

Beyond the Beat: The Representation of Women in Music Videos Across Genres Over Four Decades

Christine E. Meltzer

Department of Journalism and Communication Research, Hanover University of Music, Drama and Media, Germany

Michael Scharkow

Department of Communication, University of Mainz, Germany

Pascal Jürgens

Department of Media Studies, University of Trier, Germany

Abstract

The portrayal of gender in music videos has significant implications for societal attitudes and behavior. Women continue to be underrepresented and sexualized in music videos. Most research on the subject thus far has focused on a single music genre, which carries the inherent risk of placing the blame for encouraging gender inequality and misogyny on specific music genres. Our study uses a comprehensive automated quantitative analysis of 9,799 music videos spanning four decades and multiple genres. We used multimodal large language models (MLLMs) to examine the visibility and sexualization of women. We find that while women's visibility has increased over time, gender inequalities persist and vary significantly across genres. In particular, women artists tend to have higher visibility and are more likely to be sexualized in their videos. In addition, genre differences play a significant role, with the results revealing that dance videos have higher levels of sexualization. These findings emphasize the problematic role of music videos in shaping gender perceptions and highlight the need for continued research and awareness-raising to promote gender equality in media representations, particularly within the dynamic landscape of the production and consumption of music videos.

Keywords: music videos, automated content analysis, gender representation, sexualization

Introduction

Media representations can influence people's attitudes and perceptions regarding sexuality, relationships, and gender roles. Hence, to understand both the prevalence of gender disparities and the perpetuation of stereotypes in media content, media analyses must address two core dimensions of representation: the visibility of women (the extent to which they are represented) and the portrayal of women (how they are represented). Across various forms of audiovisual media content, such as in the television program or in advertising, women continue to be underrepresented (Beckers et al., 2024; Jürgens et al., 2022; Lind & Meltzer, 2020; Matthes et al., 2016); however, when they do appear, they are often relegated to stereotypical gender roles (Collins, 2011). Such portrayals have persisted for decades, despite the expanded roles of and opportunities for women in society since the 1970s, when the first few studies analyzing the media representation of women and men were conducted (Gerbner & Signorielli, 1979). Music videos are no exception to this trend, consistently underrepresenting women (see below) while depicting them in stereotypical gender roles (Wallis, 2011). Such videos tend to objectify women and portray them in submissive roles; in contrast, men are depicted as dominant and, occasionally, (sexually) aggressive (Andsager & Roe, 2003; Conrad et al., 2009; Sommers-Flanagan et al., 1993). In fact, the inclusion of sexual content in music videos has been recognized as an important marketing strategy within the music industry (Cummins, 2007).

Existing research has extensively explored the visibility and (problematic) representation of women in various popular music genres, including punk (Nguyen, 2012), hip-hop (Ward et al., 2013), rock (Hill et al., 2023), country (Andsager & Roe, 1999), and metal (Vasan, 2011). However, most of these studies focus on a single music genre. This carries the inherent risk of assigning blame to particular genres for perpetuating gender inequality and misogyny and further risks confounding counterdirectional trends of popularity with genre. To provide a comprehensive analysis, it is imperative to examine and compare different music genres to distinguish genre-specific depictions from those that permeate the entire music industry. An additional notable gap in the existing literature is the reliance on manual coding, which often results in relatively small sample sizes. This limitation hinders the ability to conduct meaningful comparisons over time, which are essential for three reasons. First, particularly with samples that only cover a relatively short amount of time, the analysis can be biased by artists who had hit songs during the sampling period. Such artists may not accurately repre-

sent the broader trends in gender representation and sexualization in music videos. Second, over the last four decades, the theme of gender and equality has persistently resonated in both society and the entertainment industry, driven by movements such as #MeToo. Investigating music videos over time enables us to analyze how these societal shifts are visually reflected. Third, the distribution of music videos has significantly evolved. While they were primarily distributed in a linear fashion through big TV stations such as MTV in the past, today, they are frequently viewed and shared on social media, online platforms, and streaming services (Beuscart et al., 2023; Edmond, 2014). This may have affected content adaptation, allowing not only TV stations but also the audience itself to shape the content of popular videos. For example, lower-budget videos or those featuring progressive gender images might gain eyeballs through viral sharing. Thus, this evolution could have affected the popularity of certain video types or genres as compared to others. Our study seeks to address these gaps by conducting a comprehensive automated quantitative analysis of music videos in various music genres spanning four decades from 1980-2020. This enables the consideration of both temporal changes and variations across genres.

Gender Representations in Music Videos

In the digital age, music videos are easily available to a global audience, with popular artists serving as role models for young viewers. Music videos might shape notions of gender that have an impact on society far beyond artificial or artistic staging. Moreover, they could be crucial drivers of how (young) viewers perceive and engage with notions of masculinity and femininity, societal roles, relationships, and sexuality (Ward & Grower, 2020). Hence, the first section here draws on two key perspectives: social constructionism and the objectification theory to contextualize how music videos shape and reinforce gender roles. The subsequent sections analyze empirical data, focusing on the gender ratio in music videos and the sexualization of women across genres and over the decades.

Shaping Gender Through Music Videos

The visibility of women in media plays a critical role in shaping societal power dynamics, as highlighted by Tuchmans (2000) concept of symbolic annihilation; this concept argues that underrepresentation marginalizes groups and reinforces patriarchal structures. In music videos, visibility extends beyond numerical representation, reflecting broader inequalities in

who is deemed meaningful and entitled to shape culture. Yet, it is not only the frequency of women's visibility that is of significance but also the contexts in which they are represented. Feminist theories emphasize that gender is a socially constructed phenomenon, created and reinforced through cultural practices and media representations. As argued by West and Zimmerman (1987) and Butler (1990), social constructionism conceptualizes gender not as a fixed trait but as a performance shaped by social interactions. These performances are affected by media, including music videos, which often depict women in ways that reflect and reinforce traditional gender roles and power dynamics. From this perspective, the portrayal of women as visually consumable objects perpetuates entrenched power imbalances and validates societal norms that marginalize women (Linden, 2004). Thus, the importance of examining gender roles in music videos lies in their cultural significance and accessibility. Adolescents, particularly girls, are among the most frequent consumers of music videos (Cranwell et al., 2015; Ward & Friedman, 2006). This medium is not only a source of entertainment but also a shaper and reflection of societal attitudes, including attitudes related to gender. As cultural products, music videos both mirror and contribute to the construction of social values and norms, influencing how gender roles are produced and performed (Butler, 1990; Hill et al., 2023; West & Zimmerman, 1987). This is particularly relevant given that gender identities are often shaped by the music we consume (Dibben, 2002). Studies reveal that the time spent watching music videos is associated with traditional gender attitudes, such as the belief that men dominate sexual relationships and that women are sex objects (Kistler & Lee, 2009; Ward, 2002; Ward et al., 2005). Hence, through exposure to stereotypical portrayals, young men may learn to objectify women, while young women may internalize such objectification as a normalized way of being treated (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). This internalization directly leads to the objectification theory, which provides a framework for understanding how media representations, including music videos, contribute to women's self-objectification. The media perpetuate objectification by isolating and emphasizing physical attributes, reducing individuals to their bodies or body parts while disregarding their agency or individuality (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) argue that such pervasive sexualized portrayals of women in the media lead women to internalize the objectifying gaze, treating their own bodies as objects of evaluation based on appearance. As explored in the next section, this (self-)objectification is particularly evident in music videos, where women are frequently depicted as fragmented body parts or objects of sex-

ual desire (Hovater & Farris, 2020), thereby reinforcing norms that prioritize appearance over individuality. Exposure to such content has been shown to increase objectifying gazes among viewers (Karsay et al., 2018) and lead to self-objectification in women, which, in turn, heightened preferences for objectifying media (Karsay & Matthes, 2020). This cyclical process emphasizes the far-reaching impact of media representations on individual perceptions and societal attitudes. Furthermore, the phenomenon of self-objectification is often evident in the manner in which women artists¹ participate in their own sexualization in music videos. While certain artists may view overtly sexualized aesthetics as a form of empowerment or self-expression (Frisby & Aubrey, 2012), these choices frequently occur within an industry framework that commodifies women's bodies. This duality highlights the tension between agency and societal pressures, thus reflecting the complex interplay between individual identity and cultural expectations. Hence, social constructionism contextualizes these portrayals within broader cultural norms and power structures, while the objectification theory illuminates the societal and psychological consequences of these representations. Both theoretical lenses support the argument that music videos not only mirror existing societal attitudes but actively shape gender norms, relationships, and sexuality. The following sections examine the empirical evidence on overall gender ratio in music videos and the sexualization of women across genres and time periods.

General Ratio of the Visibility of Men and Women in Music Videos

Almost all studies that have examined the visibility of women in music videos find an underrepresentation of women. This underrepresentation appears to have been particularly pronounced in the 1980s: women were underrepresented by a ratio of approximately 6 to 1 in music videos (Baxter et al., 1985; Brown & Campbell, 1986; Sherman & Dominick, 1986). Gender representation became slightly more balanced in the 1990s, but still persisted, with studies indicating similar ratios in the early 1990s (Gow, 1996; Tapper et al., 1994); these ratios improved slightly in the latter 1990s from 4 to 1 (Seidman, 1992) and 3 to 1 (Andsager & Roe, 1999) to 2 to 1 (Sommers-Flanagan et al.,

¹Throughout this study, we use the terms “women artists” and “men artists” rather than “female” and “male” to reflect gender as a social identity rather than a biological category (Butler, 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Since music videos portray gender as a social performance rather than a biological fact, this terminology aligns with social constructionist perspectives (Butler, 1990).

1993). Since then, the gender disparities have followed a relatively consistent pattern, with men being seen approximately two to three times more often than women in music videos (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011; Turner, 2011). Moreover, a few studies have compared genres in terms of gendered visibility. Aubrey and Frisby (2011) concluded that pop music videos had the most equitable representation of men and women. The gender ratio was more skewed toward men in country music videos and R&B /hip-hop, where men outnumbered women by 4 to 1.

Sexualization of Women in Music Videos

Over the years, the representation of women in music videos has been the subject of research, with the concept of sexualization being measured and conceptualized in different ways. Researchers have employed different frameworks to analyze how women are portrayed, focusing on aspects such as objectification, overtly sexualized behavior, and aggression with sexuality. While these constructs are interrelated, they are distinct dimensions that collectively shape the broader representation of women in music videos. It follows then that the operationalization of visual sexualization in music videos has often varied, depending on the focus of specific studies. For example, certain studies emphasized objectification through the fragmentation of women's bodies into parts rather than being considered a whole human (e.g., focusing on breasts or buttocks) (Hovater & Farris, 2020; Sommers-Flanagan et al., 1993) or women revealing parts of their body through clothing (Andsager & Roe, 1999; Aubrey & Frisby, 2011). Others analyzed behavior such as sexualized dancing or the dynamics of power and submission in the interactions between genders in music videos (Hovater & Farris, 2020; King et al., 2006; Wallis, 2011) or gaze and women being portrayed in decorative roles (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011). In the aforementioned operationalizations, the boundaries between sexualization and objectification were not always clearly defined. Sexualization emphasizes overt sexual cues, yet it often intersects with objectification when individuals are depicted in ways that deny their humanity or reduce them to fragmented body parts. Despite differences in how these concepts are measured and conceptualized, they converge on a common theme: women are consistently portrayed in ways that reinforce their role as objects of sexual desire, perpetuating traditional gender norms and power imbalances in media representations. Women are sexualized in music videos up to 10 times more often than men, including women characters being more commonly depicted wearing sexual attire and clothing that reveals body parts (Andsager & Roe, 1999; Aubrey & Frisby, 2011;

Hansen & Hansen, 2000; Seidman, 1992; Vincent, 1989; Wallis, 2011), dancing in a more sexual manner (Jones, 1997), engaging in sexual behavior (Hansen & Hansen, 2000; King et al., 2006; Wallis, 2011), and being subjected to sexual violence (Hill et al., 2023; Sherman & Dominick, 1986; Sommers-Flanagan et al., 1993) as compared to men characters (King et al., 2006). Over time, aggression with sexuality (i.e., a woman responding to aggression with sexuality) was observed more prominently in music videos from 2000s and 2010s, while music videos from the 1980s and 1990s were not as sexualized (Hovater & Farris, 2020). However, certain studies have found women artists in other roles—Alexander (1999) found women to be portrayed as either victims of sexism or independent leaders in music videos. Certainly, not all genres are equal in terms of portraying women in a sexualized manner. Country music is known for rather conservative themes and relatively lower emphasis on sexual topics and women's physical appearance (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011; Wilson, 2000). Aubrey and Frisby (2011) found that country music videos are the least likely to show the artist's perpetrating gaze and more likely to have the absence of sexually provocative dressing when compared to pop videos. Andsager and Roe (1999) found women to wear neutral clothing in most country videos. However, in more than one-third of the country videos under investigation, women wore (somewhat) alluring clothing. In contrast, men wore neutral clothing in almost all the videos. The authors conclude that country music is remarkably similar to other genres when it comes to the presence of revealing clothing style. Rock music videos have faced sustained critique for their perpetuation of patriarchal norms, endorsement of sexism, and violence toward women (Aufderheide, 1986; Baxter et al., 1985; Seidman, 1992; Vincent, 1989). Further, hip-hop, rap, and R&B are considered to be the genres with the worst reputation in terms of the portrayal of controversial messages—including sex, misogyny, and objectification of women (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011; Conrad et al., 2009). However, Aubrey and Frisby (2011) found barely any differences between R&B/hip-hop and pop music videos in terms of the sexualization of women. Hovater and Farris (2020) found most sexually aggressive acts in hip-hop and rap, but revealed that pop music had almost similar numbers. The same held true for the objectification of women. These findings emphasize the importance of genre comparison and help avoid placing blame solely on one particular genre (and its associated fan culture) for issues related to sexism in music videos. Only a few studies have investigated the role of the artist's gender in music videos. Early studies found that videos created by men artists often depicted women in a condescending manner, frequently relegating them to

roles as victims, decorations, or sex objects. In contrast, videos by women artists portrayed women either in a condescending manner or as fully equal to their men counterparts (Andsager & Roe, 1999; Vincent, 1989; Vincent et al., 1987). However, others found that women artists participate in their own sexualization, portraying misogyny, male domination, and female submissiveness (Frisby & Aubrey, 2012). Yet, the extent to which women artists have agency in determining their own appearance and performance in the context of a music video remains unclear. In summary, many of the above-mentioned studies were conducted in the 1980s and 1990s. This is most likely due to the rise of major music channels (such as MTV), which based their programming solely on music videos in those decades. However, this is no longer the case. Much less research has been devoted to music videos since then. Therefore, it is difficult to make a statement about the representation of men and women in music videos over time. In addition, these studies are based on different samples and partially on different operationalizations of sexism. Furthermore, many studies have been conducted on single genres, which were probably considered the “black sheep” when it came to sexist portrayals of women. Thus, we aim to answer the following questions with the help of an automated content analysis:

RQ1: How visible are women as opposed to men in music videos?

RQ2: How are women sexualized in music videos?

RQ3: Are there genre-differences regarding the visibility of women and their sexualization in music videos?

RQ4: Are there differences over time regarding the visibility of women and their sexualization in music videos?

Method

Sample

Our initial dataset consisted of US Billboard 100 data from the Tidy Tuesday project. We selected all songs that appeared in the Top 100 from 1980 to 2020 and subsequently retrieved the accompanying music videos from YouTube. In addition, we obtained meta data for the songs—that is, genre and artist information from the Spotify API. The final sample size was $n = 9,799$ music videos for which all relevant meta data were available. The annual sample sizes vary from $n = 157$ in 1980 to $n = 225$ in 2020. The average number of videos per year was $n = 237$.

Measures

Our main outcomes are the proportion of women visible per video and the visible sexual objectification of women. All videos were processed using an existing custom computational pipeline (Jürgens et al., 2022). Gender classification was performed on individual frames, which were sampled at each second. To maximize end-to-end performance, faces were first identified using RetinaFace (Deng et al., 2019), which is a face detection neural network with extremely high capacity across different resolutions. Given that music videos show artists from a wide range of racial backgrounds, it is crucial to minimize differential classification errors across skin tone and appearances. Thus, for each face, we estimated the apparent gender using FairFace (Kärkkäinen & Joo, 2021), which offers high consistency across different racial categories. While face detection and gender classification are well-established applications in which neural networks excel, the second outcome in our analysis—the classification of sexualized depictions of women—remains an underdeveloped area with few publications and fewer available datasets. We used state-of-the-art zero-shot classification with multimodal large language models (MLLM) in order to classify individual video frames. Based on the aforementioned literature of manual content analyses of music videos, we selected three major dimensions: (1) revealing or suggestive clothes, (2) sexually suggestive moves (including dancing), and (3) sexually suggestive poses and facial expressions. For every dimension, we constructed two different indicators by varying the prompts given to the MLLM; thus, the final classification is based on six binary indicators (see Table 1). We computed the sexual objectification score for each video as the proportion of video frames that contained any of the indicators since the indicators were highly correlated. Moreover, since the clothing categories were, by far, the most prevalent indicators in the sample, the overall score more strongly reflects this dimension of sexualization.

Compared to the fine-tuned vision model for gender classification, the MLLM-based zero-shot classification is more flexible; however, it is also several orders of magnitude slower. Therefore, we sampled 20 frames per music video for classification as a compromise between precision and resource use. Furthermore, previous research on zero-shot text classification has revealed that there is substantial variability among different models and that relying only on one (commercial) LLM for classification is detrimental for both reliability and reproducibility. Thus, we chose to use an ensemble of commercial and open models to classify the videos. Specifically, we used Gemini Flash as a commercial MLLM, and InternVL2 as well as Qwen2-VL as local models.

Variable	“Instruction prompt (“Classify whether the image depicts one or more women ...”)	% of all video frames
(1a) clothes	... wearing revealing clothes	10
(1b) attire	... wearing attire that is sexually suggestive (e.g., lingerie, bikinis, tight or revealing outfits)	7
(2a) poses	... showing sexually suggestive (flirtatious, seductive) poses or gestures	3
(2b) facial expressions	... showing sexually suggestive (flirtatious, seductive) facial expressions or gazes toward others	3
(3a) moves	... performing movements that are sexually suggestive, such as pelvic thrusts, self-touching, or licking lips	1
(3b) dance	...performing sexual dance styles (e.g., twerking, grinding, stripping)	1

Table 1: Instruction prompts for indicators of sexual objectification

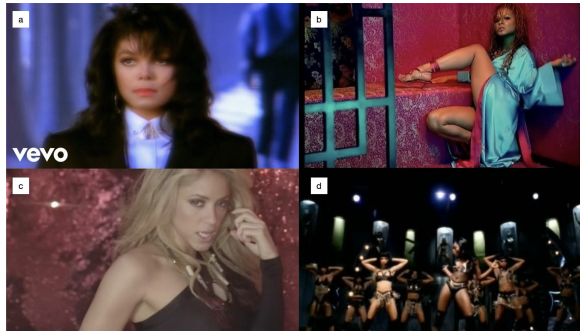


Figure 1: Examples of sexualized versus nonsexualized representation of women

Due to our computational resources, each of the local models processed every other frame, while Gemini classified all 20 frames per video. Then, we averaged the scores of all three classifiers in our MLLM ensemble to obtain the final sexual objectification score per video. Figure 1 illustrates examples of both sexualized and nonsexualized representations of women used in our classification, providing visual context for the indicators described above.

Figure 1 depicts four frames from different videos: (a) Janet Jackson’s “Come Back To Me”, an R&B song prominently featuring Jackson as the woman artist that reached ranked second on Billboard’s weekly charts in 1990 and has no sexualization. (b) Christina Milian’s “Dip It Low,” another R&B song that reached ranked fifth on Billboard’s weekly charts in 2004 and

shows the artist in a highly sexualized suggestive pose and wearing revealing clothing. (c) Shakira’s “She Wolf,” an electronic pop song that ranked 11 on Billboard’s weekly charts in 2009 and features the artist with suggestive facial expressions. (d) Foxy Brown’s “Hot Spot,” a hip-hop song that ranked 91 on Billboard’s weekly charts in 1998 and includes multiple women dancing suggestively in revealing clothing.

In order to check the reliability and validity of this procedure, we compared our classification with manual coding. Based on a validation sample of 139 videos, the correlation between our classifier and an ensemble of three human coders was rather high, with $r = 0.88$. The Gemini-based classification correlated somewhat more strongly with human scores ($r = 0.89$) than the open models ($r = 0.75$)². As predictor variables, we included song and artist information. We extracted the genre variable from the Spotify metadata for each song and re-coded it into seven dichotomous genre variables: pop, rock, R&B, dance, rap, country, and other, all of which could possibly co-occur for any song. In addition, since artist gender and ethnicity information was not available from Spotify, we estimated both using artist photos obtained from the music database Discogs (approximately 12 images per artist, on average). Specifically, we used the Fairface model described above to classify the apparent gender and ethnicity of the faces in these images; these were then summarized per song. Ethnicity was classified as Black, White, or other; gender was classified as man or woman. Since song performers (as bands or through collaborations) can consist of people of different genders and ethnicities, all predictor variables were scaled from 0 to 1, with 1 indicating, for example, all-women or all-Black performers.

Data Analysis

In addition to visual and descriptive analyses, we estimated two fractional logistic regression models, one for each outcome, with (apparent) artist gender and ethnicity as well as song genre as predictor variables. Because the music videos were nested in years and performers, we added artists and two-year time periods as random effects and included random slopes (within time periods) to account for potential effect heterogeneity over time. The models were estimated using R and the brms package (Bürkner, 2017), with default priors. We report average marginal effects (AME, on the probability scale) as well as 90% Bayesian credible intervals estimated using

²The manual coding was based on the same 20 frames per video (2780 frames overall). In sum, three coders independently counted the frames that showed revealing clothing, and we averaged their scores per video.

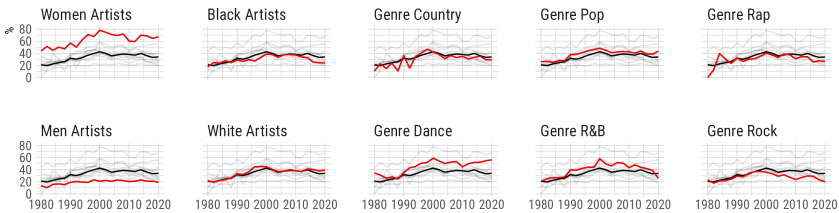


Figure 2: The proportion of the visibility of women in music videos (1980–2020) by artist demographics and music genre

Note: The red line depicts the group average, the solid line the overall average, and the light gray lines the other groups' averages for comparison.

the `marginalEffects` package.

Results

This section first discusses the visibility of women in music videos and then their sexualized depiction. Both aspects are considered first in absolute terms and then by genre and over time. Finally, we analyze the influence of artist characteristics with regard to both outcomes. In terms of the mere visibility of women, they constituted 34% of the visible people in music videos in our sample. Their average share was substantially higher in dance (46%), R&B (43%), and pop (40%) music videos. In most other genres, the visibility of women was in line with the general average, with the notable exception of rock music videos, which showed the lowest proportion of women overall (27%). In terms of the visibility of women in music over time (see Figure 2), we found that women were less visible in music videos in the 1980s (approximately 20% or less). Moreover, the proportion of visible women in music videos rose continuously between 1980 and 2000, remaining at a fairly stable level of 35%–40% thereafter. However, at no time were men and women equally visible in music videos. This pattern is more or less consistent across all genres, with a proportionate decline in the number of visible women since 2010, particularly in the genres of R&B, rock, and rap. However, a continuous increase was evident in the dance genre in particular (see Figure 2); from the late 1990s to the early 2000s, and since 2015, more women than men were visible in the dance genre, thus making it the only genre in which women were over-proportionally visible in music videos in our dataset.

However, the greatest explanatory factor for the visibility of women in music videos is not due to differences between music genres but in the characteristics of the artists. By far, the gender of the artist in the music video

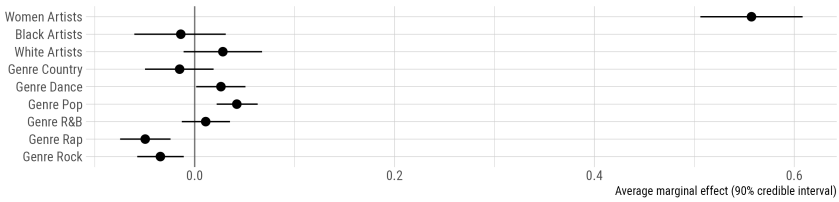


Figure 3: Predictors of the proportion of women in music videos

Note: Average marginal effects and 90% credible intervals from a Bayesian logistic mixed-effects model. The reference levels for artists demographics are male and ethnicity: other.

explained the most variability in the visibility of women. A substantially higher proportion of women were visible in music videos by women artists over the entire time span of the study. Moreover, the (apparent) ethnicity of the artists appeared related to the visibility of women in music videos: the proportion of visible women was lower in Black artists' videos, and decreased sharply since 2010 onward. Given the different dynamics both in terms of genres (i.e., the share of rock music videos declined substantially since the 1980s, while rap videos became much more prominent; see Figure A1 in the appendix) and artists (i.e., the rising prominence of Black artists in the 1990s) and the interrelations between artist demographics and their musical genres, the overall patterns are difficult to assess using only graphical or bivariate analyses. Put differently, it is difficult to say how much changes in the visibility of women are due to changes in the composition of the music charts in terms of artists or genres or change within certain genres or among certain groups of artists. Therefore, we estimated a logistic multilevel regression model, the results of which are displayed in Figure 3. The coefficients (average marginal effects) can be directly interpreted as differences in the probability of women being visible. The results reveal that artist gender was, by far, the strongest predictor of visibility, with an estimated difference of 0.30 between men and women artists. Figure 3 also reveals that women were significantly less (-0.07) visible in rap videos and significantly more visible in dance (+0.03) and pop (+0.05) videos. After accounting for artist gender and music genre, there were no significant effects of artist ethnicity on the visibility of women in music videos.

In a second step, we examined not only whether women are made more visible in music videos but also in what context this is done. Specifically, we examined the degree of sexualization through a sexual objectification score that encompassed (1) revealing or suggestive clothing, (2) sexually suggestive poses and facial expressions, and (3) sexually suggestive moves. Overall,

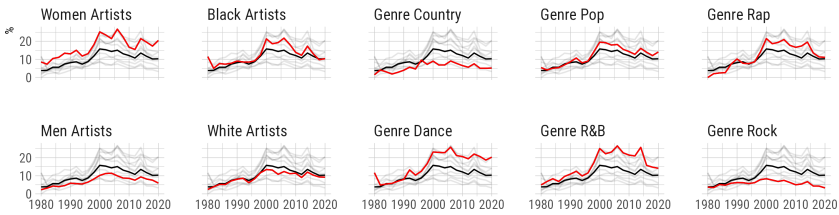


Figure 4: The proportion of music video frames with sexual objectification of women (1980–2020) by artist demographics and music genre

Note: The red line depicts the group average, the solid line the overall average, and the light gray lines the other groups' averages for comparison.

approximately 10% of all coded video frames included a sexualized depiction of a woman. The sexual objectification of women was relatively low in the 1980s and beginning of 1990s. In particular, in the mid 1990s, there was a strong increase in women's sexualization, which reached its peak around the year 2000. Since then, there has been a gradual decline, although the overall level of sexualization remains high, with slight fluctuations over time (see Figure 4). Further, genre-specific analysis reveals substantial variation in the degree of sexualization across genres, with dance, R&B, and rap music videos consistently exhibiting the highest levels of sexualization over time. In particular, dance music continues to show an increasing trend in the sexualized depictions of women, even in recent years, while this trend in rap and R&B peaked around 2000–2010 and has slightly declined since then. In contrast, country and rock music videos display the lowest levels of sexualization, with rock videos exhibiting a clear downward trend after 2010. Notably, the gap between pop and other highly sexualized genres has narrowed, thereby suggesting that pop music videos—which initially had lower sexualization levels—have become more aligned with trends in R&B and rap, particularly during the late 1990s and early 2000s. Further, women artists' videos consistently exhibited higher levels of sexualization compared to those of men artists, with the trend peaking around the early 2000s before experiencing a slight decline but still remaining at a high level. Notably, the gap between men and women artists in terms of sexualization has persisted over time. While the (visible) ethnicity of the artists had little influence in the overall visibility of women, their sexualization score differed between Black and White artists—the abovementioned peak in sexualized depictions of women from 2000 to 2015 was more pronounced in Black artists' videos, but has since then converged in terms of the overall average, thus suggesting a shift in industry-wide representations.

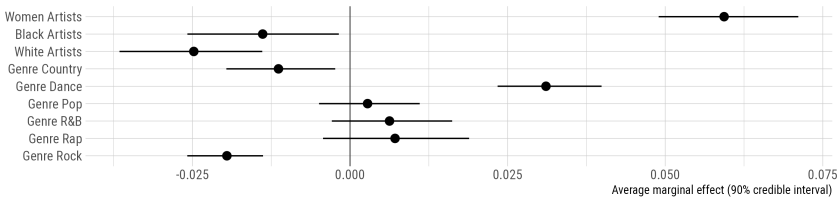


Figure 5: Predictors of the proportion of music video frames with sexual objectification of women

Note: Average marginal effects and 90% credible intervals from a Bayesian logistic mixed-effects model. The reference levels for artists demographics are male and ethnicity: other.

Again, the bivariate descriptions in Figure 4 cannot reveal the complex interrelations between genre and artist characteristics, which tend to be correlated and might follow different trajectories over time. As mentioned above, we estimated a logistic multilevel regression model, with the sexual objectification score as the outcome variable and genre as well as artist characteristics as predictor variables. In addition, we controlled for the proportion of visible women in the video, since, naturally, our sexualization score is related to the overall visibility of women in the video. The results displayed in Figure 5 reveal that, first, videos by women artists show significantly higher levels of sexualization compared to those by men artists, with a positive and statistically robust effect. Second, while Black artists barely differ from the baseline, the probability of women’s sexualization in videos by White artists is .025 lower than that of videos by artists of other races. Two genres exhibited markedly lower (rock and country) and one higher (dance) women sexualization scores. Overall, these differences were rather small—that is, in the range of .01 to .03 on the probability scale.

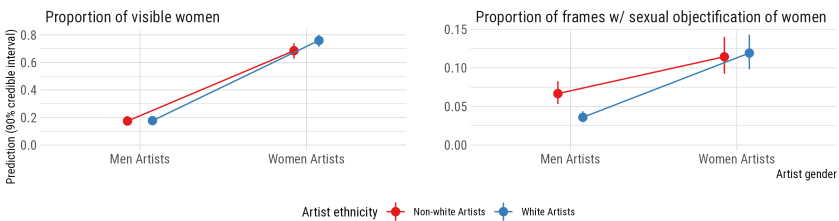


Figure 6: Intersection of artist gender and race on women’s visibility and sexual objectification in music videos

Finally, we examined the intersection of artist gender and race to better understand how these characteristics combine to shape both the visibility

of women and their sexual objectification in music videos. Figure 6 presents the predicted probabilities of these two outcomes. Women are significantly more visible in music videos by women artists compared to those by men artists, regardless of race. However, an interaction effect emerges when examining sexual objectification as an outcome—for women artists, sexual objectification levels are high regardless of ethnicity. Non-White men artists' videos feature higher levels of sexual objectification of women than those by White men artists. White men artists' videos contain the lowest levels of sexual objectification. These findings suggest that the overall lower sexual objectification scores found in White artists' videos are driven by White men artists.

Discussion, Limitations, and Future Research

In this study, we analyzed the representation of men and women in music videos as well as the sexual objectification of women in music videos. Using state-of-the-art computer vision models, we analyzed 9,799 videos for Billboard 100 songs from 1980 to 2020. Across all videos, men in music videos outnumbered women by a ratio of 2 to 1. This is in line with other studies (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011; Turner, 2011). Our analysis also revealed an increase in women's visibility in music videos over time, which is also in line with existing research (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011; Seidman, 1992; Sommers-Flanagan et al., 1993). Despite this upward trend, equality in visibility between men and women was never achieved. Notably, the pop genre stood out with a significantly higher proportion of visible women compared to men, thus highlighting a deviation from the general trend. In contrast, genres such as R&B and country music exhibited the lowest visibility of women in music videos. Again, this is in line with existing research (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011). However, critically speaking, this also implies that the results of the studies from the 2010s have changed very little in terms of the visibility of women in music videos. With regard to the exploration of sexualization, we identified fluctuations over time, peaking around the 2000s. Dance, R&B, and rap genres were found to have the highest levels of sexualization (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011; Conrad et al., 2009), with the level of sexualization in the dance genre showing a sustained increase even in recent years. Thus, our results contribute to a crucial reassessment of longitudinal trends and indicate that sexualization does not follow a linear trajectory (in either direction). However, there appear to be more similarities than differences among music genres when it comes to the sexualization of women. This is in line with other comparative research on music videos (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011) and

emphasizes that we are dealing with a sexualized industry rather than individual “problematic” genres in this industry. Music videos, as an integral component of the music industry, serve as reflections of larger trends and structures within the realm of popular music. The sexual objectification of women in music videos reflects broader systemic issues within the music industry and align with broader trends across media, such as the increased sexualization of women found in analyses of Rolling Stone magazine covers over time (Hatton & Trautner, 2011). Our findings further suggest that these disparities are not only gendered but also racialized in men artists’ videos. Hence, the gender disparities observed in music videos are rather likely not isolated occurrences, but are intricately linked to the prevailing imbalances within the industry itself. Research by Sergeant and Himonides (2023) reveals a stark gender asymmetry, with men performers significantly outnumbering women performers, not only in front of the camera but also in leadership roles within musical groups. This indicates that the gender bias extends beyond the visual representation in music videos and originates from the initial composition of performers. Moreover, the disparity may be compounded by behind-the-scenes factors, as highlighted by Andsager and Roe (1999), who found a predominance of men directors in their sample of music videos. Recognizing these systemic issues emphasizes the need for a comprehensive and industry-wide approach to address gender imbalances. Future research could include the gender of directors and artist managers in the analysis to broaden the picture painted in this study. While the greater representation of women in music videos can be viewed as a step toward inclusivity, the concomitant escalation in sexualization raises concerns regarding the perpetuation of objectification and stereotyping. It is worth noting that our study did not assess the sexualization of men in music videos, but existing research suggests a notable asymmetry, with men generally not experiencing the same degree of objectification (Andsager & Roe, 1999; Hatton & Trautner, 2011). Hence, visibility does not automatically translate into equality. Further, the most influential factor impacting the visibility of women in music videos was not associated with individual genres but rather with the artist’s characteristics. Women artists consistently exhibited higher visibility and, simultaneously, higher sexualization of women throughout the study period; in contrast, men artists, although not significantly correlated, tended to have lower visibility. However, our analysis of the interaction between the artist’s gender and race revealed that the lower sexualization scores in white artists’ videos are primarily driven by white men artists. This suggests that racialized gender norms play a role in shaping

how women are portrayed in men artists' music videos, while sexualized portrayals in women artists' videos appear to be an industry-wide expectation rather than a racially differentiated phenomenon. These quantitative findings should not be interpreted as suggesting that White men artists are inherently more feminist or progressive. Rather, the observed patterns may reflect broader structural, genre-specific, or commercial influences, and not necessarily intentional choices by the artists themselves. Our results reflect broader cultural norms tied to "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987), according to which performances of femininity and masculinity are shaped by social expectations, including those perpetuated in music videos. Women artists' greater visibility, coupled with heightened sexual objectification, exemplifies how women in the music industry are expected to embody and amplify traditional notions of femininity, often emphasizing physical appearance and sexual allure as part of their public image. This dynamic also ties into the objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), which emphasizes how the frequent portrayal of women as objects of sexual desire not only reflects societal norms but also fosters self-objectification. In music videos, women artists often play an active role in their own sexualized portrayal. A few feminist scholars have argued that this can be interpreted by audiences as a form of empowerment, where women are reclaiming their agency and sexuality in the public eye (Frisby & Aubrey, 2012). However, others point out that these portrayals may simultaneously reinforce systemic norms of sexual objectification, as success within the music industry is often tied to conforming to such expectations (Butler, 1990; Linden, 2004). This reflects a tension between agency and structural pressures, thereby highlighting the blurred lines between celebrating women's sexuality and reinforcing cultural norms that objectify them. Future research could build on these findings by exploring how audiences perceive sexualized portrayals of women artists, particularly in terms of empowerment and objectification. Experimental studies could investigate whether such portrayals challenge or perpetuate traditional gender roles.

Of course, our study does not come without limitations. First, this study primarily focuses on the visual elements of music videos, and it is important to recognize that these visual aspects may convey messages distinct from the musical content (Thompson et al., 2005) or lyrics. Although it appears attractive to simultaneously address both visual and textual messages, sexualization in lyrics represents a more complex research subject due to irony, ambiguity, references and even the intertextual use of patterns. Future research could explore the intricate interplay between visual and auditory

elements to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the impact of this interplay on audience perceptions. Second, our study only examined the visibility of men and women, but it does not go beyond that. It aims at providing a comprehensive longitudinal overview; however, in the process of doing so, it ignores the nuanced aspects of display, such as nonverbal behaviors (e.g., body movement, gestures, facial expressions) (Wallis, 2011), differences between lead and supporting roles, including props or dancers, and whether they are portrayed as being subject to sexual violence (Hill et al., 2023; Sherman & Dominick, 1986; Sommers-Flanagan et al., 1993). A more nuanced examination of role distinctions could provide a deeper understanding of how gender dynamics manifest in different capacities within music videos. Further, although our operationalization of sexual objectification includes multiple dimensions—such as revealing clothing, sexually suggestive poses, and movements—it is not exhaustive. The subtle but significant aspects of sexual objectification, such as referential gaze and decorative roles, remain unaddressed. These elements could provide additional nuance, particularly in terms of understanding the broader cultural and societal implications of objectification. Given that existing literature suggests that men are not subject to the same degree of sexualization (King et al., 2006), this represents a noteworthy gap in the analysis. Future research should aim to address this disparity to comprehensively capture the spectrum of gender portrayals and sexualization in music videos. Additionally, our findings highlight that racialized gender norms play a crucial role in shaping the representation of women, particularly in men artists' music videos. Future research should explore the underlying factors that drive these racialized gender patterns, including industry expectations, genre conventions, and audience reception.

Ethical Concerns

Given the evidently sensitive nature of the subject of this paper, we conclude with a few considerations of the underlying ethical problems—both to transparently discuss our own approach and to appreciate the implicit decisions and their normative context. Automated analysis of biometric data, of faces in particular, involves highly sensitive personal information and enjoys special protection under existing legislation. Therefore, we wish to highlight that regardless of nonbinding ethical guidelines, researchers today are already bound by legal duties arising from norms, such as the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) of the EU (Jasserand, 2024), which were expanded further under the new AI Act (“Regulation (EU) 2024/1689 of

the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 June 2024 laying down harmonised rules on artificial intelligence and amending Regulations (EC) No 300/2008, (EU) No 167/2013, (EU) No 168/2013, (EU) 2018/858, (EU) 2018/1139 and (EU) 2019/2144 and Directives 2014/90/EU, (EU) 2016/797 and (EU) 2020/1828 (Artificial Intelligence Act) (Text with EEA relevance)", 2024). It is important to note that the regulation and its embedded ethical concerns primarily address the most sensitive aspect of facial recognition—that is, the identification of identities from facial patterns. Identity-agnostic biometrical data, such as the expression of emotions, are considered less sensitive and, thus, require weaker protections (Häuselmann et al., 2023). Under the new provisions of the AI Act, facial analysis remains widely permitted, given that it obeys two prohibitions (26b): AI may not be used to (1) create or expand facial recognition databases using (2) untargeted scraping. Our work with non-PII data and publicly available (broadcast) video material independently satisfies both criteria (even though one would be sufficient). Turning to a more comprehensive ethical perspective, we further considered the unintended implications of the methods and analysis itself. Both the theoretical framework and the empirical analysis should clearly convey our critical assessment and problematization of the prevalent "male gaze" (Oliver, 2017). Thus, it bears a certain irony that the LLM used for our composite sexualization score itself is partially trained on material that replicates this phenomenon. Although we neither alter (train) the neural network nor distribute its input material, there is an indirect exploitative element to the use of extant objectifying images. The use of readymade tools still appears to be an ethically superior choice in comparison to the use of student annotators for explicit imagery. Finally, it appears prudent to reiterate a significant limitation discussed above: Analyzing visual presentations always bears the risk of inviting simplified and superficial interpretations of responsibility. We must assume that the music industry, as a particularly power-driven environment, exerts an important influence on the production of music videos. Therefore, a measured (self-)objectification of women should not be taken as clear-cut evidence of the causal responsibility without taking into account the role of producers, directors, marketing specialists, etc. In this study, our broad empirical analysis revealed that objectification is prevalent and exhibits interesting variations across time, genre, and gender; however, unveiling its causes certainly requires significant future research.

References

- Andsager, J., & Roe, K. (1999). Country Music Video in Country's Year of the Woman. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 69–82. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02782.x>
- Andsager, J., & Roe, K. (2003). "What's your definition of dirty, baby?": Sex in music video. *Sexuality and Culture*, 7(3), 79–97. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-003-1004-8>
- 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. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2010.513468>
- Aufderheide, P. (1986). Music Videos: The Look of the Sound. *Journal of Communication*, 36(1), 57–78. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1986.tb03039.x>
- Baxter, R. L., De Riemer, C., Landini, A., Leslie, L., & Singletary, M. W. (1985). A content analysis of music videos. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 29(3), 333–340. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838158509386589>
- Beckers, K., Van Dijk, R. E., Van Aelst, P., & De Swert, K. (2024). A Long March Toward Equality: Predicting the Presence of Women in Television News. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 101(2), 477–499. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10776990231211806>
- Beuscart, J.-S., Coavoux, S., & Garroq, J.-B. (2023). Listening to music videos on YouTube. Digital consumption practices and the environmental impact of streaming. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 23(3), 654–671. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14695405221133266>
- Brown, J. D., & Campbell, K. (1986). Race and Gender in Music Videos: The Same Beat but a Different Drummer. *Journal of Communication*, 36(1), 94–106. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1986.tb03041.x>
- Bürkner, P.-C. (2017). **brms**: An R Package for Bayesian Multilevel Models Using Stan. *Journal of Statistical Software*, 80(1). <https://doi.org/10.18637/jss.v080.i01>
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203824979>
- Collins, R. L. (2011). Content Analysis of Gender Roles in Media: Where Are We Now and Where Should We Go? *Sex Roles*, 64(3-4), 290–298. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9929-5>
- 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. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838150802643795>
- Cranwell, J., Murray, R., Lewis, S., Leonardi-Bee, J., Dockrell, M., & Britton, J. (2015). Adolescents' exposure to tobacco and alcohol content in YouTube music videos. *Addiction*, 110(4), 703–711. <https://doi.org/10.1111/add.12835>

- Cummins, R. G. (2007). Selling Music With Sex: The Content And Effects Of Sex In Music Videos on Viewer Enjoyment. *Journal of Promotion Management*, 13(1-2), 95–109. https://doi.org/10.1300/J057v13n01_07
- Deng, J., Guo, J., Zhou, Y., Yu, J., Kotsia, I., & Zafeiriou, S. (2019). RetinaFace: Single-stage Dense Face Localisation in the Wild [arXiv:1905.00641 [cs]]. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.1905.00641>
- Dibben, N. (2002). Gender Identity And Music. In R. A. R. Macdonald, D. J. Hargreaves, & D. Miell (Eds.), *Musical Identities* (pp. 117–133). Oxford University Press Oxford. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198509325.003.0007>
- Edmond, M. (2014). Here We Go Again: Music Videos after YouTube. *Television & New Media*, 15(4), 305–320. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1527476412465901>
- Fredrickson, B. L., & Roberts, T.-A. (1997). Objectification theory: Toward understanding women's lived experiences and mental health risks [Place: United Kingdom Publisher: Blackwell Publishing]. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21(2), 173–206. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00108.x>
- Frisby, C. M., & Aubrey, J. S. (2012). Race and Genre in the Use of Sexual Objectification in Female Artists' Music Videos. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 23(1), 66–87. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2012.641880>
- Gerbner, G., & Signorielli, N. (1979). *Women and Minorities in Television Drama, 1969-1978* (tech. rep.) [ERIC Number: ED185178]. Retrieved April 23, 2025, from <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED185178>
- Gow, J. (1996). Reconsidering gender roles on MTV: Depictions in the most popular music videos of the early 1990s. *Communication Reports*, 9(2), 151–161. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08934219609367647>
- Hansen, C. H., & Hansen, R. D. (2000). Music and music videos. In D. Zillmann & P. Vorderer (Eds.), *Media entertainment: The psychology of its appeal* (pp. 175–196). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Hatton, E., & Trautner, M. N. (2011). Equal Opportunity Objectification? The Sexualization of Men and Women on the Cover of Rolling Stone. *Sexuality & Culture*, 15(3), 256–278. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-011-9093-2>
- Häuselmann, A., Sears, A. M., Zard, L., & Fosch-Villaronga, E. (2023). EU law and emotion data. *2023 11th International Conference on Affective Computing and Intelligent Interaction (ACII)*, 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1109/ACII59096.2023.10388181>
- Hill, R. L., Richards, D., & Savigny, H. (2023). Normalising sexualised violence in popular culture: Eroding, erasing and controlling women in rock music. *Feminist Media Studies*, 23(3), 1107–1123. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2021.1902368>
- Hovater, R. S., & Farris, D. N. (2020). Back That Sexism Up: An Analysis of the Representation of Women's Bodies in Music Videos. In D. N. Farris, D. R. Compton, & A. P. Herrera (Eds.), *Gender, Sexuality and Race in the Digital Age* (pp. 75–97). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-29855-5_5
- Jasserand, C. (2024). Biometric Data, Within and Beyond Data Protection. In B. van der Sloot & S. van Schendel (Eds.), *The Boundaries of Data* (pp. 295–310). Ams-

- terdam University Press. Retrieved April 23, 2025, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/jj.12124947.17>
- Jones, K. (1997). Are rap videos more violent? Style differences and the prevalence of sex and violence in the age of MTV. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 8(4), 343–356. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10646179709361765>
- Jürgens, P., Meltzer, C. E., & Scharkow, M. (2022). Age and gender representation on German TV. *Computational Communication Research*, 4(1), 173–207.
- Kärkkäinen, K., & Joo, J. (2021). FairFace: Face Attribute Dataset for Balanced Race, Gender, and Age for Bias Measurement and Mitigation [ISSN: 2642-9381]. *2021 IEEE Winter Conference on Applications of Computer Vision (WACV)*, 1547–1557. <https://doi.org/10.1109/WACV48630.2021.00159>
- Karsay, K., & Matthes, J. (2020). Sexually Objectifying Pop Music Videos, Young Women's Self-Objectification, and Selective Exposure: A Moderated Mediation Model. *Communication Research*, 47(3), 428–450. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650216661434>
- Karsay, K., Matthes, J., Platzer, P., & Plinke, M. (2018). Adopting the Objectifying Gaze: Exposure to Sexually Objectifying Music Videos and Subsequent Gazing Behavior. *Media Psychology*, 21(1), 27–49. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15213269.2017.1378110>
- King, K. A., Laake, R. A., & Bernard, A. L. (2006). Do the Depictions of Sexual Attire and Sexual Behavior in Music Videos Differ Based on Video Network and Character Gender? *American Journal of Health Education*, 37(3), 146–153. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19325037.2006.10598894>
- Kistler, M. E., & Lee, M. J. (2009). Does Exposure to Sexual Hip-Hop Music Videos Influence the Sexual Attitudes of College Students? *Mass Communication and Society*, 13(1), 67–86. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205430902865336>
- Lind, F., & Meltzer, C. E. (2020). Now you see me, now you don't: Applying automated content analysis to track migrant women's salience in German news. *Feminist Media Studies*, 21(6), 923–940. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2020.1713840>
- Linden, J. H. (2004). Body Image: A Handbook of Theory, Research, and Clinical Practice. Thomas Cash and Thomas Pruzinsky, Editors. New York, NY: Guilford Press. (2002). xxii + 530 Pages [Publisher: Routledge]. *American Journal of Clinical Hypnosis*, 46(4), 353–355. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00029157.2004.10403620>
- Matthes, J., Prieler, M., & Adam, K. (2016). Gender-Role Portrayals in Television Advertising Across the Globe. *Sex Roles*, 75(7-8), 314–327. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0617-y>
- Nguyen, M. T. (2012). Riot Grrrl, Race, and Revival. *Women & Performance: a journal of feminist theory*, 22(2-3), 173–196. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0740770X.2012.721082>
- Regulation (EU) 2024/1689 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 June 2024 laying down harmonised rules on artificial intelligence and amending Regulations (EC) No 300/2008, (EU) No 167/2013, (EU) No 168/2013, (EU) 2018/858, (EU) 2018/1139 and (EU) 2019/2144 and Directives 2014/90/EU, (EU) 2016/797 and (EU) 2020/1828 (Artificial Intelligence Act) (Text with EEA relevance) [Legislative

- Body: CONSIL, EP]. (2024). Retrieved April 23, 2025, from <http://data.europa.eu/eli/reg/2024/1689/oj/eng>
- Seidman, S. A. (1992). **Profile:** An investigation of sex-role stereotyping in music videos. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 36(2), 209–216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838159209364168>
- Sergeant, D. C., & Himonides, E. (2023). Performing sex: The representation of male and female musicians in three genres of music performance. *Psychology of Music*, 51(1), 188–225. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03057356221115458>
- Sherman, B. L., & Dominick, J. K. (1986). Violence and Sex in Music Videos: TV and Rock 'n' Roll. *Journal of Communication*, 36(1), 79–93. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1986.tb03040.x>
- 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. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00289991>
- Tapper, J., Thorson, E., & Black, D. (1994). Profile: Variations in music videos as a function of their musical genre. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 38(1), 103–113. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838159409364249>
- Thompson, W. E., Graham, P., & Russo, F. A. (2005). Seeing music performance: Visual influences on perception and experience. *Semiotica*, 2005(156). <https://doi.org/10.1515/semi.2005.2005.156.203>
- Tuchman, G. (2000). The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the Mass Media: Originally published as the introduction to *Hearth and Home: Images of women in the mass media, 1978*. In L. Crothers & C. Lockhart (Eds.), *Culture and Politics* (pp. 150–174). Palgrave Macmillan US. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-62965-7_9
- Turner, J. S. (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. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9766-6>
- Vasan, S. (2011). The Price of Rebellion: Gender Boundaries in the Death Metal Scene. *Journal for Cultural Research*, 15(3), 333–349. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14797585.2011.594587>
- Vincent, R. C. (1989). Clio's Consciousness Raised? Portrayal of Women in Rock Videos, Re-Examined. *Journalism Quarterly*, 66(1), 155–160. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769908906600121>
- Vincent, R. C., Davis, D. K., & Boruszkowski, L. A. (1987). Sexism on MTV: The Portrayal of Women in Rock Videos. *Journalism Quarterly*, 64(4), 750–941. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769908706400410>
- Wallis, C. (2011). Performing Gender: A Content Analysis of Gender Display in Music Videos. *Sex Roles*, 64(3-4), 160–172. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9814-2>
- 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. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1014068031532>

- Ward, L. M., & Friedman, K. (2006). Using TV as a Guide: Associations Between Television Viewing and Adolescents' Sexual Attitudes and Behavior. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *16*(1), 133–156. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2006.00125.x>
- Ward, L. M., & Grower, P. (2020). Media and the Development of Gender Role Stereotypes. *Annual Review of Developmental Psychology*, *2*(1), 177–199. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-devpsych-051120-010630>
- 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. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558404271135>
- Ward, L. M., Rivadeneyra, R., Thomas, K., Day, K., & Epstein, M. (2013). A woman's worth: Analyzing the sexual objectification of Black women in music videos. In *The sexualization of girls and girlhood: Causes, consequences, and resistance* (pp. 39–62). Oxford University Press.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing Gender. *Gender & Society*, *1*(2), 125–151. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243287001002002>
- Wilson, J. (2000). Women in Country Music Videos [Publisher: Institute of General Semantics]. *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, *57*(3), 290–303. Retrieved April 23, 2025, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42578019>