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'PORNOGRAPHIC PERFORMANCES': A REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON SEXUALISATION AND RACISM IN MUSIC VIDEOS

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I'd like you to imagine a world in which male musicians are routinely expected to act as submissive sex objects. Picture Beyonce's husband, Jay Z, stripped down to a t-back bikini thong, sex kitten-ing his way through a boulevard of suited and booted women for their pleasure. Or Britney Spears's ex, Justin Timberlake, in buttock-clenching, denim hot pants, riding on the bonnet of a pink chevy, explaining to his audience how he'd like to be their teenage dream... these are roles that the music industry has carved out specifically for women.¹

The Rewind & Reframe project, a partnership between End Violence Against Women, Imkaan and Object, provided a platform for young women to challenge sexism and racism in music videos.² Consultations with young women throughout the project, and responses to the campaign, have shone a light on the extent to which young women are angry and frustrated about the dehumanisation of women in many music videos. Similarly, practice-based evidence of women's organisations, their expertise accumulated over many years of working with young people, has flagged music videos as contributing to a conducive context for violence against women and girls³ In 2013, music videos by Robin Thicke, Miley Cyrus and Lily Allen generated considerable debate,

1 From Charlotte Church's John Peel Lecture 'Women in Music', 15th October 2013. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-mAGq9LnUrM>

2 See www.rewindreframe.org

3 Coy, M. & Garner, M. (2012) Definitions, discourses and dilemmas: policy and academic engagement with the sexualisation of popular culture *Gender & Education* 24(3) 285-301

reflection and controversy. Central to all these discussions are questions about sexism and racism and what messages are conveyed about women, particularly black and minority ethnic women.

This briefing draws together findings from studies that have explored how sexualisation is racialised, and racism sexualised, in music videos.⁴ The final section reviews the limited evidence base on the potential impacts of sexualised music videos on viewers.

SEXISM AS A MARKETING DEVICE IN MUSIC VIDEOS

*[Music] corporations... have profited handsomely from highly vulgar and explicit forms of sexism that specifically target black women.*⁵

Created to sell tracks and artists, music videos have been termed ‘commercials-to-a-beat’⁶; images, performances and overall messages are designed to be powerful enough to influence viewers’ behaviour, from humming along and copying dance moves to buying the track and sharing the video. With views now also contributing towards chart positioning in some countries, music videos are more than commercials for a product – they *are* a product (as Beyonce’s ‘visual album’, released in December 2013, shows). Diane Martel, who has directed over 100 music videos including Robin Thicke’s ‘*Blurred Lines*’, recently told an interviewer ‘I want to make videos that sell records. This is my main focus right now, not to make videos that express my own obsessions, but to make videos that move units’.⁷ Just as with other forms of advertising, women’s bodies are used instrumentally to ‘move units’: ‘the eye candy that sells the [artist] and products of his supposed “lifestyle”, and finally the song, with every wiggle of her body, sway of her hips and glisten of her skin’.⁸ Part of their marketing power relies on repetition and ubiquity: music videos are often background visual imagery in bars and gyms and a form of entertainment, particularly for young people. This makes examination of their content, and the norms that they reflect and reinforce about women and men, important.

Early analyses, following the launch of MTV as a mainstream entertainment channel, pointed to consistent gender stereotyping that portrayed men as dominant and women as nurturing, submissive and sexualised.⁹ Recognition of racist stereotyping, where present, was ungendered,

⁴ All the research reviewed here was conducted in the U.S., and analyses of racism focus on women of African-Caribbean or African-American origin and descent.

⁵ Rose, T. (2008) *The Hip-Hop Wars: What We Talk About When We Talk About Hip Hop - and Why It Matters* New York: Basic Books p.151

⁶ Miller-Young, M. (2008) Hip-Hop Honeys and Da Hustlaz: Black Sexualities in the New Hip-Hop Pornography *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism* 8 (1) 261-292

⁷ Ducker, E. (2013) Q&A: Veteran Music Video Director Diane Martel on Her Controversial Videos for Robin Thicke and Miley Cyrus <http://grantland.com/hollywood-prospectus/qa-veteran-music-video-director-diane-martel-on-her-controversial-videos-for-robin-thicke-and-miley-cyrus>

⁸ Miller-Young, M. (2008) Hip-Hop Honeys and Da Hustlaz: Black Sexualities in the New Hip-Hop Pornography *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism* 8 (1) 261-292 p262

⁹ Baxter, R. L, DeRiemer, C, Landini, A, Leslie, L, & Singletary, M. (1985) A content analysis of music videos *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 29(3), 333–340; Seidman, S. A. (1992) An investigation of sex-role stereotyping in music videos *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 36(2) 209–216; Sommers-Flanagan, R, Sommers-Flanagan, J, & Davis, B. (1993) What’s happening on music television? A gender role content analysis *Sex Roles* 28 (11/12) 745–753

highlighting either the invisibility of black men or equations of black masculinity with aggression and criminality.¹⁰ Rana Emerson's (2002) study broke new ground by focussing on videos featuring African/African-American artists and analysing performances of gender. She explored: whose bodies cameras fixed on; how men and women related to each other; sexual behaviour; and women's presentation as angry, timid etc. This analysis revealed that whilst black women were reduced to 'decorative eye candy', they were also shown as active, tough and vocal.¹¹

To what extent women make decisions to be sexualised in music videos is a bubbling ongoing debate. In Charlotte Church's 2013 BBC lecture she spoke candidly about being pressured to wear revealing clothing by music company executives, disguised as encouragement to show off 'a great body'. All too often it is assumed that to recognise these influences is to paint young women as victims without any capacity to make their own decisions. This is a simplistic claim; interrogating the context in which these decisions are made is what matters.¹² A sexualised self is lauded in celebrity culture as a sign of being empowered; young women who feel a sense of personal power do so where many of the messages of popular culture equate sexualisation with social value and success.¹³

Similarly, Aisha Durham, in an analysis of Beyonce's music videos, suggests that it is important to consider the ways in which black women are so often invisible in popular culture, and adopting the 'hypervisible "video ho"' can be a means to counter 'symbolic silence'.¹⁴ Like Rana Emerson, she concludes that even where black women are shown to be in charge of the sexual performances in music videos, it often remains a one-dimensional representation: woman as a sexualised body.¹⁵

'PORNOGRAPHIC PERFORMANCES': SEXUALISATION OF WOMEN'S BODIES IN MUSIC VIDEOS

There is a broad consensus across research on the content of music videos that they are based on unequal arrangements of gender and race, what has been dubbed 'survival of the sexiest'.¹⁶ Key themes from studies are:

¹⁰ Baxter, R. L, DeRiemer, C, Landini, A, Leslie, L, & Singletary, M. (1985) A content analysis of music videos *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 29(3), 333–340; Riche, M, Woods, E.R, Goodman, E, Emans, S.J, DuRant, R.H. (1998) Aggressors or victims: gender and race in music video violence *Pediatrics* 101(4):669-74.

¹¹ Emerson, R. (2002) "Where My Girls At?": Negotiating Black Womanhood in Music Videos *Gender & Society* 16 (1) 115-135; see also Khan, K. (2008) Critical debates on the politics of representing black American women in musical video productions *Muziki: Journal of Music Research in Africa* 5(2) 263-270

¹² Gill, R. (2012) Media, Empowerment and the "Sexualization of Culture" Debates *Sex Roles* 66 (11/12) 736-745

¹³ Coy, M, & Garner, M. (2010) Glamour Modelling and the Marketing of Self-Sexualisation: Critical Reflections *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 13 (6) 657-675

¹⁴ Durham, A. (2012) "Check On It": Beyoncé, Southern booty, and Black femininities in music video *Feminist Media Studies* 12 (1) 35-49 p.40

¹⁵ Emerson, R. (2002) "Where My Girls At?": Negotiating Black Womanhood in Music Videos *Gender & Society* 16 (1) 115-135

¹⁶ Andsager J, & Roe K. (2003). "What's your definition of Dirty, Baby?" :Sex in Music Video *Sexuality and Culture* 7(3) 79-97

- traditional gender role stereotyping is common - men are shown as aggressive and dominant, women as sexual objects;
- women are cast in roles based on sexuality and men in 'neutral' roles;
- videos featuring black artists have higher levels of sexual content than those by white artists.

Measures that have been developed to analyse sexual objectification are twofold. The first focuses on portrayals of women as bodies e.g. exposure of body parts, sexualised clothing and dancing, women engaged in self-touch and the extent to which cameras and the gaze of other performers zoom in on women's writhing, gyrating bodies. Overall, findings are unequivocal. Women are constantly 'checked out' by cameras and other performers, depicted in terms of body parts that are associated with sex (breasts, bottoms, hips and midriffs), clad in sexualised clothing and touching themselves.¹⁷ The story here is perhaps best summarised as 'women are sexual objects, ready to be consumed by men'.¹⁸

A second range of measures focuses on interactions between women and men. For instance, one analysis of gender relations in a sample of 41 rap music videos suggested that 'women dance for men as if they are strippers'.¹⁹ Men were shown throwing cash at women's bodies, and together these dynamics of consumption and power, of sexual transaction, situated women as commodities. Few studies, however, have systematically explored sexism in a broader sense than sexualisation.

Some have argued that music videos use conventions of pornography: they are constructed around a 'pornographic imagination'²⁰, featuring 'pornographic performances'.²¹ (The ways in which women's bodies are relentlessly dissected and displayed makes music videos a form of 'everyday pornography', because they are based on 'representation of something which is recognised as pornographic in a context which is not itself pornographic'.²² This everydayness is precisely what concerns many, since music videos are integrated into everyday environments such as gyms and bars, as well as watched and downloaded daily by millions of young people. Mireille

¹⁷ 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) 1-28; Conrad, K, Dixon, T.L. & 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 (1) 134-156; Frisby, C, & Aubrey, J. S. (2012) Race and genre in the use of sexualization in female artists' music videos *Howard Journal of Communications* 23 (1) 66-87; Turner, J. (2011) Sex and the Spectacle of Music Videos: An Examination of the Portrayal of Race and Sexuality in Music Videos *Sex Roles* 64 (3-4) 173-191; Wallis, C. (2011) Performing Gender: A Content Analysis of Gender Display in Music Videos *Sex Roles* 64 (3-4) 160-172; Zhang, Y, Dixon, T, & Conrad, K. (2010) Female Body Image as a Function of Themes in Rap Music Videos: A Content Analysis *Sex Roles* 62 787-797.

¹⁸ Wallis, C. (2011) Performing Gender: A Content Analysis of Gender Display in Music Videos *Sex Roles* 64 (3-4) 160-172 p.168

¹⁹ Hunter, M. (2011) "Shake It, Baby, Shake It": Consumption and the New Gender Relation in Hip-Hop *Sociological Perspectives* 54 (1) 15-36 p.28

²⁰ Jhally, S. (Director) (2007) *Dreamworlds 3: Desire, sex, and power in music video* [film]

²¹ Miller-Young, M. (2008) Hip-Hop Honeys and Da Hustlaz: Black Sexualities in the New Hip-Hop Pornography *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism* 8 (1) 261-292 p.262

²² Boyle, K. (2010) Introduction: Everyday Pornography in K.Boyle (ed.) *Everyday Pornography* London: Routledge p.2

Miller-Young²³ and Aisha Durham²⁴ both note another link: a crossover between music videos and the pornography industry, with porn stars featuring in music videos, pimp figures directing women to perform sexual acts that mirror pornography and famous artists (e.g. Snoop Dogg) producing best-selling porn films. The racialised sexualisation of black women's bodies in pornography²⁵ is another clear connection between music videos and the pornography industry.

Where studies have analysed how sexualisation in music videos is racialised, some – although not all - indicators of objectification are accentuated. For example, black women performers in music videos are shown wearing sexualised clothing more frequently than white women.²⁶ The specific exposure of, and focus on, body parts is also significant. In portrayals of black women, 'the backside... complement[s] the breast as a signifier of gender difference'.²⁷ Black feminists have long noted the historical significance of this, as fascination with black women's bottoms can be traced from Saartje Baartman ('the Hottentot Venus') through to the contemporary 'booty dance'.²⁸ Such fetishisation invokes images of black women as wild and animalistic; there is a specific racialised meaning which echoes the ways in which European colonialists defined black bodies as intellectually inferior on the basis of physiological features. Responses to Lily Allen's 'Hard out Here' video in 2013 which features black women twerking as an apparent parody demonstrate how important it is not to lose sight of histories of how black women's bodies have been displayed and commodified.

Yet, as Ikamara Larasi points out, there is a problematic tendency to focus on rap/ R&B/hip-hop as the only musical genre where sexualisation is evident, and is racialised.²⁹ Much of the research reviewed here falls into the same trap and in doing so runs the risk of reproducing the very discourses that it seeks to critique, by isolating sexualisation as only an issue in music genres associated primarily with black performers. Sexism and misogyny in the lyrics and performances of white artists or other music genres is rarely scrutinised.³⁰ Yet one study found minimal differences

²³ Miller-Young, M. (2008) Hip-Hop Honeys and Da Hustlaz: Black Sexualities in the New Hip-Hop Pornography *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism* 8 (1) 261-292 p262

²⁴ Durham, A. (2012) "Check On It": Beyoncé, Southern booty, and Black femininities in music video *Feminist Media Studies* 12 (1) 35-49 p.40

²⁵ Dines, G. (2010) *Pornland: How porn has hijacked our sexuality* Boston, MA: Beacon Press

²⁶ Frisby, C, & Aubrey, J. S. (2012) Race and genre in the use of sexualization in female artists' music videos *Howard Journal of Communications* 23 (1) 66-87; Turner, J. (2011) Sex and the Spectacle of Music Videos: An Examination of the Portrayal of Race and Sexuality in Music Videos *Sex Roles* 64 (3-4) 173-191

²⁷ Durham, A. (2012) "Check On It": Beyoncé, Southern booty, and Black femininities in music video *Feminist Media Studies* 12 (1) 35-49 p.38

²⁸ Hill-Collins, P. (2006) New commodities, new consumers: selling blackness in a global marketplace *Ethnicities* 6(3) 297-317; Rose, T. (2008) *The Hip-Hop Wars: What We Talk About When We Talk About Hip Hop - and Why It Matters* New York: Basic Books

²⁹ Larasi, I. (2013) Why must we accept the casual racism in pop videos? *The Observer* Sunday 10th November. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/nov/10/black-women-music-industry-sex>

³⁰ Lockie, F. (2014) White singers deserve the same scrutiny for sexism as Snoop Dogg *The Guardian* Thursday 16th November. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jan/16/white-singers-deserve-the-same-scrutiny-for-sexism-as-snoop-dogg>

between pop and rap/R&B/hip-hop in levels of sexual objectification.³¹ Another study which combined analysis of 140 videos from MTV, VH1 and BET:Uncut identified that sexualised content was much higher in videos featuring black artists *across different genres*.³² This raises two crucial questions: first about the 'recording industry's conception of blackness'³³, and second, about the marketability of racialised tropes. A documentary exploring how women and men are represented in music videos, takes a similar view to the role of the music industry in perpetuating gender stereotypes, and asks how these might shape the attitudes of viewers.³⁴

ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN SEXIST MUSIC VIDEOS AND VIEWER ATTITUDES

Most studies exploring impacts of exposure to music videos on viewers are experimental, drawing on samples of students in U.S. universities. Here the primary focus is on identifying possible links between sexualised representations of women in music videos, and attitudes to women and gender relations more broadly. However, there has been minimal analysis of the intersections of racist and sexist representations.

Influential early studies concluded that thematic content of music videos influenced viewers' perceptions of women and men: if viewers were 'primed' with a (rock) music video showing men as powerful and women as submissive, and then asked to comment on a scenario about a man sexually harassing a woman, they were more likely to condone his behaviour than if they had watched a music video without gender stereotyping.³⁵

These findings have been echoed in more contemporary research. Two studies that each surveyed over 250 participants (women and men) found those who viewed music videos more frequently were more likely to endorse the age-old sexual double standard that equates masculinity with sexual conquest, but judges sexually active women as 'less desirable' partners.³⁶ A caveat was that the videos were already classified as sexualised; however, as we have seen, content analysis demonstrates that sexualisation is routine in music videos. It is also worth noting that impacts of

³¹ 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) 1–28

³² Turner, J. (2011) Sex and the Spectacle of Music Videos: An Examination of the Portrayal of Race and Sexuality in Music Videos *Sex Roles* 64 (3-4) 173-191

³³ Ibid p.186. Of note here is an analysis of 108 music videos which concluded that African-American women in music videos typically have more Eurocentric features than African-American men i.e. lighter skin tone and straighter hair (Conrad et al, 2009).

³⁴ Jhally, S. (Director) (2007) *Dreamworlds 3: Desire, sex, and power in music video* [film]

³⁵ Hansen, C. H., & Hansen, R. D. (1988) How rock music videos can change what is seen when boy meets girl: Priming stereotypic appraisal of social interactions *Sex Roles* 19 (5–6) 287–316; Hansen, C. H. (1989) Priming sex-role stereotypic event schemas with rock music videos: Effects on impression favorability, trait inferences, and recall of a subsequent male-female interaction *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 10(4) 371–391

³⁶ Ward, L.M. (2002) Does Television Exposure Affect Emerging Adults' Attitudes and Assumptions About Sexual Relationships? Correlational and Experimental Confirmation *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 31(1) 1–15; 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(2)143–166; Zhang, Y, Miller, L.E., & Harrison, K. (2008) The Relationship Between Exposure to Sexual Music Videos and Young Adults' Sexual Attitudes *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 52 (3) 368-386

exposure appear more marked with higher levels of sexualised imagery and unequal gender roles in music videos. A third survey of 195 students divided music videos into 'high' or 'low' sexual content, and concluded that those who watched the former were more accepting of rape myths.³⁷ While only a third of the sample (n=59) were men, the impacts were 'mainly detected' in their responses (ibid, p82). In another experimental study, associations between sexualised music videos and perceptions of acquaintance rape were explored.³⁸ Students watched either a music video where a female artist was portrayed in ways that chime with the measures of sexual objectification above e.g. sexualised dancing/revealing clothing, or a video with a romantic but relatively non-sexualised narrative, and then asked to comment on a scenario where a young woman was raped after engaging in consensual kissing. Men who watched the sexualised music video were more likely to excuse the rapist's actions.³⁹

These findings do not reveal a causal relationship between exposure to sexualised music videos and violence against women; the choices and decisions of those who act abusively are not so simple, and the sheer number of those who watch music videos is incalculably huge. Clearly men who perpetrate violence are not driven to do so by images of booty-shaking women, and experimental studies where exposure to music videos is manipulated under certain conditions do not reflect real life. However, factors such as 'devaluing women', 'media violence' and 'pornography' are all identified by a weight of evidence as creating pathways in which perpetration of violence against women becomes more likely.⁴⁰ These are also all key themes of music video content. Findings from studies that examine the impact of music videos are consistent and persuasive in highlighting associations between representations of women as sexualised body parts, and attitudes that condone sexual violence. Similar correlations are well documented in the evidence of access and exposure to pornography with respect to young people.⁴¹

Music videos can therefore be seen as part of the 'conducive context'⁴² for violence against women and girls which is generated by sexualised popular culture.⁴³ Indeed, one final U.S.

³⁷ Kistler, M. E, & Lee, M. J. (2010) Does exposure to sexual hip-hop music videos influence the sexual attitudes of college students? *Mass Communication and Society* 13(1) 67–86

³⁸ Burgess, M.C.R. & Burpo, S. (2012) The Effect of Music Videos on College Students' Perceptions of Rape *College Student Journal* 46 (4) 748-763

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Hagemann-White, C., Kavemann, B., Kindler, H., Meysen, T., Puchert, P., Busche, M., Gabler, S., Grafe, B., Kungl, M., Schindler, G., Schuck, H., Eschweiler, K. & Schmitz, K. (2010) *Factors at play in the perpetration of violence against women, violence against children and sexual orientation violence: A Multi-level Interactive Model* Strasbourg: European Commission. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/funding/daphne3/multilevel_interactive_model/understanding_perpetration_start_uinix.html

⁴¹ Horvath, M.A.H, Alys, L, Massey, K, Pina, A, Scally, M. & Adler, J. (2013) *"Basically... porn is everywhere": A Rapid Evidence Assessment on the Effects that Access and Exposure to Pornography has on Children and Young People* London: Office of Children's Commissioner

⁴² This concept was developed by Liz Kelly (2007) to capture how wider contexts facilitate trafficking. It has been widely used with reference to sexualised popular culture. Kelly, L. (2007) 'A conducive context': Trafficking of persons in Central Asia in M. Lee (ed) *Human Trafficking* Cullompton: Willan Publishing

experimental study appears to support this. Male college students who were shown mainstream pop music videos showing women as sexual objects expressed acceptance of violence against women (i.e. agreement with statements such as ‘being roughed up is sexually stimulating to many women’). The researchers emphasise that sexual aggression was not shown in these music videos used in the study, so participants were not simply responding to a depiction of what they saw.⁴⁴ Rather, it is the repetitive representation of men as ‘in charge’, women reduced to ‘eye candy’, dependent on being deemed attractive to men, which reinforces men’s entitlement to women’s bodies.⁴⁵

Only one early study appears to have explored how intersections between race and gender play out in responses to music videos, finding that white participants rated black women more negatively where they had watched sexualised rap videos than if they had watched music videos without sexual content or no music video at all.⁴⁶ While content analysis has highlighted how sexualisation is racialised and takes particular forms such as the gaze on black women’s bottoms, exploring potential impacts has not been afforded the same level of attention. More research that investigates possible connections between how black women are represented, and perceived by viewers, is needed.

CONCLUSION

Research has documented ‘the misogynistic representations of black womanhood that pervade music videos’⁴⁷ using a range of measures. Familiar racist stereotypes of black women as ‘endlessly sexually available’ are routinely recycled.⁴⁸ Experimental research also shows links between exposure to sexualised music videos and attitudes that support, or condone, violence against women. Many studies, however, focus too narrowly on rap/hip-hop music and neglect to explore sexualisation – and broader sexism – across music genres. The Rewind & Reframe project is a platform for young women to critique sexualisation and racism in music videos, and calls on the music industry to dismantle one element of sexualised popular culture as a conducive context for violence against women and girls.

⁴³ Coy, M. (2014) *Sexualised Sexism: Popular Culture, Sexualisation and Violence Against Women and Girls* London: End Violence Against Women; End Violence Against Women (2011) *A different world is possible: A call for long-term and targeted action to prevent violence against women and girls*. London: EVAW

⁴⁴ Aubrey, J. S, Hopper, M, & Mbure, W. (2011) Check that body!: The effects of sexually objectifying music videos on college men’s sexual beliefs *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 55 (3) 360-379

⁴⁵ Kalof, L. (1999) The effects of gender and music video imagery on sexual attitudes *Journal of Social Psychology* 139 (3) 378-385; Dagbovie-Mullins, S. (2013) Pigtails, Ponytails, and Getting Tail: The Infantilization and Hyper-Sexualization of African American Females in Popular Culture *The Journal of Popular Culture* 46 (4) 745-771

⁴⁶ Gan, S, Zillmann, D, & Mitrook, M. (1997) Stereotyping effect of black women’s sexual rap on white audiences *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 19(3) 381–399

⁴⁷ Emerson, R. (2002) “Where My Girls At?”: Negotiating Black Womanhood in Music Videos *Gender & Society* 16 (1) 115-135 p.116

⁴⁸ Dagbovie-Mullins, S. (2013) Pigtails, Ponytails, and Getting Tail: The Infantilization and Hyper-Sexualization of African American Females in Popular Culture *The Journal of Popular Culture* 46 (4) 745-771