GENDER AND THE MEDIA

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GENDER AND THE MEDIA: WOMEN'S PLACES

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WOMEN'S PLACES: AN INTRODUCTION TO GENDER AND THE MEDIA

Vasilikie Demos and Marcia Texler Segal

ABSTRACT

This introduction locates the 11 chapters of the volume under three headings: Agency-Affirming Places, Overtly Hostile or Agency-Denying Places, and Covertly Negating Places. Each chapter is summarized briefly, detailing its methods and key findings. Following the summaries, the editors point to common themes among the chapters and discuss the relationship between media and physical and symbolic gender-based violence as illustrated in the chapters.

 Keywords: Media; violence; rap; cyberbullying; comics; sex trafficking

Mass media communication is a hallmark of the early twenty-first century. We are continually and repeatedly bombarded by messages through social media and cable TV as well as other forms of mass communication. The power of media to affect our thoughts and behavior is particularly evidenced by research on advertising. Advertising, a commodification of influence (Wu, 2016), involves the overt selling of a product, but also a covert cultural indoctrination. Woman's second place as depicted in family scenarios, by the feminine touch and the license to withdraw from the main activity portrayed as well as the ritualization of woman's subordination is a major form of this indoctrination (Goffman, 1979). Jean Kilbourne (Jhally & Kilbourne, 2010) who began her series of films *Killing Us Softly: Advertising's Image of Women* in 1979 observes that the media's image of women has worsened over time: stereotypes and misogynist messages have

increased with a cult of thinness continuing to exercise a dangerous control over girls and women.

Woman's second place as socially or physically defined is a major theme of this volume, one around which chapters are organized. There are three parts to the volume according to place: Agency-Affirming Places, Overtly Hostile or Agency-Denying Places, and Covertly Negating Places. We placed a chapter into a particular part according to its emphasis; however, many of the themes and key concepts run through all or most of the chapters. This introduction consists of two parts: In this first part, we provide a summary of the overall book in terms of the major theme: women's places, and in the second we discuss other themes that tie the chapters together.

THREE TYPES OF PLACES
Agency-Affirming Places

Places that are affirming energize women and motivate them to use their initiative. Sometimes, they are places from which women can "talk back" or express anger over sexism they've experienced. The four chapters in Part I involve agency-affirming places. In "War, Culture, and Agency Among Sahrawi Women Refugees: A Photo-Essay," Amira Karaoud has assembled photographs she took during the time she spent living and participating in the Sahrawi refugee community in Southwest Algeria created at the beginning of the Western Sahara War in 1976. Karaoud explains that Sahrawi women are Hassani, an indigenous nomadic people in which women assume the leadership positions in the family while the men herd camels and goats. Informed by her ethnographic work, her background as an Arab woman, and her consequent rapport with the women, Karaoud used her camera to counter Western colonial views of Arab/Muslim women as passive and oppressed or sensual and seductive. Her images depict women in various leadership capacities including as teachers and political organizers as well as in various nurturing roles as mothers or as in one particularly appealing image candy courier to the camp's children. Karaoud clearly shows the Sahrawi refugee community as an affirming place for women.

In "From 'Old Boy' to "Gender Progressive': The Shifting Gender Story of Funeral Work in Trade Journal Publications," Sarah B. Donley takes advantage of the availability of funeral industry trade publications at a community college with a mortuary science school to perform an ethnographic content analysis demonstrating a shift in the way women are discussed in the publications from 1995 to 2013, a period in which a marked shift in gender composition of members of the profession occurred. Placing her data in the context of research on feminizing occupations and of the depiction and gender-typing of women in the media more generally, she identifies four gender narratives: old boy, gender essential, gender blind, and gender progressive. Her chapter offers a view of an occupation that has not been extensively studied by sociologists, demonstrates the value of trade publications as data sources, and offers insight into how one profession responded to shifting educational and occupational trends. It adds to the literature on gender

segregation in occupations and shifts in their gender compositions. Her chapter fits into the section on agency-affirming places in that Donley reveals the funeral industry as a workplace once hostile to women, now more woman-friendly and moving toward a gender-neutral environment.

"Punk Fairytale: Popular Music, Media, and the (Re)Production of Gender" is one of three chapters that discuss gender in the context of audience response to music as a medium and music as a subject of other media. In this one, authors Paula Guerra, Luiza Bittencourt, and Gabriela Gelain place the development and contents of feminist punk fanzines in the context of twentieth century Portuguese history, the development and response to the punk movement, popular culture scholarship, the music industry, and even Portuguese grammar. Feminist voices were deliberately silenced by the fascists who controlled the country from 1926 to 1974 and neglected in favor of other priorities by the anti-fascists. In the 1970s the punk movement, at least in Portugal, arose as a protest movement of both working and middle-class youth, including those in the visual and creative arts, expressing an embrace of modernity. The role of women in the Portuguese punk movement is difficult to assess in part because of male-dominated scholarship and criticism. Another factor is that having less freedom and fewer resources than their male counterparts in the early years, some girls and young women found their voices in alternative places such as the teenybopper subculture which was regarded as less creative. Additionally, when women did start their own bands they were treated as novelties rather than regarded as a part of the subculture. Finally, women's participation was less-well documented because they were not part of the production process.

The development of ideological fanzines, links to some of whose covers and contents are included in the chapter, provided a vehicle for women's voices. Produced and controlled by women and directed toward a female audience, fanzines allowed their readers to use innovative language and graphics and to explore concepts of femininity, identity, sexuality, and sexual orientation. The authors show how the fanzines connected multiple struggles that impacted women, for example, by pointing to the inherent sexism in Western medicine and adopting an ecofeminist stance toward the environment. In the male-dominated punk Portuguese music scene, feminist women who are part of the scene have been able to express themselves in fanzines, thus having created for themselves an agency-affirming place, a place where they can talk back to society.

Teaching the hip-hop curriculum allowed Andrea N. Hunt to see its value as "a part of reaching diversity goals in higher education and … facilitating cross-racial interactions" (p. 65). In her chapter, "'Trappin' Ain't Shit to Me': How Undergraduate Students Construct Meaning Around Race, Gender, and Sexuality within Hip-Hop," she reports the results of interviews with a diverse group of college students paying particular attention to the impact of hip-hop on their racial/ethnic and gender identities and their perceptions of the ways in which women and men are portrayed in the lyrics and videos.

Black students saw hip-hop as shaping others' expectations of them and, particularly for those who grew up in predominantly White communities, as a means of establishing their racial identities. White students who appreciated the music

expressed concerns about cultural appropriation. Black men presented nuanced and conflicted analyses fearing that the material expressing the experiences of the artists could be misinterpreted, especially by younger listeners, as a way to be cool. Women's appreciation of women artists and the way women are portrayed was complex. Like the men they saw women in the videos as sex objects or toys but acknowledged that hip-hop portrayals gave women the freedom to choose sexualized behavior and attire and sometimes acknowledged that desirable women came in a wide range of body types. African American women were particularly critical of colorism in lyrics and of the stereotype of the angry Black woman. None of the interviewees thought that positive relationships were illustrated in hip-hop. Some did see the genre as raising consciousness about social issues and containing positive messages about struggle. Thus, in interviewing students, Hunt provides them a place to critically reflect on and express their reactions to hip-hop lyrics, to talk back; interrupting what otherwise may have been a one-way mass communication, she helps the reader better understand how lyrics that may be considered demeaning to women can be interpreted as liberating.

Overtly Hostile or Agency-Denying Places

Overtly hostile places or agency-denying places are those contexts and spaces that cause women to fear for their physical and psychological health and those that deny women the right to freely express themselves. In her study of the depiction of women and gender relations in comic book culture, "Truth, Justice, Boobs: Gender in Comic Book Culture," Trisha L. Crawshaw examined comic books, interviewed comic book patrons, and conducted a field study of a comic book store. Crawshaw finds that despite the invention of women superheroes such as Superwoman, Kamala Khan, and Iron Heart, it is the way in which women are depicted that is critical to an understanding of how consumers of comic books regard gender relations. She identifies three major ways in which women are depicted, as love interests, nags, and sluts; and through her interviews and fieldnotes, she demonstrates that gender relationships in comics shape consumers' perceptions of actual gender relationships. Further, she indicates that the insistence on women appearing as attractive in a very specific way means the non-representation, and hence, non-existence of women who do not conform to those standards.

Crawshaw applies the terms "hegemonic masculinity" and "emphasized femininity" to characterize the gender images conveyed in comics and related paraphernalia found in the store where she did her fieldwork. Her interviewees, like the students in the Hunt chapter on rap, comment on both the masculine and feminine imagery and both women and men appear more accepting of the masculine and voice criticism of the feminine. Women comic fans express concern about the potential impact of emphasized femininity on younger readers. Both women and men feel the need for strong female superheroes and speculate on how writers and artists could sustain reader attention without depicting them with impossible bodies in provocative clothing.

Diane Felmlee, Paulina Inara Rodis, and Sara Chari Francisco use social network analysis of tweets to diagram on-line harassment in "What A B!tch: Cyber

Aggression toward Women of Color." Hostile messages are very common. It took them only an average of 19 seconds to find the word "b!tch" used aggressively toward a woman of each of three racial/ethnic backgrounds, Black, Asian, and Latinx, in their sample of 23,598 tweets. Demonstrating the importance of an intersectional analysis, the tweets reflect distinct stereotypes of each group with submissiveness and sexual overtones being prominent in tweets directed toward Asian women, laziness and ignorance or lack of education featuring in tweets targeting Latinx women and mentions of being broke and ugly in tweets assailing Black women. Around two-thirds of the negative comments in the sample were directed toward Black women. The authors see this as an example of the misogynoir (Bailey, 2010) prevalent in the US society. A distinctive feature of social media is that they can be interactive. Some tweets elicit responses that reinforce the bully or defend the targeted woman. There are also tweets that attempt to reclaim the aggressive term. The chapter includes an example of aggression against a public figure, California Democratic Representative Maxine Waters. The incident shows how media influence each other having actually begun with a remark on television by former Fox TV host Bill O'Reilly. Both parties became objects of extensive aggressive and defensive tweets. Thus, Felmlee, Inara Rodis, and Francisco point to the internet as a hostile place for women of color.

In "Mainstreaming Gender, Endangered, Ungendered? Analysis of Media Reports of the 2012 Case of Rape in India," Soma Chaudhuri, Preethi Krishnan, and Mangala Subramaniam, three Indian women scholars currently living in the United States, examine media coverage of protests in the aftermath of a sensational rape case. According to the authors, the 2012 gang rape and subsequent death of Jyoti Singh Pandey in India's capital led to demonstrations, legal reforms and, a change in the media coverage of violence against women, specifically a shift in focus to violence against middle and upper-class women. Using qualitative software to perform their content analysis of 572 articles published over a six-month period from December 2012 to April 2013, the authors focused on how three different sets of actors: activists who were mostly feminists; officials including police, politicians, and bureaucrats; and ordinary women and men, were portrayed by the national and international media. Their research revealed that protesters demanding government action with regard to violence against women were portrayed through three frames: mainstreaming gender, endangered women, and ungendered women.

Mainstreaming gender represents women as persons with agency, autonomy, and rights. This frame most often appeared in media reporting about feminist activists and politicians and when political actors referred to women. The speakers and references in these instances were almost exclusively elite upper caste and class individuals; ordinary women and men seldom used this frame. The endangered women frame sees them as victims in need of protection and situates them within families as mothers, wives, and sisters rather than as individuals with rights who deserve justice. In this context, rape is seen as stigmatizing families. Both Indian national and international sources employed this frame where the focus was largely on male actors addressing the issues. In many media reports of protests the participants were simply called "protesters," their gender obscured. In this ungendered women frame women's voices, concerns, and demands are

rendered invisible. It is impossible to know whether both women and men contributed to the violence that occurred at some events or what demands women and their organizations actually made. For example, there were reportedly widespread demands for the death penalty for perpetrators of rape, but the women's movement in India opposes the death penalty for this crime. Chaudhuri, Krishnan, and Subramaniam show that in so far as they portray women as victims or ignore gender, the international and local media are agency-denying places for women.

Rodica Lisnic and Anna Zajicek use critical theory, social constructionist, and critical discourse analysis in their chapter, "Images of Trafficked Women: A Case Study of Media and Social Science Discourse in Moldova, 2003–2008." They find the image of the woman who is trafficked because of her willingness to migrate is the most frequent in both mass media and scientific accounts, and they argue that it serves to tighten up border control and prevent women who are seeking to better themselves by migrating or who have a right to travel abroad from doing so. A major difference between the two types of accounts is that in the mass media there is no indication of a woman's willingness to engage in prostitution while in the scientific discourse accounts there is note of women who knowingly enter prostitution, but who are unprepared for the deplorable working conditions presented by trafficking. Lisnic and Zajicek conclude that in order to better inform anti-trafficking policies, feminist insights are needed in both types of discourse.

As revealed in Chaudhuri, Krishnan, and Subramaniam's chapter, Lisnic and Zajicek indicate that the popular and the scientific media are typically agency-denying places for women. They found that both accounts contained frequent references to trafficked women as victims, and media accounts contained no mention of woman's agency while two scientific accounts acknowledged the conscious decision of some women who considered prostitution as a possible ticket to leaving the country but did not expect the violence associated with trafficking.

Covertly Negating Places

The non-representation or absence of gender or intersectional statuses in the media is linked to a cultural denial of the existence of people holding those statuses and a violence that varies according to the extent to which the non-representation takes place. Covertly negating places are institutional contexts in which women's non-representation subtly occurs.

Tina L. Margolis, Julie Lauren Rones, and Ariela Algaze use insights from psychology, anthropology, and the humanities to explain what isn't in their chapter, "Mortality Salience, Terror Management, and Hollywood Film: Theorizing on the Absence of Anorexia as a Subject in US Mainstream Movies." They observe that anorexia nervosa, the most fatal of mental illnesses, has been a subject of TV movies and independent films; however, unlike other mental conditions that have been subjects of mainstream feature films, anorexia has not. They also note that in a Hollywood controlled by men the woman actor, sought-after because of her beauty, is actually anorexic. They explain that mortality salience is the awareness of our own death or extinction and that in order for us to handle the anxiety associated with that awareness we use terror management, the means by which

we consciously and unconsciously control the anxiety. They note that stories that manage terror are what we look for in movies. Women represent the physical and extinguishing part of human life, but also in their child-bearing capacity as fertile, the transcendent part of human life – the rebirth of humanity. Their analysis of Manchester by the Sea makes this point well. By contrast, the story of the anorexic who as a result of the disease is no longer fertile, is one without a means of managing terror. Margolis, Rones, and Algaze reveal that there is no place for the anorexic story and thus the anorexic person – typically, a woman – in Hollywood mainstream films, thus indicating the non-existence of such a woman.

In "Who is the American Girl? Analyzing Difference in American Girl Advice Books," Victoria G. Velding and Alexis P. Hilling conducted a content analysis of 37 advice books geared to tween girls, aged 8–12, published by the maker of American Girl dolls. They use three frameworks to analyze these places to which tweens can turn: gender as a social construction, intersectional, and heteronormativity. They find that the two most popular areas of guidance are social skills/relationships and mind/body and that there is little diversity in the image of the American Girl. Though the number of whites (69.38%) and minorities identified was proportional to their percentage in the American population as a whole, Velding and Hilling found that nine of the books contained 25% or less minority representation. Further, they found the books assumed the American Girl is able-bodied, of the majority religious group, and heterosexual. Other observations include the assumption that girls will want to remove bodily hair. Velding and Hilling note the books reinforce, challenge and convey mixed messages about gender roles and norms, and they call for the acknowledgement of the greater diversity of the American population and the publication of more inclusive American Girl materials. Thus, they indicate that the American Girl advice books, in so far as they provide normative advice, are places that provide no guidance for the many girls who do not approximate normative expectations, thus covertly negating their existence.

In "Gender and Critical Evaluation in Popular Music," Vaughn Schmutz, Sarah H. Pollock, and Jordan S. Bendickson reveal the power of gender in their comparison of Taylor Swift's original album, 1989, consisting of songs she wrote and sang, released in 2014, to the cover version of that album by Ryan Adams, released later in the same year. Comparing 53 critical reviews of the two albums, they find only slight differences in them by women and men, with both having rated Taylor Swift's album more favorably than they did that of Ryan Adams. A difference they find is that Swift's sexuality and gender play a more important part in the reviews of her album than does the sexuality and gender of Adams in the reviews of his. Ironically and most striking is that the reviews of Adams' cover album reveal him to be a more cerebral musician, one who has achieved a higher and more authentic art than do the reviews of Swift's original album reveal her to be.

As do others in the volume, Schmutz, Pollock, and Bendickson conduct a critical analysis in identifying the ways in which gender inequality is present in the media. The analysis is one that provides strong evidence for the effect of the gender frame. One could come away from reading just one of the reviews and sense

that the reviewer used a gender frame, but it is the number of reviews examined and the comparison of the same set of songs as well as the fact that the original album was that of the woman singer, Taylor Swift, that reveals gender inequality. The study has implications for women in the music business as reviews play an important part in the trajectory of their careers. The chapter shows that to the extent the critical music review does not recognize women to be the quality of musician that it recognizes men to be, it is a covertly negating place.

OTHER THEMES

In addition to the theme of place, a number of other broad themes emerge in the volume. These include intersectionality, representation, lenses and frames, essentialism, appearance, women's empowerment and most especially, violence.

Intersectionality

Several of the authors point to the value of an intersectional analysis of either the subject matter, the responses to it or both. In all three chapters that involve music, Guerra, Bittencourt, and Gelain; Hunt; and Schmutz, Pollack, and Bendickson stress the importance of an intersectional analysis of the genre, its audiences, and its critics. In Hunt's work for example, all of the students interviewed perceived the toxic masculinity and sexualized femininity in hip-hop, but coming from their own racial/ethnic and gender positions, focused and reacted differently. Chaudhuri, Krishnan, and Subramaniam show that by only employing the mainstreaming gender frame in reference to women activists and politicians, that is, elite women, rural and lower class and caste women are rendered invisible. Felmlee, Inara Rodis, and Francisco identify different stereotypes and images used in the process of cyberbullying Asian, Latinx, and African America women. Crawshaw documents that woman and men comic book fans identify the same images of women in comics but respond differently to them.

Representation

Felmlee, Inara Rodis, and Francisco's chapter, which diagrams the tweets and includes descriptions of the emojis as well as the words included in them, contributes to the discussion of the value of visual representations, including photographs, diagrams, and graphic text, in this volume. Karaoud's essay is a largely visual representation of women in leadership positions. Visual and verbal representation is the subject of Crawshaw's study of comics where women are represented as love interests, nags or sluts and in the lyrics and videos of the rap music described by Hunt's student interviewees. In most of the other chapters, representation is verbal such as in Donley's analysis of the ways women's potential roles are categorized in funeral industry publications.

Several of the authors in the volume identify the way in which representation occurs through the analysis of the language used. In common with Margolies, Rones, and Algaze, Schmutz, Pollock, and Bendickson as well as Lisnic and

Zajicek use a semiotic analysis; they pay attention to the structure of sentences, noting that the passive voice is used, putting the focus on the women who were caught, beaten, and so forth, and not the men who often did the catching and the beating.

Lenses and Frames

While Karaoud used an actual lens in taking physical photographs, Margolis, Rones, and Algaze use the metaphor of the lens to talk about the application of mortality salience/terror management theory to the analysis of movies and to draw our attention to the parts of the theory relevant to them. Extending the metaphor, they talk about framing, as reframing, noting that anorexia should be reframed as a public health issue. Schmutz, Pollock, and Bendickson show how a gender frame is used in judging a performance by a man or a genre dominated by men on the basis of classical criteria while viewing a performance by a woman or work associated with women on the basis of popular criteria and, thus, negating the importance of the work or denying its true or lasting value even while writing favorably about it. Chaudhuri, Krishnan, and Subramaniam and Donley create new frames through their analyses. These concepts, mainstreaming gender, women as victims and ungendered women or old boy, gender essential, gender blind and gender progressive can now be applied in other contexts so that a vocabulary for analysis can be created.

Essentialism

Many of the chapters demonstrate widespread reliance on assumptions about the essential characteristics of women and men. This is most obvious in Donley's work on the funeral industry where even articles in trade journals that encourage inclusion of women do so on the basis that they have natural abilities that can be useful in the profession. Guerra, Bittencourt, and Gelain note that even the gender-affirming punk fanzines can veer toward essentialism when they discuss topics such as ecofeminism. The images of women as victims such as those discussed by Lisnic and Zajicek or Chaudhuri, Krishnan, and Subramaniam are also essentialist as are the tropes of hegemonic masculinity in Crawshaw's comics or Hunt's rap lyrics and videos.

Appearance

The expectation that women be physically attractive is a theme running through the volume. Margolis et al. observe on the one hand, the anorexic woman is a reminder of death, but on the other hand the anorexically thin woman actor is considered a beauty. Velding and Hilling observe that physical appearance is a major theme in American Girl Advice Books to tweens. Guerra, Bittencourt, and Gelain provide an example of a woman who contests the normative standard of beauty by speaking out against the expectation that women should shave bodily hair. The close connection between beauty and sexuality is pointed out in Hunt's chapter on rap and Crawshaw's on comics.

Woman's Empowerment

Questions about women's empowerment and agency run through the volume. Karaoud is empowered to participate in the Sahrawi refugee community and to take photos of the women who are empowered to lead and maintain their community. In Guerra, Bittencourt, and Gelain's punk fanzines and Hunt's interviews about hip-hop, women find the power to express themselves including the power to express their sexuality. Though the image presented of the American Girl is not an accurate representation of the tween population, the advice given in the books studied by Velding and Hilling seeks to empower girls with knowledge about themselves and tools for facing the common questions and experiences of this age and gender group. In Chaudhuri, Krishnan, and Subramaniam's study of the responses to a rape case elite upper class and caste women who spoke out were empowered by their status and visibility, while others were rendered invisible or genderless.

Violence

In her essay, "I felt like destroying something beautiful," Sondra Loughrin (2018) relates her story of building a tower of cards at an Oktoberfest celebration. As she added more cards to the tower, making it higher, men began gathering round her table and expressing increasingly aggressive sentiments, finally threatening to tear the tower down. As one man struck a blow to the tower, Loughrin took the initiative and tore the rest of it down herself. She notes that the incident is an example of toxic masculinity, a term popularly known through the #metoo movement. Inescapably, the worldwide emergence of the #metoo movement, coverage of which was precipitated by primarily women actors outing Hollywood actors, directors and producers who had sexually assaulted/harassed or raped them, formed the broader social context for work on this volume.

Parts II, Overtly Hostile or Agency-Denying Places, and III, Covertly Negating Places, of the volume focus explicitly on gender-based violence that is resulting from the cultural assumption of girls' and women's second place or gender inequality. Embedded in the culture, gender-based violence is symbolic violence. Violence that is symbolic is not perceived as such, but according to the culture, naturalized and accepted as the way things should be, often involving the complicity of the victim. Gender inequality is sometimes manifested in direct physical violence such as domestic violence, once thought to be the prerogative of men, but no longer culturally acceptable. Often it is not. Rather, the violence is indirect and subtle, occurring incrementally over time.

Donley's study of the funeral industry reveals a feminization with women increasingly accepted as equals to men, but it is also revealing of gender inequality with women barred from entering the position of funeral director and therefore barred from receiving the psychological esteem and economic compensation associated with the position. That a woman is barred from a position because of her gender means more than being stuck in a traditional world, it means pain caused by loss of income that may make a difference in buying a house, seeing

a physician regularly, accumulating savings in a retirement fund, and so forth. It also means the absence of self-esteem and confidence in one's leadership in the community that comes from holding such a position. Velding and Hilling point to an indirect violence associated with the lack of advice for the tween girl who does not conform to the hegemonic model of the American girl. Schmutz, Pollack, and Bendickson too, reveal that music reviews indicate women musicians such as Taylor Swift are considered less serious than men musicians and thus, less worthy of the rewards men receive. Relatively speaking women musician are harmed.

As Felmlee, Inara Rodis, and Francisco demonstrate, social media provide a platform for all types of interaction including violence. The violence that cyberbullying represents is verbal, but it is also rooted in the structure and culture of society and it can convey physical threat and have lasting psychological impact. In particular, these authors found that tweets pointed to the coupling of racial and gender stereotyping, sometimes including ideas about sexuality, in targeting women of color. Hunt points to hip-hop lyrics and videos frequently portray environments that are subject to violence and lifestyles that glamorize physical and sexual violence. Women are ever present in this genre, but they are objects, not subjects and both women and men, especially African American women and men, are stereotyped. Visual representation also links this chapter to others as most people access hip-hop through videos. In common with the chapter on cyberbullying, the medium here is one associated with the internet and women of color are particularly subjected to racial epithets.

Chaudhuri, Krishnan, and Subramaniam's chapter reflects on how physical violence, violence against women, and violence by protesters are treated in the media and also the symbolic violence implicit in the media's use of the endangered women and ungendered women frames in their reporting. Women who experience rape and other forms of violence are denied their quest for justice and the agency and demands of the women who speak on their behalf are obscured.

Lisnic and Zajicek's chapter is similar in that they tap into a double-violence, the violence that is the subject of the media – rape or sex trafficking – and the violence embedded in the conceptualization of the problem. Both accounts observe a re-victimization in many of the national and international accounts and Lisnic and Zajicek find little difference in how the popular and academic media treat sex trafficking in Moldova with many accounts treating women as victims.

Symbolic violence is particularly evidenced in the linkage of racial and gender stereotyping, and cultural attitudes about sexuality in this volume. The tweets identified by Felmlee, Inara Rodis, and Francisco are clearly the result of the linkage between these three aspects of culture as is pointed out by Crawshaw in her analysis of comic book subculture and by Hunt in her examination of college student responses to the lyrics of hip-hop. The non-representation of the anorexic in the chapter by Margolis, Rones and Algaze is also an example of symbolic violence. Pointing to physical violence these authors observe the deathly anorexic is unrecognized (and untreated) by a Hollywood that calls her a beauty.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Whether dealing with media that seem trivial or ephemeral such as comics or fanzines, ones about specific times or places such as media accounts of the aftermath of a rape or sex trafficking in a small country or those of limited circulation such as industry publications or those directed toward a population as limited as 8–12-year-old American girls, common questions of lasting importance emerge. Who does not appear in a film? Who is the object of cyberaggression? How are women and men depicted in music videos? How do critics evaluate performances? Who is behind and who in front of the camera lens? The chapters in this volume demonstrate the importance of feminist and intersectional inquiry and identify media-generated impacts on identity and agency. They bring readers face to face with many forms of violence and they point to places where social policy might be influenced by the ways people and issues are treated in the media. The chapters here have led us as scholars, editors, readers, and viewers to explore new theories and new forms of expression. We are grateful to our Editorial Advisory Board members and some former contributors who helped us select the material and to the authors who provided it.

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