys, men, and women. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 66. Berlin, Germany: Springer Publishing Company.
- Tyson, E. H. (2003). Rap music in social work practice with African American and Latino youth: A conceptual model with practical applications. *Journal of Human Behavior and the Social Environment*, 8(4), 1–21. In Gourdine, R. M., & Lemmons, B. P. (2011). Perceptions of misogyny in hip hop and rap: What do the youths think? *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 21, pp. 57-72.
- Vincent, R. C. (1989). Clio's consciousness raised? Portrayal of women in rock videos, reexamined. *Journalism Quarterly*, 66, 155-160. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14 (4), 475-501.
- Ward, L. M., Hansbrough, E., & Walker, E. (2005). Contributions of music video exposure to black adolescents' gender and sexual schemas. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 20, 143–166. In Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14 (4), 475-501.
- Weitzer, R., & Kubrin, C. (2009). Misogyny in rap music: A content analysis of prevalence and meanings. *Men and Masculinities*, 12. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Appendix A: YouTube's Top 100 Pop and Hip Hop Music Videos*

1. Justin Bieber – Baby
2. Jennifer Lopez – On the Floor
3. LMFAO – Party Rock Anthem
4. Shakira – Waka Waka
5. Eminem – Love the Way You Lie
6. Miley Cyrus – Wrecking Ball
7. Katy Perry – Roar
8. Katy Perry – Dark Horse
9. Carly Rae Jepsen – Call Me Maybe
10. Lady Gaga – Bad Romance
11. Macklemore – Thrift Shop
12. One Direction – What Makes You Beautiful
13. Gotye – Somebody That I Used To Know
14. Adele – Rolling in the Deep
15. Bruno Mars – The Lazy Song
16. Eminem – Not Afraid
17. Pitbull – Rain Over Me
18. One Republic – Counting Stars
19. Katy Perry – Firework
20. Rihanna – Diamonds
21. Aloe Blacc – Wake Me Up
22. Pharrell Williams – Happy
23. Miley Cyrus – We Can't Stop
24. Bruno Mars – Just the Way You Are
25. Justin Bieber – Never Say Never
26. Nicki Minaj – Super Bass
27. Pitbull – Timber
28. Skakira – Can't Remember to Forget You
29. Miley Cyrus – Party in the USA
30. Justin Bieber – Beauty and a Beat
31. Naughty Boy – La La La
32. Will.i.am – Scream and Shout
33. Adele – Someone like You
34. Katy Perry – Last Friday Night
35. Rihanna – We Found Love
36. Shakira – La La La

-
37. Rihanna – What’s My Name?
 38. Pitbull – Give Me Everything
 39. Bruno Mars – Grenade
 40. Pitbull – International Love
 41. Justin Bieber – One Time
 42. Lorde – Royals
 43. Ellie Goulding – Burn
 44. Justin Bieber – Boyfriend
 45. Jessie J – Price Tag
 46. Jason Derulo – Wiggle
 47. Rihanna – Only Girl
 48. One Direction – One Thing
 49. Iggy Azalea – Fancy
 50. Robin Thicke – Blurred Lines
 51. Taylor Swift – You Belong With Me
 52. Mike WiLL Made It – 23
 53. One Direction – Live While We’re Young
 54. Pink – Just Give Me a Reason
 55. Beyonce – Single Ladies
 56. David Guetta – Titanium
 57. Rihanna – Stay
 58. Lil’ Wayne – Mirror
 59. Katy Perry – Wide Awake
 60. Katy Perry – E.T.
 61. LMFAO – Sexy and I Know It
 62. Jennifer Lopez – Dance Again
 63. Sia – Chandelier
 64. Maroon 5 – One More Night
 65. Bruno Mars – Locked Out of Heaven
 66. One Direction – Best Song Ever
 67. One Direction – Story of My Life
 68. Rihanna – Man Down
 69. Nicki Minaj – Anaconda
 70. Selena Gomez – Come and Get It
 71. Justin Bieber – Somebody to Love
 72. John Legend – All of Me
 73. Ariana Grande – Problem

-
74. Rihanna – Rude Boy
 75. Flo Rida – Whistle
 76. David Guetta – She Wolf
 77. Rihanna – Where Have You Been
 78. Chris Brown – Look At Me Now
 79. David Guetta – Play Hard
 80. Calvin Harris – Summer
 81. Katy Perry – The One That Got Away
 82. Demi Lovato – Let It Go
 83. Macklemore – Can't Hold Us
 84. Demi Lovato – Heart Attack
 85. David Guetta – Turn Me On
 86. Katy Perry – Part of Me
 87. Bruno Mars – When I Was Your Man
 88. Avril Lavigne – Girlfriend
 89. Taylor Swift – Shake it Off
 90. Eminem – When I'm Gone
 91. Taylor Swift – We are Never Ever Getting Back Together
 92. One Direction – Kiss You
 93. Selena Gomez – Love You Like a Love Song
 94. The Black Eyed Peas – The Time
 95. Meghan Trainor – All About That Bass
 96. Jason Derulo – Talk Dirty
 97. B.o.B – Airplanes
 98. Beyonce – Halo
 99. Beyonce – Run the World
 100. Justin Timberlake – Mirrors

*Note: Because the list is based largely off of views, the chronological list is accurate as of 10/29/14.