



6-24-2014

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Sexism Across Musical Genres: A Comparison

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Abstract

Music is a part of daily life for most people, leading the messages within music to permeate people's consciousness. This is concerning when the messages in music follow discriminatory themes such as sexism or racism. Sexism in music is becoming well documented, but some genres are scrutinized more heavily than others. Rap and hip-hop get much more attention in popular media for being sexist than do genres such as country and rock. My goal was to show whether or not genres such as country and rock are as sexist as rap and hip-hop. In this project, I analyze the top ten songs of 2013 from six genres looking for five themes of sexism. The six genres used are rap, hip-hop, country, rock, alternative, and dance. The five themes used are portrayal of women in traditional gender roles, portrayal of women as inferior to men, portrayal of women as objects, portrayal of women as stereotypes, and portrayal of violence against women. Each instance of sexism is also classified as benevolent, ambivalent, or hostile sexism. I then use the results to determine whether or not other genres are as sexist as hip-hop and rap. Possible reasons for differing levels of sexism as well as potential social implications of sexism in music are discussed.

Introduction

The word “patriarchy” is becoming more commonly known now than ever before. As multiple waves of feminism grow around the globe, utilizing new technology such as social media to spread their messages, “patriarchy” has become a household term in some parts of the world. Simply put, patriarchy is structural male power (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 120). It is the systemic privileging of men simply for being men. Patriarchy is found in almost every part of the world, as is music. The two sometimes come together and yield interesting results.

Music appears in many different ways in the lives of humans. Sometimes it is part of ceremonies such as weddings or funerals. Other times it is part of a person’s job as a musician or director. A lot of times, though, music is just part of daily life. A television commercial has a snappy jingle, jazzy saxophone is coming from the elevator speakers, various songs are on the radio, and fast beats are played at night clubs. With all of these different venues for music, it can serve many functions, including bringing back memories of past events and relationships, managing emotions, and constructing a self-identity (Dowd, 2007). Music can be closely related to issues such as “subcultures, the reproduction of inequality, globalization, identity formation, and social movements” (Dowd, 2007). Customs and beliefs of a society are often reflected in the music of said society (Rogers, 2013). As such, a patriarchal society’s music can have effects on subcultures, people’s identities, and inequality. In particular, such music could be sexist and potentially cause listeners to support sexist ideologies. One study found that young black women who were exposed to nonviolent but sexist rap were more accepting of violence directed at them than were their counterparts who had not been exposed to such rap (Johnson, Adams, Ashburn, & Reed, 1995). Another study’s results suggested that men who listen to gangsta rap lyrics might view their relationships with women as more adversarial than would men who did not listen to

gangsta rap lyrics (Wester, Crown, Quatman, & Heesacker, 1997, p. 503). C. H. Hansen and R. D. Hansen found that fans of sexually violent heavy metal music thought that society was unforgiving and deserved violence to a larger degree than did people who were not fans of heavy metal. As such, the heavy metal devotees engaged in antisocial and reckless behaviors more often than others (Wester et al., 1997, p. 498). Such findings suggest that exposure to sexist lyrics could cause one to hold sexist ideologies.

When it comes to sexism, there is more involved than simply disliking women. Sexism can actually be broken down into three different subtypes: benevolent sexism, hostile sexism, and ambivalent sexism. Hostile sexism involves dominative paternalism in which it is thought that men should have more power than women (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 120). As the label suggests, hostile sexism (HS) is comprised of hostile attitudes about and toward women. With HS, one sees men exerting their power over women, particularly within sexual relationships (Glick et al., 2000, p. 764). Such use of power can lead men to see women as objects and to sometimes use violence against women who displease them (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 122). In contrast, benevolent sexism (BS) involves protective paternalism in which it is thought that men depend on women to a certain extent (for affection, childbearing) and must therefore protect and provide for women (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 121). While the gesture of protecting and providing for women may seem nice on the surface, it is sexist because it portrays women as *needing* such protection, implying that they cannot take care of themselves (Glick et al., 2000, p. 764). Both HS and BS can lead women to accept men's dominance rather than challenge it. Women who challenge the power of men are punished with HS while women who comply with conventional gender roles are "rewarded" with BS (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 116). The simultaneous endorsement of HS and BS is ambivalent sexism (AS) (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 149). As Glick

and Fiske noted, the opposition of hostility and benevolence creates a positive and negative side to sexism, and the two can co-exist (2001, p. 149). Cross-gender relations are characterized by both power difference and intimate interdependence, creating both hostile and benevolent ideologies about each sex (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 116). National indicators of gender equality tend to be negatively correlated with the average number of HS and BS ideologies held by the people of a given nation (Glick et al., 2000, p. 771). As such, a greater presence of HS and BS indicates that there is likely a greater level of gender inequality.

Glick and Fiske point out that hostile, benevolent, and ambivalent ideologies reinforce conventional gender roles at a systemic level, and people adopt these beliefs to varying degrees at the individual level, thereby shaping their perceptions of both sexes (2001, p. 116).

Socialization is affected by the various gender ideologies, creating social pressures that lead men to take on different traits and roles than women (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 120). With all of these social pressures, “HS and BS appear in tandem in patriarchal cultures as dual justifications of gender hierarchy” and “act to legitimize and reinforce women’s subordination” (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 142).

There is a growing amount of literature about sexist lyrics in music and how such lyrics affect listeners. As some researchers suggest, “lyrical content of a song is as equally important as the response to the song because the lyrics themselves could directly or indirectly influence the response” (Rogers, 2013). The potential for lyrical influence becomes quite an issue when stereotype priming and spreading activation are taken into account. Stereotype priming occurs when a stimulus causes information about a group or category to be activated in memory (Cobb & Boettcher, 2007, p. 3027). Spreading activation adds the idea that bits of information in memory are interconnected, and depending on how closely related one bit of information is to

another, the activation of one memory can cause related memories to also activate. For example, when the memory “college” is primed, strongly related memories such as “exams,” “residence halls,” and “graduation” are activated. This process can also work with the activation of sexism. It has been suggested that lyrics need not be sexist in order for exposure to music to activate sexism if the genre of music is strongly related to sexism in the memory. As such, if sexism is associated with rap, then even non-misogynistic rap could impact listeners’ sexist ideas (Cobb & Boettcher, 2007, p. 3028). When it comes to the priming effects of sexist music, men are more susceptible than women because women are more motivated than men to carefully think about the lyrical content and how the content portrays their group (Cobb & Boettcher, 2007, p. 3027). Even so, sexist lyrics can affect both men and women.

Today, much of the popular literature about sexism in music focuses primarily on rap, hip-hop, and R&B music. These genres are often dominated by artists who are people of color (Wester et al., 1997, p. 498). As such, scrutinizing these genres more than other genres happens to put a lot of focus on the sexism of artists of color while ignoring genres that are dominated by white artists. Some people assert, though, that even though rap and hip-hop get a lot of attention for troubling lyrics, it is the white rap and hip-hop artists who get the majority of such attention (Teitel, 2013). At any rate, there is limited data concerning sexism of multiple genres including artists of multiple races and ethnicities.

By conducting the following analysis, I hoped to compare the commonly scrutinized genres of rap and hip-hop to genres such as country and rock. One goal was to simply compare the sexism of each genre. A secondary goal was to compare the sexism of genres that are commonly scrutinized to genres that are not commonly scrutinized for sexism. At the start, I

expected to find almost as much, if not just as much, sexism in the predominantly white genres as in the rap and hip-hop genres that are dominated by artists of color.

Methods

For the purpose of this analysis, Billboard.com was used to acquire the top ten songs of six genres for the year of 2013. The lists used on Billboard.com had been composed based on club play, radio airplay, audience impressions, sales data, and streaming activity data as appropriate for each genre. Based on the desired genres of study and the breakdown of genres on Billboard.com, the genres included in this analysis were rap, hip-hop/R&B (hip-hop), country, rock, alternative, and dance/electronic (dance). Hip-hop music contains stylized rhythmic music. The term “hip-hop” refers to a subculture, and elements of hip-hop culture such as beatboxing and DJing are often included with the music.^{1,2} Rap can be included in hip-hop music, although it is not required, and Billboard.com separate hip-hop and rap into separate lists. Also known as emceeing, rap consists of the artist speaking lyrically rather than singing. Such speaking is in rhyme and verse and is usually accompanied by an instrumental track or a synthesized beat. Country music often consists mainly of string instruments such as banjos, guitars, and fiddles, as well as harmonicas. Songs in this genre are typically ballads or dance tunes comprised of harmonies and simple forms. Rock music, originating from “rock and roll,” often includes the basics of electric guitar, electric bass guitar, and drums. Lyrics are often about romantic love, but rock has also been a vessel for social movements. The genre is known for being dominated by white male artists. Alternative music is a genre of rock music that distinguishes itself from rock with a distorted guitar sound, transgressive lyrics, and defiance or nonchalance. Music within the alternative genre can vary considerably in sound and social context. Dance/electronic

¹ Beatboxing: the art of using one’s mouth, lips, tongue, and voice to create musical sounds and vocal percussion including drum beats and rhythm

² DJing: mixing recorded music for an audience

music consists of percussive electronic and synthesized music. This genre is often used by disc jockeys, especially in mixes where one song progresses into the next through the disc jockey's use of a synchronized segue.

Commonalities between certain genres resulted in some songs to be on the list of more than one genre. One song, *Feel This Moment*, was #5 on the rap list and #7 on the dance list. Three rock songs were also on the alternative list: *Radioactive* (#1 rock, #1 alternative), *Safe and Sound* (#4 rock, #2 alternative), and *Demons* (#8 rock, #5 alternative). As previously mentioned, rap is a form of hip-hop, and six songs were on both the rap list and the hip-hop list: *Thrift Shop* (#1 rap, #1 hip-hop), *Can't Hold Us* (#2 rap, #3 hip-hop), *Holy Grail* (#3 rap, #5 hip-hop), *Started From the Bottom* (#4 rap, #7 hip-hop), *Fuckin Problems* (#6 rap, #8 hip-hop), and *(Bitches) Love Me* (#7 rap, #10 hip-hop). With so much overlap among genres, the top ten songs from six genres yielded 50 songs to be analyzed. I could have altered my criteria to ensure that each song only appeared on one list and that each genre list had ten unique songs, but I preferred to utilize the actual top ten so as not to compromise the popularity within each genre. For example, I did not want to have the top ten songs for rap but songs #2, 4, 6, and 9-15 for hip-hop. Instead, I wanted the original, un-manipulated top ten for each genre so that the popularity of the top ten songs would be roughly equal relative to other songs within each genre.

The top ten songs from each of the six genres were noted, and lyrics for each song were gathered from three different lyric websites: metrolyrics.com, azlyrics.com, and songlyrics.com. Three songs only had lyrics listed on the first two websites but not the latter website. After gathering lyrics from all three sites, I compared the lyrics for each song from all three sites (or two sites when applicable), creating a compilation that best matched all three versions of the lyrics. The compilation lyrics were then used for the analysis. Compilations were created to help

ensure the accuracy of the lyrics prior to analysis. Most of the lyrical differences found were minor, such as “going to” versus “gonna.” Even so, making sure that two out of three, if not all three, websites agreed on the lyrics instilled confidence in the lyrical accuracy.

Lyrics were analyzed for the presence of five sexist themes:

1. Portrayal of women in traditional gender roles (i.e., in the kitchen, taking care of children)
2. Portrayal of women or femininity as inferior to men or masculinity (i.e., weak, child-like, belittling romance)
3. Portrayal of women as objects, sexual or otherwise (i.e., “that ass,” “she’s all mine”)
4. Portrayal of women as stereotypes (i.e., fat, can’t be trusted, gold diggers)
5. Portrayal of violence or force used against women (i.e., sexual assault, slapping, murder)

These themes were based mainly on the themes used by Rogers:

1. “depicting women in traditional gender roles”
2. “using (slang) words that portray women as inferior”
3. “implying that a woman’s worth is determined by her appearance”
4. “the use of female pronouns when referring to objects or ideas”
5. “portraying women as a group with negative stereotypes”
6. “suggesting that a woman is an object, especially a sexual object”
7. “referring to women primarily as strippers or other sex workers”
8. “referring to forcing sexual acts on a woman”
9. “referring to violence against women in a positive manner” (2013).

Rogers’ themes 3, 4, 6, and 7 were all condensed in this project as “portrayal of women as objects, sexual or otherwise,” and Rogers’ themes 8 and 9 were condensed in this project as

“portrayal of violence or force used against women.” Thus, I took the nine themes from Rogers’ work and whittled it down to the five themes used in this project. The five themes were measured based on the number of lyrics/lines that contained a given theme. For example, in this excerpt from *Suit & Tie* by Justin Timberlake featuring Jay-Z, Timberlake is talking to or about a woman:

“Stop, let me get a good look at it

Oh, so thick, now I know why they call it a fatty”

In this case, “Let me get a good look at it” is taken as one lyric or line. Referring to the woman and her body as “it” or focusing on one specific part of her body qualifies as one instance of portraying women as objects. “Oh, so thick, now I know why they call it a fatty” is taken as one lyric or line, and again, referring to the woman as “it” or focusing on one part of her body is one instance of portraying women as objects. As such, the above excerpt would be recorded as two instances of theme #3.

A line containing one instance of sexism that is repeated throughout the song, such as a line in the chorus that is repeated every time the chorus occurs, counts as one instance total of sexism. One line that contains more than one sexist theme (i.e., portrays women as objects and portrays violence against women) counts as an instance of each theme present in the line (i.e., one instance of theme #3 and one instance of theme #5). If a sexist phrase or word such as “bitch” is used multiple times in separate thoughts rather than in one line that is repeated, then each line containing a unique thought with the phrase or word counts as a new instance of sexism.

It was sometimes difficult to differentiate between the portrayal of a traditional gender role and the portrayal of a stereotype. Indeed, gender roles and stereotypes play off each other.

Even so, for the purpose of this analysis, portrayal of women as stereotypes was typically considered to be along the lines of negative stereotypes that made women out to be bad people. Such stereotypes could include the ideas that women are overly dramatic, lead men on, and want sexual activity even when they act like they do not want it. In contrast, this analysis viewed portrayal of women in traditional gender roles as more neutral or benevolent. Gender roles could include women as mothers and as being looked after by men.

A spreadsheet was used to keep track of how many instances of each theme occurred in each song. After the instances of sexism were recorded in the spreadsheet, I went back through and determined whether each instance was HS, BS, or AS. As previously described, HS would entail hostile attitudes toward women, which could include portrayals of women as trying to gain control over men, sexually teasing men, making unreasonable demands, and telling lies. BS would entail benevolent attitudes toward women, which could include portrayals of women as pure, nurturing, being protected by men, and being rescued before men in emergencies. Finally, AS would incorporate both hostile and benevolent attitudes toward women, such as finding a woman physically attractive but being threatened by her independence or portraying a woman somewhat as a sexual object and somewhat as a person. The number of instances of sexism that were HS, BS, and AS were each recorded in the spreadsheet.

Other bits of useful or interesting information were recorded in the spreadsheet as well, such as whether or not the lyrics ever mentioned the gender of anyone, be it the artist or the subject to or about whom the artist is singing.

After all of the songs were analyzed and the spreadsheet was completed, the numbers on the spreadsheet were then used to compare sexism across genres.

Analysis/Results

Sexism was found in five out of six genres: rap, hip-hop, country, alternative, and dance. Five of the five sexist themes were present at some point. Table 1 shows the total instances of each sexist theme in each genre as well as the total instances of benevolent sexism, ambivalent sexism, and hostile sexism in each genre.

Table 1: Total Instances of Sexism, Genres Compared

Genre	g	i	o	s	v	Benevolent Sexism	Ambivalent Sexism	Hostile Sexism	Total
Rap	2	9	36	24	0	0	32; 1g, 1i, 24o, 6s	41; 1g, 8i, 12o, 18s, 2v	73
Hip-Hop	5	4	35	20	0	14; 4g, 8o, 2s	26; 1g, 18o, 7s	27; 4i, 9o, 11s, 3v	67
Country	1	0	11	2	0	12; 1g, 11o	0	2; 2s	14
Rock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Alternative	0	0	2	0	0	2; 2o	0	0	2
Dance	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1; 1s	1

Notes: The total instances of each theme of sexism and each type of sexism in each musical genre studied. “g” = portrayal of women in traditional gender roles, “i” = portrayal of women as inferior to men, “o” = portrayal of women as objects, “s” = portrayal of women as stereotypes, “v” = portrayals of violence against women.

As expected, the genres of rap and hip-hop both had noteworthy lyrics of sexism. Both HS and AS were more prevalent in rap and hip-hop than in other genres. In total, rap had 0 instances of BS, 32 instances of AS, and 41 instances of HS, coming in with a combined total of 73 instances of sexism. Hip-hop came in as a close second, with 14 instances of BS, 26 instances of AS, and 27 instances of HS for a combined total of 67 instances of sexism. Of that sexism, 17 instances of AS and 23 instances of HS were from the songs that were on both the rap list and the hip-hop list. As such, rap had 15 instances of AS and 18 instances of HS that were not also in the hip-hop list, and hip-hop had 14 instances of BS, 9 instances of AS, and 4 instances of HS that were not also in the rap list. Also, 2 songs that were on both lists, 2 other rap songs, and 1 other

hip-hop song contained no instances of sexism. Even so, rap and hip-hop had the most instances of sexism out of the six genres studied.

Theme #1, portrayal of women in gender roles, was not common in rap. (*Bitches*) *Love Me* (#7 rap, #10 hip-hop) portrayed the role of women as quiet. The other instance of theme #1 in rap was in *Bad* (#10 rap). The role portrayed was that of men having to humble women who get up on a high horse. Even though rap only had these two instances of gender roles, it is noteworthy that rap had the only instance of a gender role being HS. Hip-hop had 5 instances of theme #1, which was the most of theme #1 seen in any genre. Along with the portrayal of women as quiet, hip-hop showed women as needing men to get by and to be considered successful (*Blurred Lines*). Women are also shown as needing to obey men and have men show them how to do things (*Suit & Tie*).

Theme #2, portrayal of women as inferior, was a bit more apparent than theme #1 in rap, with 9 instances altogether, 1 of which was AS and 8 of which were HS. This theme proved to be tricky because terms such as “baby” and “girl” are often terms of endearment. Also, “bitch” and “ho” can be used in a playful way or as mainly neutral in rap and hip-hop because those cultures sometimes use “bitches” the way another culture uses “friends.” Even so, *Fuckin Problems* had two instances of “bitch” as sexism. Theme #2 was also present in the line “All that shit you talkin' bout is not up for discussion,” showing that the man sees the woman as inferior and thereby unworthy of bringing up concerns for discussion. The rest of the inferiority portrayed in rap was that of belittling femininity and romance. In *Bad*, Wale says, “Rough sex saying I love yah / But to kiss them saying you mean that,” showing that he does not really want to express love to the woman. J. Cole is even harsher to feminine romance in *Power Trip*, saying: “Cause I had dreams for you, thoughts of a ring for you

Childish shit, you know childish shit

Anonymous flowers sent, you know coward shit.”

He is clearly looking down on romance, comparing gifts of rings and flowers to acts of children and cowards. Hip-hop had 4 instances of inferiority, all of which were in *Fuckin Problems* and therefore also in the rap list.

Theme #3, portrayal of women as objects, was extremely present in rap and hip-hop. For this theme, rap had 24 instances of AS and 12 instances of HS for a total of 36 instances of objectification. Hip-hop had 8 instances of BS, 18 instances of AS, and 9 instances of HS for a total of 35 instances of objectification. Overlap caused 14 of the aforementioned instances of AS and 9 of the aforementioned instances of HS to be in both the rap list and the hip-hop lists. Sexualization was a big cause of theme objectification. There was a big focus on oral sex, with lines such as “She love my licorice, I let her lick it” from *Fuckin Problems* and “all she eat is dick,” “she the best with head,” and “She wake up, eat this dick” from *(Bitches) Love Me*. These two songs have other explicit sexual references such as “I fuck who I want” in *(Bitches) Love Me* and A\$AP Rocky talking about “fuckin bitches” and “fuckin broads” in *Fuckin Problems*. A\$AP Rocky goes on to say he’ll “Turn a dyke bitch out have her fuckin' boys,” which not only objectifies women but also employs the pejorative term “dyke” to emphasize the stereotype that lesbian women just have not had sex with the right man yet (theme #4). The songs that were only on the rap list also sexually objectify women. *Power Trip* talks about trying to have sex with a woman in order to get over having a crush on her. In *Bad*, Tiara Thomas is featured, singing that she “sure know[s] how to fuck,” and Wale talks about rough sex, saying that he can “conceive an ocean by going between legs.” The hip-hop song that was not also on the rap list was *Blurred Lines*. Most of the objectification of women by Robin Thicke is not too vulgar, focusing on how

good the woman looks in jeans and how he wants to have sex with her. The rap section that features T.I. is a bit more graphic, talking about smacking the woman's ass and pulling her hair. The objectifying cherry on top of the sexist sundae comes when T.I. says, "I'll give you something big enough to tear your ass in two." While it is doubtful that he wants to literally tear the woman's ass in two, this line still creates violent imagery of very rough sex. While there are a few simple references to a woman's looks, the vast majority of objectification in rap and hip-hop was sexual.

Theme #4, portrayal of women as stereotypes, was also very present in rap and hip-hop. With 6 instances of AS and 18 instances of HS, rap had 24 instances of stereotyping. Hip-hop had 2 instances of BS, 7 instances of AS, and 11 instances of HS, coming to a total of 20 instances of stereotyping. Rap and hip-hop overlapped for 2 AS instances and 8 HS instances stemming from *Holy Grail*, *Fuckin Problems*, and *(Bitches) Love Me*. These covered stereotypes such as women playing mind games and leading men on, women being "bad bitches," and women being indecisive. There are insidious stereotypes such as "psycho bitches" in *Holy Grail* and the aforementioned "dyke" stereotype in *Fuckin Problems*. As for *(Bitches) Love Me*, the lines "These hoes got pussies like craters / Can't treat these hoes like ladies, man..." not only objectify women but also imply that women who are very sexually active do not deserve respect. The rap list goes on to portray women as only wanting men after the men become successful, as leading men on, and as being sneaky and breaking men's hearts. *Bad* is particularly full of stereotypes. Tiara Thomas, the featured woman, sings, "I can't promise that I'll be good to you / Cause I had some issues, I won't commit," thereby characterizing her own gender as having trouble committing and being good to partners when "issues" are present. The song also claims that women enjoy getting attention from men and turning those men down, painting women as

mean when they do not date or commit themselves to men. The hip-hop list goes on to portray women as needing to be protected and trained by men with lines such as “tried to domesticate you” (*Blurred Lines*), “go on and show 'em who you call ‘Daddy,’” and “I show you how to do this, hun!” (*Holy Grail*).

Hip-hop and rap were the only genres to contain theme #5, portrayal of violence against women. True to the nature of violence, all instances of this theme were HS. Rap had 2 instances of this theme, both of which were in *Fuckin Problems*. Hip-hop had 3 instances of this theme, 2 of which were shared with rap. In *Fuckin Problems*, Kendrick “2 Chainz” Lamar says to a woman:

“That mean your friends need to be up to a par
See my standards are pampered by threesomes tomorrow
Kill 'em all dead bodies in the hallway.”

He is referring to a woman’s friends as well as to threesomes which he would likely want to include women, so when he says “Kill ‘em all,” he is talking about women. The other instance of violence or force in *Fuckin Problems* came when A\$AP Rocky rapped that he’ll “Turn a dyke bitch out have her fuckin’ boys.” This line promotes the idea of corrective rape, forcing heterosexual sex acts upon someone in order to ‘correct’ that someone’s sexuality and ‘make’ that person heterosexual. The instance of violence that was unique to hip-hop appeared as force in *Blurred Lines*. During T.I.’s rap, he tells the woman “So hit me up when you passing through / I’ll give you something big enough to tear your ass in two.” By saying “so hit me up,” he is making it seem like the woman would be the one to initiate the interaction, but he is being pushy about being with the woman and about engaging in forceful sexual acts that would be enough to “tear [her] ass in two.” Aside from these instances of violence, there was a lyric in *Holy Grail*

that was violent, but it was unclear whether that violence was directed at men, women, or both. In *Holy Grail*, Jay-Z mentions being cheated on and raps the lyric “Enough to make me wanna murder, Momma please just get my bail.” It is somewhat common in rap and hip-hop culture for “momma” to be used as a term for a significant other, so while this lyric mentions murder, Jay-Z might be asking his significant other for help even though she cheated on him. As it stands, the ambiguity led me to not count this as an instance of violence against women.

As a genre, country music had a moderate amount of sexism, the majority of which was objectification. In total, country had 12 instances of BS, 0 instances of AS, and 2 instances of HS. Also, 4 country songs had no instances of sexism.

There was only 1 instance of theme #1, and it was in *Sure Be Cool If You Did*. Femininity is emphasized by the fact that the woman is drinking a “pretty pink lemonade shooter,” casting pink as something women like. Country contained no instances of theme #2, inferiority. While the words “girl” and “baby” were used quite a bit, they were used as terms of endearment, and the word “boy” was also used, showing that “girl” was not used to diminish the status of women.

Theme #3, objectification, was the main form of sexism in country music, with 11 instances. All instances of this theme were BS, talking about how pretty the woman is. Even when referring to sexual attractiveness, the country songs did not just portray women as cheap sex objects but as treasures. Lines such as “You don’t have to keep on smiling that smile that’s driving me wild” from *Sure Be Cool If You Did* exemplify the way country music objectified women in this study. Women were seen as beautiful and desirable but were also often asked, rather than told, to join the men for various activities.

There were 2 instances of theme #4 in country, both of which were HS. Interestingly enough, these two hostile stereotypes were in a woman’s song, *Mama’s Broken Heart* by

Miranda Lambert. The song is about being upset after a breakup. She says, “I don't know what I did next, all I know, I couldn't stop,” playing into the idea that emotional women get out of control. She also goes on to say that she wishes she could be less dramatic. Even though she portrays two negative stereotypes about women, the song also shines a light on the ridiculousness of certain conventional gender roles and expectations for women. Lambert talks about how her mother would react to her emotional outbursts, claiming that her mother would tell her to fix her makeup and keep quiet. She thinks her mother would say, “Run and hide your crazy and start actin' like a lady,” but Lambert says “this ain't my mama's broken heart,” showing that she is not buying into outdated gender ideologies about being a “lady.” No other songs in the country list had instances of theme #4. Looking at the title *I Want Crazy*, one might assume that the stereotype of women being crazy would be present, but the song is actually about two people being crazy in love, saying, “We're the kind of crazy people wish that they could be.”

Contrary to the researcher's expectation, the genre of rock music had no instances of sexism, and alternative music only had 2 instances of sexism, both of which were BS. The three songs that were on both the rock list and the alternative list had no instances of sexism.

Rock seemed to cover a few non-sexist themes, especially love. *Ho Hey* was about unrequited love and “sweetheart[s].” In *Gone, Gone, Gone*, Phillip Phillips talks about all of the things he is willing to do for his loved one, saying “you would do the same for me.” He never actually mentions the gender of his loved one. The darkness within the person singing is also commonly mentioned in rock. Aptly named, *Demons* serves as a sort of warning that the singer has some unseen problems:

“Don't get too close

It's dark inside

It's where my demons hide

It's where my demons hide.”

Another example of internal darkness comes in *My Songs Know What You Did In The Dark* with lines such as “I've got the scars from tomorrow and I wish you could see / That you're the antidote to everything except for me.” Another non-sexist theme in rock is the idea of being true to oneself. A prominent line in the chorus of *It's Time* says “I'm never changing who I am.” As for the song *Royals*, Lorde provides social commentary on some people's fascination with celebrities and a luxurious, excessive lifestyle. She goes on to say of her friend group:

“And we'll never be royals (royals)

It don't run in our blood,

That kind of luxe just ain't for us.”

As such, Lorde admits that she and her friends are not into flaunting any money they might have and that they are “fine with this.”

Theme #2, objectification, was the only sexist theme present in alternative music. Within the first part of the song *Sweater Weather*, the singer talks about a woman “in those little high-waisted shorts.” Later in the song, he says “Put my finger on your tongue / 'Cause you love the taste,” which seems to have a sexual connotation to it. Aside from those two instances, alternative music was free from sexism. Like rock, there were alternative songs about love. As the title suggests, *Out Of My League* is about how the singer thinks their partner is so wonderful that the relationship is too good to believe. *Little Black Submarines* and *I Will Wait* are about being apart from a love one. *Mountain Sound* is a short tale of adventure. Only 3 alternative songs actually mention gender, which might contribute to the minimal sexism of this genre.

Dance music also had very mild sexism, with 1 instance of HS as the only sexism in the list. The 1 instance of sexism in dance music was a stereotype in *I Love It*. The woman singer talks about crashing her car as well as throwing “your shit into a bag” and pushing it “down the stairs.” After all of that, she says, “I don’t care! I love it!” This manages to reinforce the stereotype that women can be a bit unpredictable and seek revenge. Aside from that, there was no other sexism in the dance songs analyzed. The non-sexist themes of the dance songs varied from strong love to enjoying fame, from living in the moment to growing up and learning life lessons. Some dance songs consist of the same few lines repeated many times, so there might not have been as much unique content to analyze in this genre.

Discussion

Within the parameters of this study, rap and hip-hop music is often sexist and includes benevolent sexism, ambivalent sexism, and hostile sexism. The sexist themes of traditional gender roles and inferiority of women are somewhat common in the songs studied, and sexist objectification and stereotyping of women is very common in the songs studied. Country music tends to contain some benevolent sexism, most of which is objectification. Rock, alternative, and dance music have a few instances of sexism. It is important to note, though, that this analysis only used the top ten songs from each genre for the year 2013. Ten songs is a small sample of any given genre. There are probably some rock, alternative, and dance songs that are sexist, as well as rap and hip-hop songs that are not sexist. At the same time, perhaps there are rap and hip-hop songs that are even more sexist than the songs analyzed above. Even so, the top ten songs from 2013 for each genre were the most popular songs in their genre for an extended period of time based on radio airplay, audience impressions, sales data, streaming activity, and when applicable, club play. As such, it is suggested that the songs used for this analysis received a

great amount of radio airplay, were well liked by audiences, and were streamed online or purchased a lot. These songs were the most known for the year. Having extreme popularity creates the possibility that devotees of a given genre were not the only people to hear the top ten songs from that genre. If that is the case, then people who are not very familiar with rap still probably heard at least one or two of the ten songs on the rap list. I am not very familiar with country music, but I had heard the top two country songs prior to starting this project. The pervasiveness of popularity does have limits, though, considering I had never heard the other eight country songs and four of the rap songs.

Overall, there were 117 instances of sexism present in the 50 songs that were analyzed. The degree to which each of the five themes of sexism used for this analysis - gender roles, inferiority, objectification, stereotypes, and violence - were present is worth noting. Coming in with 61 total instances, objectification seems to be the most common sexist theme in music by far. Although 48 instances of objectification were in rap or hip-hop (23 of which were in both rap and hip-hop), there were 11 instances of objectification in country. This is the one theme to be noticeably prevalent in more genres than just rap and hip-hop. The listeners of country would likely be affected differently by the objectifying lyrics than listeners of rap and hip-hop because the former was entirely benevolent objectification while the latter was primarily ambivalent and hostile. Country fans are inundated with the idea the women are beautiful and that men like to look at them and treasure them while also painting them as sweet young things. Rap and hip-hop, on the other hand, often portray women as explicitly sexual objects, sometimes to be appreciated, sometimes to be used and discarded. As such, this theme has different effects depending on which genre it is in.

The second most prevalent theme of sexism was stereotypes, with 37 total instances, 34 of which were in rap or hip-hop, 10 of which were in both genres. All but two stereotypes were hostile or ambivalent. Again, with the majority of the stereotypes focused in rap and hip-hop, the listeners of these genres would be affected by the sexism while people who do not listen to these genres would experience next to no stereotyping of women in their music.

The third most prevalent sexist theme was inferiority, with nine total instances, four of which were in both rap and hip-hop. All nine instances were contained in rap and/or hip-hop, so as previously mentioned, listeners of these genres might be affected by the somewhat common occurrence of the portrayal of women as inferior to men. Eight of the nine instances were hostile, showing women as lowly and pathetic rather than delicate and in need of protection. Other genres used terms such as “baby” and “girl,” but as previously stated, these were used as terms of endearment rather than as attempts to portray women as childish. It is arguable that even when used as pet names, “girl” and “baby” can infantilize women. However, “baby” and “boy” are used as terms of endearment for men, lending an element of equality to the potentially belittling words.

The portrayal of women in traditional gender roles was the fourth most present theme with a grand total of seven instances (one instance was in both the rap list and the hip-hop list). Most instances of this theme were in rap and hip-hop, although there were two instances in country music. The minimal presence of this theme suggests that the gender roles that were present would not have a huge impact on listeners’ thoughts about gender roles. With most of the instances focused in two genres, however, people who listen to those genres might be mildly affected by the notion of conventional gender roles. When added to the great presence of

objectification and stereotypes in rap and hip-hop, the gender roles might have a stronger effect than if the presence of objectification and stereotypes was as low as that of gender roles.

Only two of the songs in this project contained the fifth most present theme, clear instances of the violence toward women. There were three total instances of this theme, one of which was unique to hip-hop and two of which were in both rap and hip-hop. It is likely that there are more popular songs with messages of violence, but the fact that no clear violence against women was present in 48 of the 50 songs suggests that such messages are not tolerated by society at large.

Overall, rap and hip-hop were far and away the two most sexist genres. While the sample size for each genre was small, the extreme differences in the occurrence of sexism in these two genres compared to the rest suggests that even with a bigger sample, rap and hip-hop would still be the most sexist, even if the margin of difference became smaller. Such stark differences raise questions as to why some genres are much more sexist than others. One possible factor is playing to the audience. This analysis showed that country fans want love songs, while rock and alternative fans want not only love songs but also songs about overcoming great obstacles and inner demons. Another possible factor is the history of the genre. Alternative and rock, for example, are known not only for having love songs but also for having songs of protest and defiance. In particular, they go against the “mainstream” culture that focuses on monetary wealth, fame, and power over others, singing about spiritual wealth, being true to oneself, and finding the power over oneself to be free. Rap and hip-hop, on the other hand, have a history of telling the tale of overcoming poverty and racism to become successful. While it is true that these genres also display protest and defiance, it is of a different nature. These genres protest “the system” that discriminates against them and focus on gaining monetary wealth, fame, sexual

gratification, and power over others. Glick and Fiske pointed out that “in relatively nonhierarchical cultures, male status striving is minimized, whereas in steeply hierarchical cultures, status striving among men is exacerbated (as is sexism toward women)” (2001, p. 120). Of all the genres analyzed, rap and hip-hop are the only genres that are dominated by people (mainly men) of color, and in response to white privilege, people of color seem to pay more attention to hierarchy or to have a more hierarchical subculture than do white people. Therefore, it is not entirely surprising that the genres dominated by people of color have the most instances of sexism. In the pursuit of power that the world tries to deny people of color, power over women is readily available to these artists, so perhaps they capitalize on it in order to portray themselves as powerful and influential. Rap and hip-hop artists who were men had a tendency not only to claim power and superiority over women, but also over other men, further displaying the desire for power.

In taking a closer look at the rap and hip-hop results, it is worth noting that 62 of the 73 instances of sexism in rap came from three songs: *Fuckin Problems*, *(Bitches) Love Me*, and *Bad*. In hip-hop, 53 of the 67 instances of sexism came from three songs: *Blurred Lines*, *Fuckin Problems*, and *(Bitches) Love Me*. It is also worth noting that 36 of those instances were in songs that were on both the rap and the hip-hop list, *Fuckin Problems* and *(Bitches) Love Me*. Therefore, four songs accounted for 79 of the 117 total instances of sexism across all genres, leaving the other 46 songs with 38 instances of sexism, creating a rate of 0.83 instances of sexism per song. This has interesting implications for the judgment of rap and hip-hop. On the one hand, four of the 14 songs that comprised the rap and hip-hop lists (6 of which were on both lists) constituted 79 of the two genres’ collective 104 instances of sexism. In this way, it seems that a few extremely sexist songs painted both genres a very sexist. On the other hand, the

remaining 25 instances of sexism occurred in 10 songs, creating a rate of 2.5 instances of sexism per song, which is moderately greater than the rate of 0.83 found for country, rock, alternative, and dance combined. Even when removing the four most sexist rap and hip-hop songs from the analysis, rap and hip-hop are still much more sexist than the other genres.

Even though the majority of sexism outside of rap and hip-hop was BS, that does not mean it is harmless. While some women welcome BS, it disadvantages them in the end by making them complacent in their conventional, low-status gender roles. Women are rewarded for acquiescing to men, minimizing the likelihood of women challenging men's power. This also teaches women that they are not suited for powerful, high-status roles. BS is "sometimes related to what seem like progressive attitudes" such as anti-porn attitudes, but overall, current findings show that women's position in society is harmed more than it is helped by BS (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 116, 147-9).

I had expected to find more sexism in rock and country music than what my analysis yielded. Part of the reason my prediction was incorrect is that I do not often listen to country music and as such only recognized two of the eight songs studied, one of which did contain a few instances of sexism. As for my rock prediction, even though I recognize - and enjoy - all of the songs in the rock list, I had the idea of previous generations of rock in my head, and it affected my expectations. In the 1980s, "Feminists [had] long complained that Rock songs are misogynist" (Kulp, 1984, p. 21). Songs such as "Hungry Like the Wolf" portrayed men as sexual hunters and women as sexual prey for the men to hunt down and capture. At the same time, the Rock Against Sexism organization in England began with the 1980s (Price, 1980). My knowledge of rock was limited, so I did not realize that at least some rock artists have been fighting against sexism for over three decades.

If a decrease in sexism was able to occur in rock music, then maybe it is also possible in rap and hip-hop. Of course, that would require quite a culture shift, but it could happen. Some songs in various genres never mentioned gender at all, which helped to decrease sexism. Even when gender was mentioned, many songs focused on becoming stronger either on one's own or with one's partner. Love was also a common theme, and while love songs about women can be sexist, they also tend to sing praises of women and seek mutually beneficial relationships with women. An increase in songs that do not mention gender or that mention gender but focus on other, nonsexual characteristics and abilities would likely help decrease sexism in music.

Although this project focused on sexism, there are other social issues present in music such as racism, classism, homophobia, and cruelty toward men. A prime example of homophobia is when A\$AP Rocky raps that he'll "Turn a dyke bitch out have her fuckin' boys" in *Fuckin Problems*. Featured in *Bad*, Tiara Thomas says that she might not be good to the man. Future projects could analyze some of these other issues individually as well as the intersection of some of these issues. For instance, songs with classist themes could be examined for racist themes as well. Stemming from the theme of sexism, future work could analyze a larger number of songs from a given genre in order to have a more representative sample than my work had. Another possible extension of this work could be to analyze current popular songs and past popular songs to compare levels of sexism. A path I find particularly intriguing is to compare the sexism of men against women in music to the sexism of women against women in music. This project lays the groundwork for many possible further studies.

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Appendix 1: Song and Lyric Websites

<http://www.azlyrics.com/>

<http://www.billboard.com/charts/year-end/2013/hot-alternative-songs>

<http://www.billboard.com/charts/year-end/2013/hot-country-songs>

<http://www.billboard.com/charts/year-end/2013/dance-electronic-songs>

<http://www.billboard.com/charts/year-end/2013/rap-songs>

<http://www.billboard.com/charts/year-end/2013/hot-rock-songs>

<http://www.billboard.com/charts/year-end/2013/hot-r-b-hip-hop-songs>

<http://www.metrolyrics.com/>

<http://www.songlyrics.com/>

www.urbandictionary.com

Appendix 2: Top Ten Rap Songs for 2013

#	Title	Artist	Album
1	<i>Thrift Shop</i>	Macklemore & Ryan Lewis Featuring Wanz	Thrift Shop
2	<i>Can't Hold Us</i>	Macklemore & Ryan Lewis Featuring Ray Dalton	Heist
3	<i>Holy Grail</i>	Jay Z Featuring Justin Timberlake	Magna Carta...Holy Grail
4	<i>Started From the Bottom</i>	Drake	Nothing Was the Same
5	<i>Feel This Moment</i>	Pitbull Featuring Christina Aguilera	Global Warming [Deluxe Edition] [Clean]
6	<i>Fuckin Problems</i>	A\$AP Rocky Featuring Drake, 2 Chainz & Kendrick Lamar	F**kin' Problems
7	<i>(Bitches) Love Me</i>	Lil Wayne Featuring Drake & Future	Love Me
8	<i>Power Trip</i>	J. Cole Featuring Miguel	
9	<i>Same Love</i>	Macklemore & Ryan Lewis Featuring Mary Lambert	Heist
10	<i>Bad</i>	Wale Featuring Tiara Thomas Or Rihanna	Bad

Appendix 3: Top Ten Hip-Hop Songs for 2013

#	Title	Artist	Album
1	<i>Thrift Shop</i>	Macklemore & Ryan Lewis Featuring Wanz	Thrift Shop
2	<i>Blurred Lines</i>	Robin Thicke Featuring T.I. and Pharrell	Blurred Lines
3	<i>Can't Hold Us</i>	Macklemore & Ryan Lewis Featuring Ray Dalton	Heist
4	<i>Suit & Tie</i>	Justin Timberlake Featuring JAY Z	Suit & Tie
5	<i>Holy Grail</i>	Jay Z Featuring Justin Timberlake	Magna Carta... Holy Grail
6	<i>Diamonds</i>	Rihanna	Diamonds
7	<i>Started from the Bottom</i>	Drake	Nothing was the Same
8	<i>Fuckin Problems</i>	A\$AP Rocky Featuring Drake, 2 Chainz & Kendrick Lamar	F**kin' Problems
9	<i>Hold On, We're Going Home</i>	Drake Featuring Majid Jordan	Nothing was the Same
10	<i>(Bitches) Love Me</i>	Lil Wayne Featuring Drake & Future	Love Me

Appendix 4: Top Ten Country Songs for 2013

#	Title	Artist	Album
1	<i>Cruise</i>	Florida Georgia Line	Here's to the Good Times [Bonus Tracks]
2	<i>Wagon Wheel</i>	Darius Rucker	Wagon Wheel
3	<i>Boys 'Round Here</i>	Blake Shelton featuring Pistol Annies & Friends	Based on a True Story
4	<i>Crash My Party</i>	Luke Bryan	Crash My Party
5	<i>I Want Crazy</i>	Hunter Hayes	I Want Crazy/Hunter Hayes
6	<i>Highway Don't Care</i>	Tim McGraw with Taylor Swift	Two Lanes of Freedom
7	<i>Get Your Shine On</i>	Florida Georgia Line	Here's to the Good Times [Bonus Tracks]
8	<i>Mama's Broken Heart</i>	Miranda Lambert	Four the Record [Deluxe Edition]
9	<i>Sure Be Cool If You Did</i>	Blake Shelton	Based on a True Story... [Deluxe Edition]
10	<i>Runnin' Outta Moonlight</i>	Randy Houser	How Country Feels

Appendix 5: Top Ten Rock Songs for 2013

#	Title	Artist	Album
1	<i>Radioactive</i>	Imagine Dragons	Night Visions [Deluxe Edition]
2	<i>Ho Hey</i>	The Lumineers	The Lumineers
3	<i>Royals</i>	Lorde	Pure Heroine
4	<i>Safe and Sound</i>	Capital Cities	In a Tidal Wave of Mystery
5	<i>Sail</i>	AWOLNATION	Megalithic Symphony [Deluxe Edition]
6	<i>It's Time</i>	Imagine Dragons	Night Visions [Deluxe Edition]
7	<i>My Songs Know What You Did In The Dark (Light 'Em Up)</i>	Fall Out Boy	Save Rock and Roll [Limited Edition]
8	<i>Demons</i>	Imagine Dragons	Night Visions [Deluxe Edition]
9	<i>Home</i>	Phillip Phillips	The World from the Side of the Moon
10	<i>Gone, Gone, Gone</i>	Phillip Phillips	Live

Appendix 6: Top Ten Alternative Songs for 2013

#	Title	Artist	Album
1	<i>Radioactive</i>	Imagine Dragons	Night Visions [Deluxe Edition]
2	<i>Safe and Sound</i>	Capital Cities	In a Tidal Wave of Mystery
3	<i>Sweater Weather</i>	The Neighbourhood	I Love You
4	<i>Madness</i>	Muse	Live at Rome Olympic Stadium [CD + Blu Ray]
5	<i>Demons</i>	Imagine Dragons	Night Visions [Deluxe Edition]
6	<i>Out of my League</i>	Fitz and the Tantrums	
7	<i>Mountain Sound</i>	Of Monsters and Men	My Head Is an Animal
8	<i>I Will Wait</i>	Mumford and Sons	The Road to Red Rocks
9	<i>Little Black Submarines</i>	The Black Keys	El Camino
10	<i>Trojans</i>	Atlas Genius	Trojans

Appendix 7: Top Ten Dance Songs for 2013

#	Title	Artist	Album
1	<i>Harlem Shake</i>	Baauer	Harlem Shake
2	<i>Get Lucky</i>	Daft Punk Featuring Pharrell Williams	Get Lucky
3	<i>Wake Me Up!</i>	Avicii	
4	<i>I Love It</i>	Icona Pop Featuring Charli XCX	I Love It
5	<i>Clarity</i>	Zedd Featuring Foxes	Clarity
6	<i>Scream & Shout</i>	will.i.am & Britney Spears	Scream & Shout
7	<i>Feel This Moment</i>	Pitbull Featuring Christina Aguilera	Global Warming [Deluxe Edition] [Clean]
8	<i>Applause</i>	Lady Gaga	ARTPOP [Clean]
9	<i>I Need Your Love</i>	Calvin Harris Featuring Ellie Goulding	
10	<i>Don't You Worry Child</i>	Swedish House Mafia Featuring John Martin	Now That's What I Call Music!, Vol. 83

Appendix 8: Key for Appendices 9-15

g = sexist theme #1, gender roles

i = sexist theme #2, inferiority

o = sexist theme #3, objectification

s = sexist theme #4, stereotypes

v = sexist theme #5, violence

BS = benevolent sexism

AS = ambivalent sexism

HS = hostile sexism

Ex: a "6" under the "o" column means 6 instances of objectification found in that song

Ex.: "4s" under the "HS" column means 4 instances of stereotypes that were hostile sexism in that song

Appendix 9: Instances of Sexism in Rap Songs

song #	g	i	o	s	v	HS	AS	BS	Total
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1o	0	1
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3s	3
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	4	13	5	2	0	9; 8o, 1s	15; 4s, 4i, 5o, 2v	24
7	1	0	9	2	0	0	7; 5o, 1g, 1s	5; 4o, 1s	12
8	0	3	2	2	0	0	2; 1o, 1i	5; 2i, 2s, 1o	7
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	1	2	11	12	0	0	13; 4s, 9o	13; 1g, 2i, 2o, 8s	26

Appendix 10: Instances of Sexism in Hip-Hop Songs

song #	g	i	o	s	v	HS	AS	BS	Total
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1o	0	1
2	2	0	6	8	1	5; 1s 2g 2o	9; 5s, 4o	3; 2s, 1v	17
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	2	0	6	1	0	8; 2g, 6o	0	1s	9
5	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3s	3
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	4	13	5	2	0	9; 8o, 1s	15; 4s, 4i, 5o, 2v	24
9	0	0	0	1	0	1s	0	0	1
10	1	0	9	2	0	0	7; 5o, 1g, 1s	5; 4o, 1s	12

Appendix 13: Instances of Sexism in Alternative Songs

song #	g	i	o	s	V	HS	AS	BS	Total
1	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
3	0	0	2	0	0		2o	0	2
4	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0

Appendix 14: Instances of Sexism in Dance Songs

song #	g	i	o	s	V	HS	AS	BS	Total
1	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
4	0	0	0	1	0		0	0	1s 1
5	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0

Appendix 15 (Table 1): Total Instances of Sexism, Genres Compared

Genre	g	i	o	S	V	BS	AS	HS	Total
Rap	2	9	36	24	2	0	32; 1g, 1i, 24o, 6s	41; 1g, 8i, 12o, 18s, 2v	73
Hip-Hop	5	4	35	20	3	14; 4g, 8o, 2s	26; 1g, 18o, 7s	27; 4i, 9o, 11s, 3v	67
Country	1	0	11	2	0	12; 1g, 11o	0	2; 2s	14
Rock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Alternative	0	0	2	0	0	2; 2o	0	0	2
Dance	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1; 1s	1