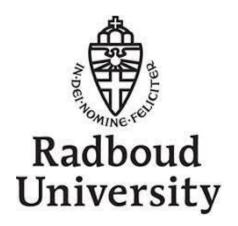
"Shawty wine voor me slow"

Representation of gender in Dutch hip-hop by six male artists





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MA Thesis, Transatlantic Studies,
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Quote from

Idaly, Ronnie Flex, Famke Louise, Bizzey. "Wine Slow – remix." *Idaly*, TopNotch Music BV, 2019

Images from

Josylvio. Hella Cash. 23 February 2018, genius.com/albums/Josylvio/Hella-cash.

"Het Succes van Bizzey in Turkije." *Nos op3*, 07 July 2018, nos.nl/op3/artikel/2240323-hoe-hiphopartiest-bizzey-een-monsterhit-scoorde-in-turkije.

Boef. "Gewoon Boef." *YouTube*, www.youtube.com/channel/UCM_1HeRJbLrDQwM_DpyE9Ow, accessed on 27 May 2021.

Frenna. Highest. 16 March 2021, genius.com/albums/Frenna/Highest.

Lil Kleine. Jongen van de Straat. 3 April 2020, genius.com/albums/Lil-kleine/Jongen-van-de-straat.

"Ronnie Flex: de Verlegen Jongen die Nederland Veroverde." *Stars Insider*, 11 May 2021, www.msn.com/nl-nl/entertainment/nieuws/ronnie-flex-de-verlegen-jongen-die-nederland-veroverde/ss-BB1gAZKq#image=1.

Disclaimer: This thesis contains strong language, sexual references, and sexually explicit imagery.

MA TRANSATLANTICSTUDIES

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declares that the submitted thesis is completely original and written exclusively by herself. For all information and ideas derived from other sources, the undersigned made explicit and detailed references to the locations. The research data presented therein were collected by the undersigned herself in the manner described in the thesis.

Place and Date: Radboud University Nijmegen, 27 June 2021

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Abstract

This thesis examines the gender representation in contemporary commercialized Dutch hip-hop music videos through visual imagery and lyrics, contrasting the hypermasculinity and misogyny displayed in visual gender discourses. The focus will be on the following research question: How is gender represented in the music videos of the Dutch 'new wave' generation hip-hop artists in the #MeToo era. The #MeToo movement started to break down power structures by challenging the normalization of unwanted sexual behavior. This is in contrast with the misogyny present in hip-hop, in which women are objectified for male pleasure. Representation of gender matters because visibility in the media influences gender discourses within society. Gender is a performative act that requires actualization and interpretation to repeat, appropriate or refuse the gender norms in our society. By maintaining hegemonic masculinity that normalizes the objectification of women in a patriarchal society, the media teaches women to objectify themselves and to be evaluated by others which can lead to mental health disorders. Dutch hip-hop is highly influenced by American hip-hop that sexually objectifies black and Latina women. While Dutch hip-hop is a mixture of different races and ethnicities without objectifying predominantly black women, the overall hypersexuality and sexual objectification of women is in line with the hypersexuality of American hip-hop. The misogyny in Dutch hip-hop did not reduce in times when the #MeToo movement went viral. Instead, the pandemic in 2020 forms a more plausible reason for the reduction of misogyny in Dutch hip-hop.

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Preface

Before I moved to the United States for my bachelor's degree, I barely encountered people from a different cultural background than my own. I lived in a white neighborhood and attended a catholic, predominantly white high school. When I studied for my bachelor's degree in the United States, I met people from every continent and was fascinated by our cultural differences. Unconsciously, as a white European, I have benefitted from post-colonialism and did not have to fight for my place in society like many other marginalized people had to. I became intrigued by racism in the United States and how hip-hop originated from African American people who took a stance against a system and authority that oppressed them. However, as a female student, I also became interested in the hypersexuality of women in hip-hop. In American hip-hop, provocative and misogynistic songs are trendy to the extent that many black female artists turn this sexualization into a form of independence, self-affirmation, and female empowerment. In the United States, we only listened to hip-hop music from American artists like Cardi B, Niki Minaj, Drake, Future, Migos, and Kanye West. During summer vacations, I noticed how clubs in the Netherlands played a mixture of American and Dutch hip-hop, wherein I recognized similarities that led me to develop the topic for my MA thesis.

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

While hip-hop once started as an underground movement in the 1970s in the Bronx in the United States, it currently cannot be ignored in the mainstream media anymore. Hip-hop is no longer dependent on airplay via radio stations but reaches popularity through online streaming platforms and social media. Worldwide, hip-hop artists well represent the top-25 of most-streamed artists of the last decade ("Spotify Blikt Terug op 2019"). In 2015, the New Wave album was a breakthrough in the Netherlands for a new era of hip-hop. In the wake of the dominance of American artists, hip-hop music in the Netherlands is a transatlantic phenomenon. The first rappers in the Netherlands imitated American hip-hop as well as possible. The unofficial rule stated that rap music was supposed to be in English; however, in the late 90s, the first Dutch rap lyrics emerged in which English lyrics were sometimes literally translated and was called Nederhop (Wermuth, "De Doorbraak). Currently, Dutch hip-hop artists do not imitate American rappers. Instead, Nederhop became a mixture of Dutch, North American, South American, and African influences. The rappers come from different cultural backgrounds and reflect this in their music. For instance, they frequently use slang words derived from America and the Surinamese language in Dutch rap. On the one hand, rap music provides a platform for people because it "is the story and the voice of the streets" (Lynch and Kryzcki, as qtd. in Monk-Turner and Sylvertooth 2), but on the other hand, male artists portray misogynistic imagery in rap music (Gourdine and Lemmons).

The new generation of hip-hop artists in the Netherlands emerged almost simultaneously with the #MeToo movement. The movement emphasizes gender equality, which is not in line with the popularity of misogynistic songs among youth, adolescents, and young adults. Hip-hop artists produce songs in which women are often disrespected and hypersexualized. Misogyny in music is problematic due to higher levels of body shame and self-objectification among adolescents and adult women who are frequently exposed to sexually explicit media (McKenny and Bigler; Tiggeman and Slater; Peter and Valkenburg, as qtd. in Lamb et al. 2-3). While these studies argue the negative impact of misogynistic songs on youth, the misogyny in hip-hop has not been reduced. Misogynistic imagery in rap music "has its roots in the development of the *capitalist* patriarchal system based on the principles of white supremacy, elitism, racism, and sexism" (Adams and Fuller 942). This patriarchal system, ruled by men, is the social structuring in the United States in which white colonizers brought integral sexism from "the European homelands" (Hooks as qtd. in Adams and Fuller 942). In turn, Dutch hiphop is inspired by American hip-hop, which brings the transatlantic transmission back to a full circle. If hip-hop provides a platform for people to voice their story, and if misogyny is an accurate representation of our society, I am interested in gender representations in Dutch hip-hop music. Therefore, this thesis aims to research how gender is represented in the music videos of the Dutch 'new wave' generation hip-hop artists in the #MeToo era. This thesis addresses the representation of

gender roles lyrically and visually. I focus on the commercialized work by male artists because Monk-Turner and Sylvertooth showed in *Rap Music: Gender Difference in Derogatory Word Use* that the discourse of misogynistic language is most common in songs by male artists, which Frisby and Behm-Morawitz confirm in *Undressing the Words: Prevalence of Profanity, Misogyny, Violence, and Gender Role References in Popular Music from 2006-2016.* Moreover, men overshadow women in the Dutch hip-hop scene.

1.2 Definitions

Before diving into the academic discussion, I explain in this section the concepts of the new wave generation and the #MeToo era, while a definition of gender is further explained in the theoretical concept of performativity.

1.2.1 New Wave Generation

The 'new wave' generation refers to hip-hop artists that came forth after the rise of the New Wave album produced by multiple Dutch hip-hop and rap artists, who were brought together in 2015 by record label Topnotch and Puna for a two weeks' music project. New sounds from SBMG, Bokoesam, SFB, and Broederliefde were already rising in popularity, but the release of the New Wave album was a significant event changing the hip-hop scene in the Netherlands (XTRA). The album contains songs of 18 artists, including Ronnie Flex, Jonna Fraser, Idaly, Lil' Kleine, Bokoesam, Jack \$hirak, SFB, and Lijpe (XTRA). They never released the album on CD, but due to its popularity on Spotify and YouTube, the album won the Popprijs of 2015, along with much controversy and criticism from the audience (Haagsma). The audience critiqued the winners of the Popprijs and questioned the quality of 'guys from the street' experimenting with Auto-Tune and rapping about drugs (Kaddouri). The album also won an Edison, the oldest music awards in the Netherlands who compare themselves with the American Grammy Awards or the German Echo ("Edison"). The most famous song on the album is *Drank and Drugs* by Ronnie Flex and Lil Kleine, who rap about alcohol, drugs, women, and sex.

Hip-hop music from the new wave generation is a mixture of rap, reggaeton, pop, and dance music in which artists often make use of the Auto-Tune, which is a "pitch correcting software that shifts vocal recordings to the correct key" (Genius News 0.07). In 1998, Cher used Auto-Tune for the first time for a commercial recording in her song "Believe" (Genius news). However, the American hip-hop artist T-pain took it to the next level with his debut album *Rappa ternt Sanga*. Although Jay-Z criticized Auto-Tune ("D.O.A."), since T-pain, Auto-Tune is found in mainstream music and especially in hip-hop. Hip-hop expert Armin Shah called the combination of streaming and Dutch hip-hop a "gamechanger" in the Dutch music industry of the last decade, in which the New Wave album was a milestone that changed the hip-hop scene in the Netherlands (Redacted De News BV). For the 'new wave' generation, streaming and online platforms such as Spotify and YouTube are essential for their success. Lil Kleine calls themselves the social media generation in which followers on Instagram are important for the publicity of their music (de Vrieze).

1.2.2 #Me Too era

In 2006, Tarana Burke, an African American woman, started the "Me Too" movement to help "women of color from underprivileged communities who have experienced rape or sexual assault" (Leung and Williams 350). However, the movement did not gain momentum until white women used the "#Me Too" to share their stories through social media. The movement went viral, developing a new era of breaking down power structures and challenging gender norms "and the roles they play in sexual assault and harassment" (Leung and Williams 352). Black female victims of sexual harassment struggled to have the same mainstream media coverage as white female victims. Leung and Williams analyzed how the African American victims of musician R. Kelly were publicly ignored while white victims of film producer Harvey Weinstein were publicly embraced until a documentary arrived about the scandals of R. Kelly abusing African American women (Leung and Williams). Therefore, Leung and Williams argue how the #MeToo movement missed the underlying factor of intersectionality and address race as a factor. When the #MeToo movement gained momentum in the Netherlands, TV producer Gijs van Dam, former director Job Gosschalk, and conductor Pieter Jan Leusink were accused of sexual harassment ("Weinstein Hoort Zijn Vonnis"). The movement brought awareness to change the normalization of unwanted sexual behavior.

The Dutch Music#MeToo foundation, founded in February 2019, accused rappers Boef and Frenna of misogyny and discrimination against females (Rosman, "MeToo-stichting"). The foundation wants to combat sexual harassment and sexual abuse in the music industry. While the foundation wanted to press charges against Ali B, Boef, and Ronnie Flex in 2021 due to misogyny and anti-Semitic content in their lyrics ("Music#MeToo), in 2019, they wished to have the rappers prosecuted in court based on their behavior (Rosman, "MeToo-stichting"). Boef publicly called three women who helped him on New Year's Eve 'kechs' (word used for whores) and explained in another video how he thought women who are in a club at 8 am and wear short skirts while hanging out with guys are 'kechs' (Tates). Although he apologized for his actions (Kraak), the foundation wanted him to face justice in court, together with Frenna, who was taken into custody in Suriname due to accusations of distribution of sex videos and sexual abuse of a minor. Eventually, the foundation withdrew the cases (Rosman, "Nederlandse Raplabels").

1.3 Literature review

Hip-hop began as a liberation movement by "marginalized and oppressed inner-city youth" and evolved into multibillion-dollar international institutions (Price and Iber 1). In this study, I refer to rap and hip-hop intertwined, although rap is only one of the elements of hip-hop, besides disc jockeys, breakdancing, and graffiti (Keyes 1). The first commercial success of a rap single was Rapper's Delight by the Sugar Hill gang in 1979 (Keyes 72). In the 1980s, in Los Angeles, Gansta-rap,

¹ See "Surviving R. Kelly." Videoland, 2019, www.videoland.com/series/500129/surviving-r-kelly.

consisting of gruesome lyrics about violence, sex, and drugs, attracted many white teenagers and was, therefore, a significant step in the transition from an exclusive black subculture towards the mainstream - "white, middle-class suburban" - music industry (Canton, p.248). Since the 1990s, the focus on cultural production shifted to consumption and changed the hip-hop industry to attract "larger and whiter audiences in the United States" (Hunter, 16). Consumerism goes hand in hand with sexuality (Jacobson 11), in which the media forms a concept of female objectivity and reinforces the hypersexualization of women. Especially black women are objectified in music videos and are called 'bitches' or a 'hoes' (Pough, "What It Do, Shorty?" 82), while references to sex work, stripping, pimping, and prostitution are normalized in rap music (Hunter and Soto 176). The relation between production and consumption of hip-hop became a point of discussion in Bakari Kitwana's Why White Kids Love Hip-Hop and Jason's Other People's Property: A Shadow History of Hip-Hop in White America (Hunter 16). However, the first recognized hip-hop studies focused more on socio-historical perspectives linking hip-hop to black history and culture. Groundbreaking was Tricia Rose's Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America in 1994 (Jenkins 1). Rose provided a cultural and historical critique on the social and cultural relationship between hip-hop and the black culture in American society (Berry 1; Jenkins 1). Another groundbreaking study is the historical analysis of Robin D. G. Kelley, who focused on the relationship between black history and hip-hop in Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class (Dereck and Stewart 190-191). They laid the foundation for numerous socio-historical studies of hip-hop like Kitwana's The Hip-Hop Generation: Young Blacks and the Crisis in African American Culture and Jeff Chang's Can't Stop, Won't Stop: A History of the Hip Hop Generation that offers comprehensive historical data based on interviews (Jenkins 3).

According to Rose, black female rappers challenge "the sexist discourse expressed by male rappers yet sustain dialogue with them" (304). Kobin and Tyson also identify black female empowerment in hip-hop by women who use strong lyrics, making words like 'bitch' their own (Gourdine and Lemmons 61). Scholarly work on hip-hop studies has grown exponentially, moving from social-historical and political perspectives into disciplines of "gender studies, critical race theory, communication and rhetoric studies, psychology, sociology, anthropology, ethnomusicology, popular culture studies, and religious studies" (Miller et al. 9). An early collection of hip-hop studies is collected in *That's the Joint* by Murray and Neal in 2004. The essays on gender and hip-hop state how "sexism and misogyny are largely extensions of normative patriarchal privilege," and while hip-hop artists do not have the sole responsibility of its reproduction, there is "no denying the fact that hip-hop's grip on American youth allows for the circulation of sexist and misogynistic narratives" (Neal 247). Pough states that the problem is more extensive than just the rappers and incorporates "the white financial structure that manufactures and distributes their records" ("Seeds and Legacies" 283). In the past decade, the Journal of Hip Hop Studies (JHHS), a peer-reviewed journal, critically engages with

hip-hop in the different disciplines. The most recent issue of 2020 is entirely dedicated to feminism in hip-hop, especially black feminism, in studies by Aria S. Halliday and Ashley N. Payne, Corey Miles, Camea Davis, M. Nicole Horsley, and Diana Khong about (re)constructing notions of black girlhood and analyzing feminism in hip-hop through black artists such as Beyonce, Cardi B, Nicki Minaj, Megan T Stallion, Queen Latifah, Missy Elliot, and Lil Kim, who use their sexuality and aesthetics of their bodies as a form of self-sexualization and independence.² Despite a desire from scholars in the early 2000s for a change in the objectification of women, Hunter and Soto argue for the downward spiral of the representation of women in mainstream rap music (171).

Through globalization and migration, hip-hop has spread throughout the world. In the Netherlands, hip-hop developed in the 1980s among Surinamese and Antillean youth in the Bijlmer in Amsterdam and in the Oude Westen in Rotterdam (Wermuth, "De Doorbraak" 830). In De doorbraak van rap naar het grote (jongeren) publiek, Wermuth provides a socio-historical overview of how Nederhop developed from American hip-hop. Nederhop is a term created for Dutch hip-hop in which the youth tried to imitate American hip-hop as well as possible. Wermuth also focuses on the authenticity of Nederhop, which was "almost completely based on American slang" ("Rap in the Low Countries" 153), and the forming of subcultures in the Netherlands. It was not until 1994 when the Osdorp Posse, a white hip-hop group, started writing Dutch lyrics about the Dutch culture (Wermuth "Rap in the Low Countries" 153-154). Authenticity is one of the very few subjects studied in Dutch Hip-hop in academia (Roks; Koreman; Kuppens). Credibility in Nederhop placed less emphasis on race and place than credibility in American hip-hop. In the Netherlands, authenticity is "about being true to yourself," in which experimentation and originality are valued (Koreman 511). A recent study by Goverts and Roks addresses the obsession over money and consumption. The rappers use a combination of conspicuous consumption, criminality, and slang to keep a particular "Ghetto aesthetic" (Goverts and Roks, 34). They argue how the commercialization of hip-hop in the Netherlands allowed that rappers no longer have to make substantive or musical concessions to earn money with their music.

² See further at:

Halliday, Aria S., and Ashley N. Payne. "Introduction: Savage and Savvy: Mapping Contemporary Hip Hop Feminism," *Journal of Hip Hop Studies*, vol. 7, no.1, 2020, scholarscompass.vcu.edu/jhhs/vol7/iss1/3. Payne, Ashley N. "The Cardi B–Beyoncé Complex: Ratchet Respectability and Black Adolescent Girlhood," *Journal of Hip Hop Studies*, vol. 7, no.1, 2020, scholarscompass.vcu.edu/jhhs/vol7/iss1/5.

Miles, Corey. "Black Rural Feminist Trap: Stylized and Gendered Performativity in Trap Music," *Journal of Hip Hop Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2020, scholarscompass.vcu.edu/jhhs/vol7/iss1/6.

Davis, Camea, "It's Complicated: Black Hip Hop Feminist Art Commentary on US Democracy," *Journal of Hip Hop Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2020, scholarscompass.vcu.edu/jhhs/vol7/iss1/7.

Khong, Diana. "Yeah, I'm in My Bag, but I'm in His Too": How Scamming Aesthetics Utilized by Black Women Rappers Undermine Existing Institutions of Gender," *Journal of Hip Hop Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2020, scholarscompass.vcu.edu/jhhs/vol7/iss1/8.

Horsley, M. Nicole. "Hip Hop Feminism Starter Kit," *Journal of Hip Hop Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2020, scholarscompass.vcu.edu/jhhs/vol7/iss1/9.

Kooijman is also fascinated by the Americanization of popular culture and calls it 'karaoke' or 'imaginary' Americanism. American culture is no longer a foreign influence but part of our own culture ("Fok de Macht" 197). For example, Ali B, a Dutch Moroccan rapper, used the representation of the 'hood' in American popular culture to suggest solidarity between ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands (Kooijman, "Fok de Macht" 201). Ali B appropriated African American hip-hop to address discrimination in Dutch society. Kooijman argues America to be "omnipresent in Dutch pop culture" through the "production of pop-cultural artifacts such as movies, television programs, and music videos that are made in the Netherlands and seem to imitate American pop culture" (Kooijman "Americans We Never Were" 96). Politically, Rob Kroes pointed out a revival of European anti-Americanism after the unilateralism of the Bush administration in European Anti-Americanism: What's New. However, culturally, we remain "a society that is permeated with American pop culture," in the words of Chris Keulemans, we are "the Americans we never were" (Kooijman "Americans We Never Were" 97).

Whereas gender discourses are studied concerning American artists, in the Netherlands, the focus has been on its history, authenticity, and consumerism. While scholars lack to focus on gender and misogyny in the Dutch rap scene, the media slowly starts to question misogyny in Dutch hip-hop. Misogyny is nothing new in Dutch hip-hop but a trend that has been preserved over time. In 1992, Osdorp Posse, the first group rapping in Dutch, already made songs such as *Katholieke Trut* and *Vrouwonvriendelijk?* in which they degrade and disrespect women in the worst possible ways. In Dutch media, music journalist Timo Pisart states in *3Voor12* that we need to discuss the sexist content in Dutch hip-hop. He argues that there is no other music genre in the Netherlands that contains the extent of misogyny as in hip-hop and that there is barely room for female hip-hop artists in the Netherlands (Pisart). Tim Hofman joins the discussion in a podcast with Vincent Patty, the owner of Noahsark and managing director of TopNotch.

Hofman argues that artists are role models, and the way they represent their music impacts people in society, leaving ugly marks such as how we perceive women in society ("WHDP S07E06"). Patty strictly denies that hip-hop artists have a considerable influence in society to leave negative images. He supports the artistic freedom standpoint and argues that rappers should not have to worry about their impact on society. Patty aspires to how rappers use their own experience in music without making up stories (de Vrieze). An article in the *Trouw* could agree with Patty, stating that if the misogyny in hip-hop is an accurate representation of the misogyny in our society, it is innocent ("Bitches, hoeren"). Furthermore, the article mentions how an increase of female artists could counter this narrative. I cannot entirely agree with their argument because one would place the entire burden on women who are a marginalized group in hip-hop to change misogyny. Moreover, Pisart argues that listening to a great extent of misogyny in music normalizes to place negative comments under female artists' music, which is noticed in comments of female artists like Famke Louise, Niva, Latifah,

Becky, S10, and I Am Aisha. Hate towards women is not only present in the music industry, but also in politics (Saris and van de Ven). Generally, in patriarchal societies, women are more likely to experience gender-based or sexual harassment through online platforms, called cyber-harassment (Ging and Siapera 1). Therefore, I agree with communication scientist Annemarie van Oosten who believes in education and a change in the content of male artists (Pisart). Other journalists also stimulate educating teenagers and have them think twice about the songs they listen to (Bartels; de Vente).

The Music#MeToo foundation accused various Dutch rappers and their record labels of promoting misbehavior to sell their music, and while there is no scholarly work or proof if this is true, criminologist Jeroen van den Broek does believe misbehavior of rappers positively contributes to their music sales (Redactie EenVandaag). In this thesis, I want to shed further light on the commercialization of hip-hop in the Netherlands and what this has meant for the representation of gender in a #MeToo era. In the United States, prestigious universities such as "Harvard, Penn State, USC, UCLA, Stanford, Duke, Princeton, and NYU" offer various courses about hip-hop (Miller et al. 7). Furthermore, Harvard established the Hip-hop Archive and Research Institute in 2002 to study the influence of hip-hop in society, and music theorist like Cole Cuchna analyzes hip-hop music of Kayne West, like he would analyze classical music by Beethoven or Mozart (Kaddouri; Morris). In the Netherlands, there is a gap in this kind of research of what is done in the United States. While looking at Dutch media discourses, there is a need for hip-hop studies concerning gender discourses towards which this thesis will contribute.

1.4 Methodology

To answer my research question, I analyze music videos of the most famous artists' most popular songs. I am interested in the representation of hypermasculinity and misogyny in the most commercialized music videos. Because the #MeToo movement gained influence near the end of 2017 in the Netherlands, and The Music#MeToo foundation accused Boef and Frenna at the beginning of 2018, my timeframe consists of annual charts of 2018-2020. I examined the top 10 most-streamed artists on Spotify in this period because Spotify is a streaming service in which people decide what they like to listen to, unlike radio stations with a fixed playlist. Therefore, I analyze the music videos by Josylvio (Joost Theo Sylvio Yussef Abdel Galil Dowib), Lil Kleine (Jorik Scholten), Frenna (Francis Edusei), and Boef (Sofiane Boussaadia), who were placed in the top 10 of the most-streamed artists on Spotify in the Netherlands in all three years. To this selection, I add Bizzey (Leendert

³ The complete lists of 2018-2020 can be found in the following sources

[&]quot;De Populairste Nummers, Artiesten, Afspeellijsten en Podcasts van 2018." *Spotify*, 4 December 2018, spotifynl.pr.co/170093-de-populairste-nummers-artiesten-afspeellijsten-en-podcasts-van-2018.

[&]quot;Spotify Blikt Terug op 2019 en het Afgelopen Decennium: Muziek van Eigen Bodem Enorm Populair." *Spotify*, 4 December 2019, spotify-nl.pr.co/184032-spotify-blikt-terug-op-2019-en-het-afgelopen-decennium-muziek-van-eigen-bodem-enorm-populair.

Roelandschap), who placed fifth in 2018 and third in 2019, and Ronnie Flex (Ronell Langston Plasschaert), who was placed second in 2018 and one of the rappers of the New Wave album of 2015.

I consulted the Single Top 100 music chart to select the songs, a nationally recognized music chart based on sales and legal downloads in the Netherlands. Unlike the other national music charts as 3FM Mega Top 100, the Nederlandse top 40 of Qmusic, and the 538 Top 50, the Single Top 100 charts do not take airplay into account but focus on streaming services. I analyze the music videos of the six artists placed in the top 100 of the annual overviews of the Single Top 100 charts. The Dutch audience recognized these six artists as famous artists, and I want to analyze their representation of gender in their most popular songs. The annual charts provide an overview of songs that represented popularity on average over an entire year. Most songs are a collaboration between multiple artists. Therefore, other artists are included in the analyses when collaborating with at least one of the six artists mentioned above. While there is one song by Snelle in collaboration with Frenna in the song selection, I omit Snelle his other songs in my analysis. Although he is popular and placed second and first in 2019 and 2020 in the top 10 of most streamed artists on Spotify, he is a singer as well as a rapper, and his six songs placed in the annual overview of the single top 100 in 2020 were all songs wherein he sang and are placed more in the pop than in the hip-hop genre. I also omitted other hip-hop songs by Dutch artists in the annual overview because I want to focus on the most popular artists and find patterns in their music videos. The song Verleden tijd by Frenna and Lil Kleine was placed both in 2018 and in 2019 in the annual top 100, and the song Achtbaan by Frenna did not have a music video. Therefore, the selection between 2018 and 2020 consists of 45 songs. The entire song selection can be found in the appendices.

To understand the representation of gender in the music videos by the previously mentioned artists, I use the methodology of critical discourse analysis (CDA). I use this method because it is one of the most widely used methods in social constructionism in which method and theory intertwine (Jørgensen and Phillips 4-5). Through CDA, I can study the gender dynamics in hip-hop music and what this means in our society. Jørgensen and Phillips define discourse as "a particular way of talking about and understanding the world" (p.1). Michel Foucault's socio-historical analyses of discourse laid the groundwork for new methodological empirical research by focusing on how "discourse constructs subjectivity, selfhood and power relations" (Kefalopoulou, p.4). Norman Fairclough first coined CDA in 1989 in his book *Language and Power*. He argues how language is not a mere linguistic phenomenon but a social practice (Ke and Fang 1077). According to van Dijk, CDA studies the function of discourse in society and patterns of control by dominant groups and institutions (24). For instance, Powerful speakers such as politicians and media outlets may influence some beliefs in the

[&]quot;Het Onvergetelijke 2020 Was het Jaar van de Nederlandse Muziek, van Smartlappen tot Hiphop, van Snelle tot Emma Heesters." *Spotify*, 1 December 2020, spotify-nl.pr.co/193679-het-onvergetelijke-2020-was-het-jaar-van-de-nederlandse-muziek-van-smartlappen-tot-hiphop-van-snelle-tot-emma-heesters.

minds of some recipients by addressing social problems. Critical discourse analysis studies in what ways "such influence and control of the mind is socially or morally illegitimate" and "in the interest of the powerful" (van Dijk 22).

Fairclough proposed in his book Discourse and Social Change (1992) a Three-Dimensional Approach of CDA of "text, discursive practice, and social practice" (Ke and Fang 1078; Fairclough "marketization of public discourse" 136). The first dimension analyses text and the vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure (Blommaert and Bulcaen 448). For this dimension, I analyze and describe the visual and lyrical representation of gender discourses and interpret these findings based on the theory of performativity, objectification, and concepts of hegemonic and hypermasculinity, misogyny, and sexualization. I use a coding method to describe the representations based on previous studies identifying hip-hop and rap content (Frisby and Behm-Morawitz; Adam and Fuller; Hunter). Frisby and Behm-Morawitz coded songs based on the use of profanity, misogyny, sex roles, and violence, which was primarily present in male artists' hip-hop music. Weitzer and Kubrin focused on different forms of misogyny in Gangsta-rap that were less commercialized. While I am interested in the content of commercialized hip-hop and rap music, their coding scheme of misogyny is helpful to replicate. They coded five sub-themes of misogyny: "(a) derogatory naming and shaming of women, (b) sexual objectification of women, (c) distrust of women, (d) legitimation of violence against women, and (e) celebration of prostitution and pimping" (Weitzer and Kubrin 11). Hunter focused on "the relationship between conspicuous consumption and gender relations in popular rap music" (20-21). Hunter found themes of consumption of luxury items related to sexual attraction (21-25), consumption of sexual transaction in a strip club culture (25-26), and consumption of dance in which "women dance for men rather than with them" (26). These consumption patterns highlight the commercialization of sexual relations in rap music influenced by money. By using a combination of the different coding schemes and themes found in commercialized rap music, I formulated the following coding scheme:

- (a) Violence
- (b) Stereotypical gender roles
- (c) Reference of money / consumption
- (d) Misogyny
 - a. Derogatory naming and shaming of women
 - b. Sexual objectification
 - c. Distrust of women
 - d. Celebration of prostitution and pimping
 - e. Submissive

In the case of misogyny, Weitzer and Kubrin did not automatically label the term 'bitch' and 'ho' as name shaming as they argued that these terms did not always intend to be derogatory in rap culture. Based on the study *Reclaiming critical analysis: The social harms of 'bitch'* by Kleinman et al., I argue otherwise. Women have been reclaiming the word 'bitch' by positively referring to their

friends as 'hey bitches'. However, when a woman is referred to by men as a 'bitch', she is vulnerable to normalizing sexism. By throwing out the word 'bitch' all the time, it "sends the message that it is acceptable for men to use the term" (Kleinman et al. 61). Compared to the N-word, white people know not to use the word 'nigger' even though black people reclaimed the word in a friendly way among each other. 'Bitch', on the other hand, is more widely accepted, and "men do not worry that women who get upset with them for using 'bitches' will react violently, so there is less incentive for men to drop it" (Kleinman et al. 61). Therefore, I argue that words as 'bitch' and 'ho' used by male artists are a form of misogyny I define under derogatory naming and shaming of women. This is the only category solely based on the lyrical form, whereas the other themes can exist in either the lyrics or the visuals.

Sexual objectification is the "experience of being treated as a body" (Aubrey and Frisby 479). To analyze sexual objectification, I focus on body parts associated with sexual activities (e.g., cleavage, chest, buttocks, pelvis, genitals). When the camera shots linger on "body parts instead of focusing on the face or the total subject," it is coded as sexual objectification. Other aspects included in sexual objectification in visuals are the presence of provocative clothing and sexually suggestive dancing. Suspicion and lack of trust fall under the category of distrust of women. In which gold-digger, a woman "only interested in men for their money" (Weitzer and Kubrin 18) falls under distrust as a subcategory. Fear of being exploited by women is especially present among newly successful rappers. For the celebration of prostitution and pimping, I am using the conventional definition of pimping, "men who employ prostitutes" (Weitzer and Kubrin 20). Finally, towards submissive, I apply lyrics or visuals in which men express dominance over women, in which women are inferior, obedient, subordinate, or subservient.

For the second dimension of Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Approach of CDA, discursive practices, I study the circulation of production, distribution, and consumption of the music by researching media content, YouTube comments, airplay, and Spotify. Finally, the third dimension of CDA is the social practice concerning the ideological effects and hegemonic processes that influence the discourse (Fairclough "Marketization of public discourse" 137). Therefore, I interpret the findings in a broader context of gender discourses in Dutch society. While critical discourse analyses in its early stages mainly focused on written and spoken language, a few scholars such as Fairclough, Wodak, Kress, and van Leeuwen emphasized a multimodal approach to include resources of language, image, sound, and music (van Leeuwen 287-288; Blommaert and Bulcaen 450). Fairclough stresses the importance of non-verbal communication in *New Labour New Language*, and Wodak notices the importance of popular culture and media in *The West Wing* (van Leeuwen 288). The gender representation and misogyny in hip-hop exist in a combination of lyrical and visual representation. Van Leeuwen argues that "discourses which legitimate injustice and violence, such as racist, colonialist and sexist discourses, persist much longer in visual communication than in its verbal

equivalents" (p.288). Therefore, I am analyzing the discourses in music videos containing verbal and non-verbal communication.

1.5 Roadmap

To shed light on the representation of gender in hip-hop, I will first discuss a theoretical framework explaining concepts related to gender in chapter one. The theoretical framework helps us understand how gender is formed in our society and how representations of gender can influence norms in society. I conduct the performativity theory of Judith Butler, who explains gender as a rehearsed act that is formed differently throughout time and social powers. The performativity theory is followed by two forms of masculinity: hegemonic and hypermasculinity, plus a description of the concepts of misogyny and sexualization limiting one's value to their sexual appearance. Finally, I discuss the objectivity theory coined by Fredrickson and Roberts, who correlate objectification with mental health disorders. In chapter two, I provide an overview of the six artists that will be discussed. This section covers the controversy of the rappers, where they gained their inspiration from, and acknowledges their success in the Netherlands with the numerous awards they won. Chapter three discusses the analysis of the music videos by providing an overview of the violence, the consumption, and the misogyny found in the most popular songs of the six artists in 2018-2020. It applies the concepts described in the theoretical framework in relation to the music videos. In this chapter, it becomes clear how performative acts of gender negatively construct the female gender as inferior to the male gender, in which the women are objectified for male pleasure. This section also explores links to the American hip-hop scene. The entire coding scheme of the music videos and the lyrics can be found in the appendices. Lastly, chapter four consists of two parts covering the second and third dimensions of CDA. First, I go over the consumption process, and second, I discuss the findings of the music analysis regarding gender and sexual discourses in Dutch society. In the final chapter, I discuss how there is a dichotomy with, on the one hand, anti-pornography feminists fighting against sexual objectification, while on the other hand, pro-sex feminists promote sexual liberation and sexual agency. Finally, I finish this thesis with a conclusion that summarizes the points made in the previous chapters.

Chapter 1 "Ik heb 4/5 bitches aan de lijn" – Theoretical framework

1.1 Performativity

To analyze gender roles of masculinity and femininity in hip-hop, I consult Judith Butler's theory of gender as performative. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines gender as "the behavioral, cultural, or psychological traits typically associated with one sex" ("gender"). While gender is associated with one's sex, Butler argues in Gender Trouble how gender is not a construction of sex but a socially constructed act (Dish 549). Miller et al. define gender as "the socially and culturally constructed differences between femininity and masculinity, shaped by countless factors including the use of technology and digital media" (114). Butler draws on Simone de Beauvoir's statement that gender "is a historical situation rather than a natural fact" (Butler 520). Butler argues how Beauvoir underlines the distinction between sex and gender and between biological and cultural interpretations. One has to become a woman through acts by which gender is constituted, which bears "similarities to performative acts within theatrical context" (Butler 521). Just as a script is rehearsed and enacted, gender is a rehearsed act that requires actualization and interpretation (Butler 526). However, unlike on stage, one cannot de-realize the act on the street by making it distinct from reality. On stage, we distinguish between performance and reality, which we cannot make for the performance of gender on the street. Performative acts can be interpreted to either conform or contest expected gender identities of masculinity and femininity (Butler 527-528). Identities are dynamic and historical in which humans are always 'becoming' (Reddy 116). Butler means that gender is not static and is formed differently throughout time and through different social powers. Kimberle Crenshaw argued in *Demarginalizing* the Intersection of Race and Sex how multiple aspects of one's identity need to be considered when researching forms of discrimination linking gender to race and class, for instance. Butler theorizes how people are born into "gendered, racial, [and] national" norms that could change by "the ways that we enact, repeat, appropriate and refuse the norms that decide our social ontology" (Reddy 117). Therefore, in hip-hop, gender norms are formed by artists their experiences in society. However, they also reinforce gender norms back to society. How hip-hop enacts these gender norms could appropriate or refuse the norms in our society.

1.2 Masculinity

"Masculinity is a socially constructed concept" achieved through masculine qualities that generally include characteristics such as "physical strength or power, aggressiveness, risk-taking, emotional control, and sexual potency" (Beesley and McGuire 252). The subgenres discussed are hegemonicand hypermasculinity. Hegemonic masculinity, described by R.W. Connell in *Gender and Power* (1987), became one of the most used analytical instruments to identify gender inequality (Jewkes 113). The concept of hegemonic masculinity is subject to change and widely used and critiqued in educational studies, criminology, media representation, and organizational studies (Connell and Messerschmidt). Hegemonic masculinity is described as "a set of values, established by men in power

that functions to include and exclude, and to organize society in gender unequal ways" (Jewkes et al. 113). Based on Gramsci's theory of hegemony, hegemonic masculinity "is a cultural ideal of manhood" (Jewkes and Morell, 1730) that legitimizes men's dominance over women and other marginalized men (Connell and Messerschmidt). In the wake of the permitted dominance of men over women, hegemonic masculinity also includes references to toxic practices such as physical violence. However, violence is not always the defining characteristic of hegemony. Jewkes et al. argue that violence is not the focus in hegemonic masculinity's theoretical concept and therefore proposes hypermasculinity as a framework to refer to violence (114).

Hypermasculinity is a form of masculinity that exaggerates traditional gender roles. Mosher and Serkin measured the concept of hypermasculinity through the macho personality and established three components of "(a) calloused sex attitudes toward women, (b) a conception of violence as manly, and (c) a view of danger as exciting" (151). Therefore, violence is perceived to be acceptable or even preferred in masculine expressions. Hypermasculine men desire power and dominance in which heroism is rewarded with women as sexualized objects (Mosher and Serkin 151). The macho personality patterns correlated with the more frequent use of "alcohol, stimulants, depressants, marijuana, and hashish" that fell under danger as exciting, which also included "the use of opium codeine, and hallucinogens" (Mosher and Serkin 156). The hypermasculine man considers feminine traits as inferior and avoids these traits (Mosher and Tomkins 75). When masculinity is challenged, a macho man increases his self-esteem and intensifies his ideology by performing hypermasculine traits among the components mentioned above.

In men's prisons, one finds hypermasculinity as a form of self-protection. In prison, the men do not feel safe to let their guard down and perform a hypermasculine identity to prevent victimization (Dolovich 966-971). Hypermasculinity is also present in the armed forces in which the United Nations promotes to send more women on peace missions as "sexual violence problem-solvers, [and as] a pacifying force that reduces male aggressiveness and hyper-masculinity" (Jenne & Bisshopp 139). In hip-hop, just like in the armed forces, I argue that the burden should not be placed on women to counter hypermasculinity. Instead, I argue that we need to address the hypermasculinity and the misogyny expressed by male artists without focusing solely on the rise of female artists. I do not argue against female hip-hop artists, but as they are a minority in hip-hop, I argue that male artists have more agency to reinforcing gender norms.

1.3 Misogyny, sexualization, objectification

Sexualization is defined as "a person's value comes only from his or her sexual appeal or behavior, to the exclusion of other characteristics; a person is sexually objectified—that is, made into a thing for others' sexual use, rather than seen as a person with the capacity for independent action and decision-making; and/or sexuality is inappropriately imposed upon a person" (Lamb et al. 1). Adam and Fuller defined *misogyny* as "the hatred or disdain of women" (939). They described it as "an ideology that

reduces women to objects for men's ownership, use, or abuse" and "diminishes women to expendable things" (Adam and Fuller 939). Misogyny in lyrics refers to "lyrics that encourage, condone, or glorify the objectification, exploitation, or victimization of women" (Weitzer and Kubrin 10). Sexualization and misogyny objectify women, which Fredrickson and Roberts further explain in their objectification theory. This theoretical framework "places female bodies in a sociocultural context with the aim of illuminating the lived experiences and mental health risks of girls and women who encounter sexual objectification" (174). Being reduced to the status of a mere instrument used for the consumption of others is harmful to women. Fredrickson and Roberts describe how sexual objectification can influence women and girls their self-perception and lead to the emotion of shame and anxiety, depressions, sexual dysfunction, and eating disorders (181 -192). "Objectification theory proposes that sexual objectification of women's bodies by the media teaches women to internalize an outsiders' perspective on the self, such that they come to see themselves as objects to be evaluated by others, a tendency called self-objectification" (Aubrey and Frisby 479). Fredrickson and Roberts also acknowledged that not every woman experiences sexual objectification in the same way and that a unique set of experiences is based on one's "ethnicity, class, sexuality, age, and other physical and personal attributes" (174).

Chapter 2 "Last man standing" - Meet the artists

Ronnie Flex, or since May 2021 known just as Ronnie, Frenna, and Lil Kleine, were part of the New Wave album that started the new era of hip-hop music in the Netherlands. Ronnie is born to a Surinamese mother and Moluccan father and grew up in South Holland with his mother, while his father left for the United States. He says that the Pop academy of Zadkine and the emergence of Auto-Tune by T-pain changed his life ("Ronnie Flex over Auto-Tune"). Before *Drank en Drugs*, Ronnie had already released his debut album and won the State Award for Rookie of the Year. In 2018, he won the Popprijs as the most influential rapper in the Netherlands (Gijssel, "Hiphop Heerst").⁴ Ronnie is inspired by the American rapper Drake and hopes to be equivalent to him (NPO 3Doc. "Ronnie Flex" 2.58 – 3.30). Although his musical successes, Ronnie struggled with drug addiction. In 2020, the documentary *De Vlucht van Ronnie* by 3Doc sheds light on Ronnie's vulnerable side struggling with fatherhood, depression, his new album, and his drug addiction.

Francis Edusei, known as Frenna, is part of the group SFB (Strictly Family Business) that had its breakthrough in 2013. He rose above the rest of the group and developed himself as a solo artist. In a minidocumentary about Frenna, director Mike Statis argues how Frenna has the 'mentality of guys from the street' but knows how to commercialize himself ("Geen Oog Dichtgedaan," 4.25 – 4.55⁵). In 2016, he and two others of SFB were arrested in Suriname due to allegations of sexual intercourse with a minor and spreading a sexual video of the minor online. While they kept denying the allegations of having sexual intercourse, they were found guilty and spent their sentence of two and a half months' imprisonment on remand ("SFB Openhartig"). The time Frenna had spent in prison motivated him more to focus on his music, after which he won the FunX Music Awards in 2019 for best singer, the best album, and best collab, while he was also the most streamed artist in the Netherlands in 2019 (Gijssel, "Een Miljard Streams"). Frenna always listened to American hip-hop, in which Lil Wayne was his biggest inspiration (Music memories). His music is a mixture of Dutch and African influences as he returned to his birth city, The Hague, after having lived for some years of his youth in Ghana. In interviews, he is the modest Francis, but on stage, his alter ego Frenna takes over, with which he wants to take his success international (music memories).

Jorik Scholten, known as Lil Kleine, was the more controversial rapper of the duo that released *Drank en Drugs*. In the documentary *Linda's Mannen* from 2016, we see how Scholten established a harsh profile for himself, which resulted in a negative stigma. He had a difficult youth and once ended up in a juvenile detention center. However, a softer side of him, caring about his

⁴ Plasschaert also won the Popprijs with the collective album New Wave

⁵ See also part 1 and 3 at

Frenna. "Geen Oog Dichtgedaan: de docu (Deel 1)." *YouTube*, uploaded by Topnotch, 3 November 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=2alqp3S922w.

Frenna. "Geen Oog Dichtgedaan: de docu (Deel 3)." *YouTube*, uploaded by Topnotch, 10 November 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNIbJYxDMbM.

father, friends, and family, is also displayed in the documentary of *Linda's Mannen*. He is willing to change his sharp image and become a better version of himself. However, Scholten also raises the question that if he did not profile himself in such a controversial manner, he would not have been as successful as he is now (Linda's Mannen, 18.00-19.15). His emotional side is also noticed in his newest album, *Jongen van de Straat*, released in 2020, in which he declares his love for his wife and son. Although he is one of the biggest Dutch rappers, he claims to stay a 'boy from the street' in which his life at the Nieuwmarkt in Amsterdam laid the groundwork for who he is (Ockhuysen).

Another controversial rapper is Sofiane Boussaadia, known as rapper Boef. He is of mixed Algerian and French nationality and is seen as one of the most controversial Dutch Rappers as he spent a year in prison before becoming a rapper, publicly disrespected police authority in his vlogs, and called three women 'kechs' (whores) on Snapchat on January the first of 2018 for helping him early in the morning. Although he apologized, he carries a negative image around for which festivals and radio stations boycott him. He cynically responded to these boycotts in his song Antwoord as they did not play his songs on the radio regardless.⁶ According to his friend and colleague rapper Ali B, the fuss around Boef's comments was about something larger in society in which his comments were the final straw (Gewoon Boef episode 2, 3.00 – 3.40). The media was in the middle of the #MeToo discussion, after which Bouf's statements confirmed the stereotypes that Arabic men have misogynistic views. Despite the negativity around him, he won that year the FunX award for artist of the year which he also won in 2017 and 2020. In the documentary Gewoon Boef, his actions become more understandable. Due to many setbacks and abandonments in his life, he created a survival mechanism in which money seemed most important. Music provides a voice for him to convey his side of the story. However, now that he has his dream house, he believes money not to be everything and wishes to start a family one day to obtain pure happiness.

Josylvio's stage name is a combination of his first and third name as his full name is Joost Theo Sylvio Yussef Abdel Galil Dowib, given to him by his Dutch mother and Egyptian father. Musicality has been instilled in Josylvio since birth from his mother, Lia Bijster, who was a Dutch vocalist herself. Josylvio did not expect to grow further with rap until music producer ESKO, and at the same time, one of his best friends from high school pushed him further. Josylvio describes himself as a guy from the streets but understands when to take responsibility in his life. He mainly listens to American rap music of artists like Future, Young Thug, Drake, Migos, and Gucci, while Tupac was his biggest inspiration for his rap music (First; Convo Talkshow). His album *Hella Cash* was placed for four weeks at number 1 in the Album top 100, for which he also won the FunX award for best album in 2018. While he still works with ESKO, the co-owner of record label Van Klasse, Josylvio established his own record label Hella Cash.

⁶ "Ik word gecanceld door een festival die niet geboekt heeft. Word gecanceld door de radio die mij nooit afspeelt" ("Antwoord")

Finally, Leendert Roelandschap, known as Bizzey, born to a Dutch father and Surinamese mother, had the most international successes of the six artists with Yellow Claw performing at Madison Square Garden, EDC Vegas, and Coachella in the United States. Despite his international recognition, he was unhappy and followed his heart by investing in his new solo career. He brought a new sound into the urban and hip-hop culture in the Netherlands (Fernando in Bizzey episode 1, 12.58 - 13.25). He was inspired by South American music and mixed reggae, Dembo, and Baile funk music styles. One of his first songs, Traag, immediately peaked at number one in the Top40 charts. He created commercialized music in which one word is repeated for the crowd to sing along. In 2019, he won the FunX music award for the best male artist, while Famke Louise won the female artist of the year award for whom Bizzey wrote all her music as manager until she left him at the end of 2018. His commercialized music was not always appreciated when the so-called hard-core hip-hop fans created a petition to cancel Bizzey at WooHah (*Bizzey*, episode 3, 7.45-8.45). He is an entrepreneur aiming for his wife and son to become financially independent. However, Pearl, co-owner of Framez productions, asked how he comes up with his lyrics due to the high level of filthiness. While his parents are proud of him, they are not fond of the foul language in his songs, asking him to think twice before he might offend someone (*Bizzey* episode 3, 20.22 - 21.05).

⁷ See the petition at "Cancel Bizzey op WooHah! 2019." *Change.org*, www.change.org/p/woohah-cancel-bizzey-op-woohah-2019.

Chapter 3 "Drop that ass to the floor" – analysis of music videos

As described previously in the methodology, I selected 45 songs from the annual Single Top 100 charts of six artists: Bizzey, Boef, Frenna, Josylvio, Lil Kleine, and Ronnie. Of the 45 songs, 39 songs were produced in collaboration with at least two or more artists. I selected the 45 songs from the annual Single Top 100 charts of 2018-2020, in which 21 songs are from 2018, 18 songs from 2019, and only six songs from 2020. Bizzey and Frenna both represented the list with 13 songs, all in collaboration with other artists. Table 1 shows the number of songs placed in the Single Top 100 charts by each artist.

Table 1: Number of songs placed in the annual single top 100 chart

	2018	2019	2020	Total
Bizzey	6	6	1	13
Frenna	5	7	1	13
Boef	6	2	2	10
Lil Kleine	4	3	2	9
Ronnie Flex	8	0	0	8
Josylvio	2	3	0	5

The entire coding of the music video can be found in the appendices and is summarized in Table 2. To count towards one or more of the categories, the song had to show at least once a feature of that category. Table 2 shows the percentages of songs in which 45 = 100%.

Table 2: Summary

	lyrics	video
Violence	15.6 %	17.8%
Violence against women	6.7%	2.2%
Gun violence	2.2%	11.1%
Criminality, illegal activities	13.3%	8.9%
Stereotypical gender roles	-	6.7%
Reference of money and	53.3%	42.2%
consumption		
Prefer money over love	8.9%	-
Spending money on women (in	11.1%	4.4%
the club) but not prostitution		
Misogyny	75.6%	46.7%
Derogatory naming and	48.9%	_
shaming of women		
Sexual objectification	57.8%	42.2%
Distrust of women	11.1%	-
Celebration of prostitution and	2.2	4.4%
pimping		
Submissive	15.6%	6.7%
Other		
Non-sexual, non-violent macho	11.1%	13.3%
behavior		
Love	22.2%	13.3%
Personal story	15.6%	-

Homophobia	2.2%	-
Loneliness	4.4%	4.4%
Reference to the United States /	24.4%	11.1%
American artist		
Family celebration	-	2.2%
Celebration of African culture	-	2.2%

While violence as a form of hypermasculinity was not as prominent as misogyny, it still accounted for 15.6% in the lyrics and 17.8% in the visuals. The violence consisted of gun violence, criminality and illegal activities, and violence against women. Visual gun violence was the largest subcategory of violence. In Viraal, the use of a gun is shown for mere macho behavior without having any purpose. In Miljonair, besides knowing that the gun is used for criminal activities, the goal is unclear. While in Hup, gun violence is used to kill people, steal their money, and give this money to poor women, which does not match its lyrics wherein a woman is objectified and reduced to only her body. Similarly, the music videos of *Drama* and *Culo* containing gun violence do not match their lyrics either. In the music video of *Drama*, the men use gun violence to save women other men had captured. However, lyrically, the men are only concerned with money and with 'bitches' dancing for them. The gangster story of mafia boss Pablo Escobar in South America in the 70s and 80s inspired Bizzey for the music video ("Behind the Scenes"). Culo⁸ has one of the most contradicting music videos compared to its lyrics. While Bizzey, Frenna, and KM (Kaene Marica) are obsessed with a woman's buttocks, the video portrays men helping women and children migrants to cross the US-Mexican border. Both Drama and Culo also portray stereotypical gender roles victimizing women and portraying men as heroes. Beetje Moe portrays another stereotype of women as assistants trying to persuade their male boss. The music video of 4 Life, by Lil Kleine and Jonna Fraser, is also the opposite of its lyrics. While the video displays a family celebration having a nice lunch together with family, friends, and children that seems like a wedding or anniversary celebration, the lyrics display misogyny about a 'bad girl' having to shake her ass and 'Bust it down,' which is a reference to oral sex.

Misogyny and references to money and the consumption of luxury items were the top two categories. Lyrically, 24 songs (53.3%) contained references to money and consumption of luxury items, while visually, 19 songs (42.2%) explicitly portrayed money and luxury items. Rarely do rappers use the Dutch word 'geld' to suggest that they have money. Instead, they use the English word money, or slang such as stack paars, mil, bom in mijn zak, saaf, cijfers, paper, guap, doekoe, barkie, dough, kop, rug, vellen, and the Romanian number K for a thousand in combination with a number. Money is a significant theme in this song selection, in which the artists mainly claim they are making a large amount of money through their music. Items they consume with their money are alcohol, drugs, women, jewelry, especially Rolex watches, brand clothing, shoes, villas, and cars. The music

⁸ Culo Spanish slang for buttocks or 'ass.'

[&]quot;Culo." Dictionary.com, www.dictionary.com/browse/culo.

[&]quot;Culo." *Urban Dictionary*, www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=culo.

videos emphasize luxury items. For example, in *Last man standing*, four Lamborghinis are used for one scene, while a Rolls-Royce Ghost, a Bentley, and a Mercedes-Benz-G-Wagon are used in *Ze willen mee*. In one-third of the music videos, expensive cars are explicitly shown in the videos to display wealth. Josylvio explains in an interview that jewelry and high-priced clothing are of importance for the right image of a rapper (First 13.20 – 13.54). Lil Kleine also confirmed how he is a man and that an expensive car revealed something about his success. Therefore, he perceived himself to have more social status by driving an expensive car (Linda's Mannen 12.50 – 13.48). Therefore, consumption of luxury items is significant for the artists and perceived as a form of hypermasculinity and macho behavior. *Sofiane* and *Beetje Moe* even imply that women do not want to be with a guy who does not have money, and in *Catch up, Guap, Waarom zoeken naar liefde*, and *TikTok*, the male artists explicitly state their preference of money rather than love. While Josylvio raps in *Waarom zoeken naar liefde* that he prefers money over love, a month later in his song *Vroeger*, he says that money is not everything and that he wants to use his money to provide for the woman.

Money is not only spent on luxury items but also on women by 'making it rain'. In many American rap songs, the male artists express their approval towards women their dancing by 'making it rain' (Hunter 28), throwing dollar bills at women or strippers. In this manner, dancing by women is "reduced to an object relation or a consumer transaction" (Hunter 28). The phrase 'make it rain' is used twice in *Drup* and *JA!*, although once translated in Dutch, and once is also referred to as 'let it fly,' a different expression with the same meaning in 4/5. Visually 'making it rain' is present in two music videos. In *JA!* when Kraantje Pappie says the words 'make it rain', he also performs the motion of one hand imitating sliding bills off of the imaginary stack of bills hold out by the other hand (Hunter 28, see fig. 1). In *Draai het om*, women are dancing as strippers in a club, after which we see Boef and his friends sitting in a room in which money flies through the air as if they 'make it rain' (see fig. 2).





Figure 1 screenshot 2.18 ("Ja")

Figure 2 screenshot 2.17 ("Draai het om")

Give dem and TikTok use different wording but also refer to women dancing for money. In Give dem, Frenna refers to a woman dancing all day for money, a stripper, while he can afford a hundred bottles in a VIP section of a club and thus tells his friends to bring money to spend on women. In TikTok, the women also want to be in the section where the men are, while the male character mentions having a large amount of money he likes to spend but makes the women work for it. The music videos of

Miljonair and 4/5 take it one step further by portraying prostitution in which the male character is able to buy women with the money he has (see fig. 3 and 4). According to the performativity theory of Butler, the female and male gender are constructed here as a dichotomy in which the female gender is inferior and objectified. The music videos and the lyrics communicate a script in which the male characters perform dominance over the women and communicate a power structure through the role of the consumer. The women are staged as products the male characters can buy. These findings are consistent with the findings of conspicuous consumption of Hunter in Shake It, Baby, Shake It:

Consumption and the New Gender Relation in Hip-Hop, wherein money influences gender relations and reduces women to products. It rejects Hunter's correlation of conspicuous consumption and the black community due to the portrayal of mixed races, explained at the end of this chapter.





Figure 3 Screenshot 2.34 ("Miljonair")

Figure 4 screenshot 2.24 ("4/5")

In total, misogyny was found in 82.2% of the songs, in which 75.6% of the songs contained lyrical misogyny and 46.7% of the songs contained visual misogyny. Lyrically, the term 'wine slow' is frequently used by the artists. Wine or 'winin' is "a rolling hip/butt dance" linked to African and black female bodies (Jones, 1). The erotic potency of the dance placed a violent, sexual, and manipulative image on them. Historically, it left "Afro-Caribbean women vulnerable to misogynistic discourses" when skilled female 'winers' were shamed by others to be "predisposed to prostitution, out-of-wedlock motherhood, or sexual violence" (Jones, 1). Therefore, when the lyrics suggest women to wine slow or low, it is a form of misogyny objectifying women to use their bodies as a form of entertainment for male pleasure. References to women their buttocks are used in combination with the term 'winin'. Words used to describe a woman's butt are ass, bakka or backa, akka, culo, sanka, bum, kont, reet, billen, and achterkant. These words are a compilation of English, Spanish, Dutch, and Surinamese words common in Dutch slang. While the artists frequently refer to women's buttocks, only once is referred to a woman's breasts. In *Draai het om*, Boef raps about "Dubbel D," the cup size of a woman's bra, to emphasize that the woman has big breasts. The following lines are examples of lyrics that either refer to 'winin' or a woman's butt and are mentioned in 18 of the 45 songs.

"Now wine op die cocky don't play" – ("Drama")

"Ey, drop that ass to the floor" – ("Maria")

"Dus wine het nu slow en vertraag iets Meisje wine for me slow, slow, slow, slo-ow Ga laag, laag, laag, laa-ag (Ey)" – ("Louboutin")

```
"Kan je bewegen met je culo (7x)?" – ("Culo")

"Domme bitch, dikke akka, veel grip" – ("Lit")

"Ik wil je zien bewegen met je bum, mami
Dadelijk raakt er iemand nog gewond, mami" – ("Pull up")

"Je bakka is meer waard dan de Nachtwacht" – ("Drup")

"Kan je het zakken tot de grond?
Baby, ik ben in love met je kont, aye" – ("Rompe")

"Tout est bon, kifesh met jouw brute kont?

Loop jij één keer langs? Heel de buurt, die draait zich om" – ("Tout Est Bon")
```

Not only lyrically are women's body parts emphasized for male entertainment, in 19 songs (42.2%), women are visually objectified, and in 15 of those, the camera explicitly focused at least once on a woman's buttocks. The women are described as 'video vixens' and defined by sexual traits and "cater to a male consumer's sexual wishes" (Murali, 9). They often have a subordinate and submissive role compared to the power position of the male artist. The women are sexually objectified when the camera zooms in on a woman's butt either in slow motion or when she is twerking, defined by the Merriam-Webster dictionary as a "sexually suggestive dancing characterized by rapid, repeated hip thrusts and shaking of the buttocks especially while squatting." Moreover, the women often wear thongs or bathing suits while the camera zooms in on their butt. Women should be allowed to wear bikinis and bathing suits, but when the camera zoomed in on a woman's butt in a music video, she is sexually objectified. According to Butler and de Beauvoir, one has to become a woman through gendered acts. However, the emphasis on women their buttocks suggests that women their curves and their bodies are more important than their personalities. Moreover, the objectification theory claims that the projection of women as objects in music videos teaches other women also to see themselves as objects to be evaluated by others. Therefore, these videos normalize the self-objectification of women. Although I did not code how often misogyny was present in one song, I will next discuss the music videos Ze willen mee, 4/5, Rompe, Maria, Draai het om, and Last man standing which visually sexually objectify women the most

Ze willen mee by Hardwell, Bizzey, Lil Kleine, and Chivv degrades women to mere sexual objects for male enjoyment. The chorus is derived from the song E.I by the American rapper Nelly that was released on June 27, 2000. The chorus from Nelly in E.I., meaning eat it and refers to oral intercourse, is as follows:

Andele is Spanish for come on, and E.I. and giving head both refer to oral intercourse. Therefore, Nelly raps in his chorus that he will visit her more often if the girl performs well during oral

intercourse. Bizzey used the same sound but substituted mami E.I. for mama hiya to keep the same rhythm. His version goes:

H-h-hou deze ams tegen, ey, ze maakt me loco Chica niet verlegen, meisje trabajo Ey ándele, ándele, mama hiya, délo Ándele, ándele, mama hiya, délo – ("Ze Willen Mee")

Ams is the backward spelling of sma, which means woman or girl in Sranantongo, a language spoken in Suriname ("Ams definities"), and where Bizzey's mother is born. Chica is Spanish for girl, trabajo is Spanish for work, and délo is the imperative of the verb dar in Spanish; therefore, Bizzey says that the girl should not be shy but 'get to work.' While Bizzey, Lil Kleine, and Chivv do not refer to oral intercourse or their own genitals like Nelly did in E.I., the lyrics is in line with the sexual objectification of Nellie's song. Both songs are about money, sex, and women, utilizing explicit sexual references. However, the most prevalent difference is that in the music video of *E.I.*, there are only black men and women, while in the music video of *Ze willen mee*, there is a mixture of different races and ethnicities, while most of the objectified women are white (see fig. 5 and 6).





Figure 5 Screenshot 0.49 ("Ze willen mee")

Figure 6 Screenshot 2.57 ("Ze willen mee")

In one scene, Bizzey first has five dogs on a leash and later five women on dog leashes (see fig. 7 and 8). He is not the first to have women on a leash, as the American rapper Snoop Dog paraded around the MTV Video Music Awards with two women on dog leashes in 2003 (Touré). The scene of Bizzey having women on dog leashes is very submissive, suggesting they are in his possession. Therefore, derogatory naming and shaming of women, submissive, and sexual objectification are present as a form of misogyny in the music video of *Ze willen mee*. This was also the only song mentioning homosexuality in a negative tone: "Scha-schat we kunnen hangen, ben niet gay". The guy explicitly states not to be gay to hang out with a woman. While there is no homophobia found in other songs, there is also no encouragement found either about LGBTQ+ community.





Figure 7 Screenshot 1.42 ("Ze willen mee")

Figure 8 Screenshot 1.49 ("Ze willen mee")

In 4/5, Ronnie raps about his luxurious lifestyle and spending money with friends on women and luxury items. Ronnie refers to women both as bitches and shawties. While bitch is a very negative loaded word to refer to a woman, shawty, an American slang term derived from shorty, is a more positive loaded word to describe a good-looking woman. Since the 2000s, the word shawty became popular in hip-hop as a term of endearment for attractive women (Moreau and Kormos; "Shawty"). However, in the same way, Ronnie mentions he has four or five bitches, he also says he has four or five shawties. Therefore, he does not care for only one 'shawty' as his girlfriend but enjoys the company of several women for mere pleasure. The music video confirms the sexual objectification when he is seen with several women in a room all dressed in their underwear and are either with him in bed or the jacuzzi or kissing with each other (see fig. 9). Earlier in the song, three white women were sexually objectified in a car wash when the camera zoomed in on their buttocks while wearing a thong bikini or when they splashed water over their body while the camera concentrated on their breasts (see fig. 10). He can 'have' these women because he became famous and made money with hip-hop. He mentioned how he was broke, but now that the tables have turned for him, the video suggests he is spending money on jewelry, Rolex watches, cars, a villa, drugs, and women.





Figure 9 Screenshot 2.21 ("4/5")

Figure 10 Screenshot 0.12 ("4/5")

Rompe is a song by Frenna and Murda B about their luxurious lifestyle and the objectification of women. The chorus is derived from the Puerto Rican artist Daddy Yankee's song *Rompe*, which means break it in Spanish. While Daddy Yankee's video takes place at a car scrapyard, in which women are breaking cars, it seems to have a double meaning in which women are dancing from the Spanish term 'romper la discoteca,' for women to let loose on the dancefloor. Frenna and Murda B's version aligns with the second meaning of 'rompe' and highly objectifies women in the music video. Daddy Yankee's version has mainly black and Latina women dancing in a group with only a few shots of a single woman⁹, while the Dutch version by Frenna and Murda B has many close-up shots of a half-naked white women twerking in front of the camera (see fig. 11 and 12). In addition, the lyrics also mention: "Kan je het zakken tot de grond? (Oh yeah), Baby, ik ben in love met je kont, aye" 10

⁹ Daddy Yankee, "Rompe (HD)." *YouTube*, uploaded by Daniel Toledo, 1 June 2014, www.youtube.com/watch?v=_PvdrueQ_Ms

¹⁰ "Can you drop it to the floor? (Oh yeah), Baby, I am in love with your ass, aye."

("Rompe"). Besides the sexual objectification of women, money and the consumption of luxury items are emphasized in the lyrics and the video as well.





Figure 11 Screenshot 0.11 ("Rompe")

Figure 12 Screenshot 0.52 ("Rompe")

For the music video of *Maria* by Bizzey and Ronnie, 35 models were used to shoot a pool party scenery ("Exclusief: 538"). Bizzey says that Maria is an umbrella term for girl, so when the chorus mentions: "Maria hoe is je naam?", they want to know a woman's name ("Exclusief: 538"). The beat was inspired by the beat from *Mas Maiz* by N.O.R.E, ¹¹ and the video was inspired by Lil Pump's video Gucci Gang ¹² on how he used color grading and a large lamp mirroring the sun due to the cloudy weather ("Exclusief 538" min 5.10- 5.56). The music video of *Maria* enhances the lyrics, which is mainly about a woman's body and especially her buttocks. First, the lyrics say that shaking one's 'ass' as a woman does not make her a whore; however, later, they say that she is his 'ho'. He claims her as his possession, and in addition, the music video has many close-up shots of women their bodies (see fig. 13 and 14). They could have omitted these close-ups by keeping long and medium shots covering a wider area of the pool party. It is also remarkable how all the women are dressed in bathing suits or shorts, while the men are fully clothed, emphasizing the contrast between the men and women. The women in the video are a mixture of different races and ethnicities.





Figure 13 Screenshot 0.34 ("Maria")

Figure 14 Screenshot 2.08 ("Maria")

Draai het om by Boef hypersexualizes women in a strip club, while the lyrics refer to women their bodies and making money. The music video uses a combination of close-ups of women their buttocks while they are twerking and shots of multiple dancers in bikinis or short clothing in a dark room with spots lights providing the feeling of a strip club (see fig. 15 and 16). After the 'strip club'

¹¹ N.O.R.E. "Mas Maiz." *YouTube*, uploaded by Norevevo, 17 June 2009, www.youtube.com/watch?v=N7hh2FwFVgU.

¹² Lil Pump. "Gucci Gang [Official Music Video]." *YouTube*, 23 October 2017, www.youtube.com/watch?v=4LfJnj66HVQ.

scenes, as mentioned before, when consumption was discussed, Boef smokes a cigar with his friends while money is flying through the room as if they spend a vast amount of money on alcohol and women, also displaying macho behavior.

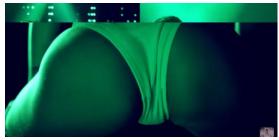




Figure 15 Screenshot 0.47 ("Draai het om")

Figure 16 Screenshot 2.04 ("Draai het om")

In *Last man standing*, Chivv, Bizzey, and Kraantje Pappie argue that everything they do becomes a trend while rapping about money, consumption, and women. They refer to 'bitches' and 'hoeren' and sexual behavior such as: "Let me lick you up en down (Wow)." The music video consists of a compilation of scenes of things that went viral in 2018. They imitate the song *Butterfly Doors*¹³ by Lil Pump, in which women are scantily dressed and dance provocatively in front of four Lamborghinis. Again, the camera frequently centralizes a woman's butt (see fig. 17 and 18). While the artists rap their verse fully clothed, wearing jackets and hoodies, the women behind them are sexually objectified. Other scenes that imitated American scenes are the movie Birdbox, the song *I Love it*¹⁴ by Kayne West and Lil Pump, and a created scene in which Kayne beats up former President Donald Trump. They also imitate *Op me Monnie*¹⁵ by the Dutch female artist Famke Louise. Nevertheless, most of their scenes are inspired by things from the United States that went viral in the United States and the Netherlands.



Figure 17 Screenshot 1.38 ("Last man standing") Figure 18 Screenshot 1.42 ("Last man standing")

Three music videos that use multiple women display an alternative to sexual objectification. In *Pull Up, Louboutin*, and *Tout est Bon*, women dance to the music without being sexually objectified. The camera does not zoom in on their body parts, for example. The video of *Pull Up* is a very cheerful

¹³ See at Lil Pump. "Butterfly Doors [Official Music Video]." *YouTube*, 4 January 2019, www.youtube.com/watch?v=5aWgoO0capE.

¹⁴ See at Kanye West, and Lil Pump, feat Adele Givens. "I Love It feat. [Official Music Video]." *YouTube*, 7 September 2018, www.youtube.com/watch?v=cwQgjq0mCdE.

¹⁵ See at Famke Louise. "Op Me Monnie." *YouTube*, produced by \$hoot2Kill, 17 November 2017, www.youtube.com/watch?v=wBgsQXXkNgg.

and fun video in which predominantly black men, women, and children are dancing. Similarly, in *Louboutin* and *Tout Est Bon*, there is a mixture of ethnicities and women and men performing a dance routine in which everybody is fully clothed. The camera uses medium and long shots without any close-ups objectifying women's body parts.

Submissiveness is another form of misogyny that is sometimes connected to sexual objectification and perceives women as inferior to men. Previously, I described the submissive scene in Ze willen mee, in which women are in Bizzey's possession, chained to dog leashes. Drup, another music video by Bizzey, depicts submissiveness in an occupational setting. Bizzey plays the character of a newsreader, while the actress plays the character of a weather forecaster. When she walks beside him as an equal, he pushes her away, implying that he is superior. Frenna and Yxng Le reveal another form of submissiveness in What is je Naam. The lyrics are about a man in love with a woman. He is attracted to her without objectifying her. However, the video shows how a woman is trapped in marriage and tries to escape to be with the man she loves. In one scene, when she almost made it outside, we see that she is chained and is not allowed to leave. Her husband is superior over her in their marriage which she cannot escape. In seven other songs, submissiveness was interpreted in the lyrics in combination with sexual objectification ("4 Life"; "Beetje Moe"; "Guap"; "JA!"; "TikTok"; "Video Vixen"; "Wine Slow). In line with the performativity theory, the display of submissiveness negatively constructs the female gender as inferior. Distrust of women is present in five songs. In Last Man Standing, whores are distrusted to snitch on them. In Catch Up, Josylvio does not trust a girl because she had been lying, and in Louboutin, Beetje moe, and Sofiane, distrust of women is present in the form of gold diggers. In contrast, in almost half of the songs, derogatory naming and shaming of women was present in which women were being shamed into 'Bitch', 'ho,' 'kech,' 'sletten,' and 'hoeren.' The following lines are some examples in which derogatory naming of women is used in combination with sexual objectification:

"Ik heb je bitch hier op d'r knees voor me, niet stoppen Nou kom de ring in meisje, drie rondes, vier rondes" ¹⁶ – ("Beetje moe")

Fuck die vieze sletten, jouwe die is niet zo lekker

Want draait ze om, dan is ze platter dan je vliegenmepper¹⁷ – ("Guap")

"Je bitch slikt mij, net Aloë vera" ¹⁸ – ("Viraal")

Eight songs did not have any form of misogyny in the music video or the lyrics. Instead, while coding, other themes of love were depicted in *Special, Dichterbij je, Hey Meisje*, and *Omarm me*, personal stories in *Vroeger, Jongen van de Straat*, and *Nooit Thuis*, and achieving success in *Plankgas*. The theme of love is found in ten songs, but the other six also contained misogyny. *Special*

¹⁶ Reference to sexual intercourse in which a woman is positioned on her knees.

¹⁷ Derogatory naming of women as 'sluts' while saying she is not attractive because she is 'as thin as a fly swatter', having no curves.

¹⁸ Reference to how women have oral sex and swallow sperm as easy as they drink juice with Aloë vera in it.

by Boef and Frenna, and *Dichterbij je* by Lil Kleine, are two anti-hypermasculine songs in which the male character artists admit their mistakes and hope for a second chance to be with the women that they love. They love the women not for their bodies but because of who they are. By releasing such kinds of songs, the rappers can change the gender discourse by projecting gender equality. According to Butler, performative acts of gender can either conform or contest the gender norms in society. However, the songs in which women are equal to men without being sexually objectified are a minority and cannot appropriate and refuse the gender norms.

Nooit Thuis and Sofiane are two very personal stories about Boef his past. In the documentary Gewoon Boef, he talks about his past and how he believed the world to be unfair because he had to grow up without his parents. These songs display his struggle, his loneliness and provide a voice for him. His verse in Miljonair is also very personal, referring to his foster parents¹⁹. Lil Kleine his verse in Miljonair is also about his personal relationship with his father. Jongen van de Straat is another personal story by Lil Kleine asking not to abandon him even though he made mistakes as a 'guy from the street.' The music video displays several guys from 'the street,' including other rappers. Vroeger by Josylvio is a personal story about a girl he met in Amsterdam that he knew from when they were younger. Though, the music video is made in the United States. In an interview with Fernando and Ouassima from FunX, Josylvio explains how he is inspired by the sound in hip-hop from the West side of the United States, and because of the vibe in California, he made many of his songs there ("In L.A. heb ik 70%"). In Vroeger, the American flag, the laundromat, the typical restaurants with booths and ketchup placed on the table, and Myrtle Avenue are all exposed.

Vroeger is not the only song explicitly displaying references to America. As described in chapter two, the artists are influenced mainly by the music of American artists and refer to America or American artists in their lyrics or videos, except for Bizzey, whose songs are inspired by South American rhythms. As mentioned, when describing violence in the videos, the video of Culo is about immigration at the US-Mexican border. I also touched upon the chorus of Ze willen mee derived from the American Rapper Nellies song E.I. and the references in the music video of Last Man standing. Furthermore, Kraantje Pappie called himself Lil Craney in Last Man standing, using the abbreviation 'Lil,' which American hip-hop artists like Lil Wayne use. Ronnie also calls himself Lil Flex in 4/5 and adds the term G.O.A.T. to describe himself, a term used in the United States for 'greatest of all time' ("G.O.A.T"). In Viraal, Frenna poses as the President of the United States and mentions Barack Obama in his lyrics when talking about his Rolex watch from the presidential line that President Barack Obama wears. Boef claims to be 'United as the States' in Nooit Thuis and refers to the

 $^{^{19}}$ In episode 2, "Habiba" of *Gewoon Boef* (17.20-18.55), Boef explains how he was taken in by a couple that took care of children for a couple of weeks when their home situation was not optimal. However, she kept taking care of Boef because he was four years old and dying from tuberculosis. His birth parents could not take care of him as his mother had a drinking problem, and his father was in prison. In episode 3, "Memories" of *Gewoon Boef* (27.00 – 33.00), Boef explains how he always said he would become rich, and one day he bought his stepfather a Jaguar, his favorite car.

American artist Tupac in *Sofiane*. In *Hoe Je Bent*, the guys from Broederliefde are wearing Basketball Jerseys from the NBA in the United States, and in Tout Est Bon, a dancer in the front row wears a Jersey with New York on it. In *Wine Slow*, Ronnie refers to the Eastside Side Boys and their song Get Low. *Pull up* is inspired by *Nice and Slow* by Usher and also compares a woman to Jenny van de block, derived from Jennifer Lopez her song Jenny from the block. In *Louboutin*, Frenna compares a woman to Christina Milian, a Cuban American singer. Lastly, the song *Hij Is van Mij* is inspired by *The boy is mine* by the American R&B artists Brandy and Monica (1998), who were inspired by Michael Jackson and Paul McCartney's song *The girl is mine* (1982). Besides these references to the United States or American artists, the Dutch artists use English words or English slang in their music. These findings are consistent with what Kooijman calls 'imaginary' Americanism. The artists reflect how American culture is part of our own culture.

Another category is macho behavior. As described in the section on hypermasculinity, Mosher and Serkin measured the macho personality through calloused sex attitudes toward women, a conception of violence as manly, and a view of danger as exciting. I coded calloused sex attitudes under misogyny and violence as manly under violence; however, viewing danger as exciting is more challenging to code, and therefore, I did not take it into my main coding categories. The use of alcohol and drugs correlated with viewing danger as exciting, according to Mosher and Sherkin (156). I also add the consumption of cigarettes as macho because smoking is associated with traditionally masculine characteristics (Kodriati et al. 43). Some people start smoking to become 'macho' (Lamin et al. 192), or to be cool and project a social image (Quintero and Davis 449), just like the people in movies who smoke seem "glamorous and cool" (Chapman 244). In five songs, the lyrics suggest the consumption of drugs and alcohol, and in six songs, the visuals portray a danger of drugs, alcohol, or other acts as exciting. The coding of macho behavior of viewing danger as exciting did not consider other macho behavior, such as how Bizzey showed off his muscles in front of a woman in Drup. I argue how macho behavior is also linked to consumption and showing off expensive items, as I mentioned before. The external validation through consumption of the artists is in line with studies about materialism and conspicuous consumption concerning gender in which men score higher than women. (Segal and Podoshen; Verdugo and Ponce; Eastman et al.; Kamineni).

Thus, through the performative acts of gender in the lyrics and music videos, the female gender is negatively constructed as inferior to the male gender and objectified for male pleasure. According to Fairclough, Language is a social practice that functions, in this case, to form a gender discourse consisting of hegemonic masculinity. Gender is socially constructed throughout our society, but we can either enact, appropriate, or refuse the norms constructed in society, according to Butler. Therefore, masculinity is socially constructed through qualities such as "physical strength or power, aggressiveness, risk-taking, emotional control, and sexual potency" (Beesley and McGuire 252). Hypermasculinity exaggerates these qualities, and hegemonic masculinity permits male dominance

over women. Both are found in the representation of masculinity in the artists' songs. The violence present in the songs contained physical strength, power, and aggressiveness, while risk-taking falls under criminal activity. Consumption of luxury items is a significant aspect of showing one's masculinity. This is exaggerated by displaying the number of cars and jewelry in music videos. The exaggeration of sexual potency as a form of hypermasculinity is found in forms of misogyny in which women are sexually objectified while the men express their sexual desires. More than half of the songs contained sexual objectification of women. This is problematic because the male artists now construct gender so that the male gender is dominant over the female gender. They convey a message in which women are reduced to mere objects used for the consumption of male pleasure. The objectification of women is enhanced due to the contrast they create in the music videos. When sexual objectification takes place, the women are scantily dressed and either dance provocatively or do not dance at all when the camera is just covering close-ups of their buttocks or breasts. Contradictory, the men are wearing most of the time hoodies and jackets, or a shirt, while they barely show any of their skin. This creates a dichotomy in which only the women are sexualized and objectified to please the men. This discourse in hip-hop is problematic due to the objectification theory of Fredrickson and Roberts. According to the objectification theory, being reduced to the states of a mere instrument used for the consumption of others can lead to mental health disorders. Not every song contains this hypermasculine image as they also create songs expressing their vulnerability. However, most of the songs do contain either a form of violence or emphasize wealth, or misogyny, or a combination of those expressing hypermasculinity as essential to maintain a particular image. This expression of hypermasculinity in hip-hop music leads to hegemonic masculinity in which women maintain submissive to the power and dominance of men. In other words, hip-hop legitimizes men's dominance over women (Connell and Messerschmidt).

Influences of American culture are reflected in the lyrics and videos, yet, the sexual objectification discourse in Dutch hip-hop differs from the sexual objectification found in previous hip-hop studies in the United States. American hip-hop studies repeatedly link sexual objectification to black women. In the Dutch music videos, there is a mixture of different races and ethnicities. The specific race and ethnicity of the men and women are difficult to code; therefore, I am referring to either white and black men and women. In *Ze willen mee* and 4/5, dominantly white women are objectified, while in *Pull Up* and *Louboutin*, black women dance fully clothed without being objectified. *Hoe je bent* by Broederliefde and Frenna is ambiguous because even though they celebrate African culture and sing how they like black women, they stereotype black women as very sexual women. In *Catch up*, a black woman is objectified, while in *Maria* and *Draai het om* both black and white women are objectified. Besides Lil Kleine, the other five rappers are of mixed race, which is reflected in the display of mixed races of men in the music videos. Therefore, misogyny in Dutch hip-hop differs from the American discourse in which misogyny is mainly correlated to African American Women.

Chapter 4 "Seks hangt in de lucht" - Discussion

This chapter discusses the second and third dimensions of Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Approach of CDA. I first discuss the consumption and interpretation of the music. Next, I place the discourse found in a broader context of gender discourses in Dutch society.

4.1 Consumption

The songs placed in the Single Top 100 charts are mainly distributed online through YouTube and via streaming platforms such as Spotify, iTunes, Apple Music, Google Play, Deezer, and Tidal. The two radio stations broadcasting Dutch hip-hop are FunX and Juize. However, Juize only had a radio frequency at the beginning of the 2000s and can now only be listened to on the internet. FunX, a Dutch public radio station targeting people between the ages of 15-35, can only be listened to via radio frequencies in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht, while nationally, one needs a Digital Audio Broadcasting (DAB) receiver to receive the channel or listen to it online ("Over FunX"). FunX is not one of the larger radio stations on which the Qmusic Top40 charts bases their airplay ("samenstelling"). Of the 21-song selection of 2018, only nine were also placed in the annual top 100 of the Qmusic Top40 charts, based on airplay, streaming services, and social media. ²⁰ In 2019 and 2020, only the songs Hij is van mij, Drup, and Tout est Bon made it into the annual top 100 of the Qmusic Top40 charts. The Single top100 also creates annual top 50s solely based on airplay in which none of the songs selected made it into the top 50.²¹ Other radio stations such as 3FM, Qmusic, Slam, and Radio538 do not play their songs enough to end up in the charts by means of airplay. Therefore, the content of the six artists representing the Dutch hip-hop industry is not mainstream enough to be played continuously on Dutch radio for the 'white, middle-class suburban' audience. The airplay in the Netherlands is in line with findings of Frisby and Behm-Morawitz in the United States. They concluded that profanity was found more in hip-hop than in other genres, while songs in the top 40 'pop' charts in the United States did not contain profanity in the lyrics (Frisby and Behm-Morawitz 14). Another significant platform to distribute one's music is via social media, through which one can follow the artists and create a virtual connection with them. For instance, rapper Boef argued how vlogging was one of the best ideas contributing to his career (Gewoon Boef episode 1, 11.16 - 19.40). On the one hand, his vlogs caused him negativity among adults due to ridiculing of police authority, but on the other hand, he became well known among the youth, who are his target audience.

 $^{^{20}}$ See the complete lists at "Top 100 jaar overzicht." Top 40.nl, www.top 40.nl/bijzondere-lijsten/top-100-jaar overzichten.

²¹ See the complete lists of the annual airplay top 50 2018-2020 at:

[&]quot;Jaaroverzichten – Airplay 2018." Dutch Charts, dutchcharts.nl/jaaroverzichten.asp?year=2018&cat=sa

[&]quot;Jaaroverzichten – Airplay 2019." Dutch Chart, dutchcharts.nl/jaaroverzichten.asp?year=2019&cat=sa

[&]quot;Jaaroverzichten – Airplay 2020." Dutch Chart, dutchcharts.nl/jaaroverzichten.asp?year=2020&cat=sa

On YouTube, people can like, dislike, or leave comments under the music videos. I examined the comments of the six music videos that contained the most visual sexual objectification, as described in chapter three, to gain a better understanding of the consumption of Dutch hip-hop. In general, most of the comments were either to praise or to criticize the male artists for their creativity or a lack thereof. Ze willen mee, in which Bizzey has women chained to dog leashes, has the most views with 25 million views, 205 thousand likes, and 12 thousand dislikes. It reached a wide-ranging audience via the international fanbase of Hardwell and the Latin American community, who are into the beats and sounds by Bizzey. The comments about the representation of the women were scarce. Nevertheless, the comments made about the women evoked discussions about self-respect. One comment stated "RIP voor alle vaders die hun dochter in deze video zagen" (Henk Penk). Remarkably, most of the comments about the women in the video were hostile towards them for having no selfrespect and stated how pathetic one is to sell their body for a couple of bucks. The women are more criticized for their actions than the male artists for objectifying these women. One comment stated how we created this in our society by admiring the Kardashians and normalizing sex and drugs as consumer products (MsTubita). Of the six music videos, *Maria* received the most negative comments. The music video with 35 women at a pool party received 10.9 million views, 51 thousand likes, and 13 thousand dislikes. Many of the negative comments are disappointed by Bizzey and Ronnie due to a lack of originality. Other people critique music videos in general, questioning the respect for women in the videos and the conveyed message of how women should look in society. Similarly, in *Rompe*, the comments about the representation of the women question why always the women and never the men are naked and twerk in music videos. The comments disliking the representation of the woman twerking mostly came from girls, while people also questioned her self-respect. Rompe has 10.8 million views, 44 thousand likes, and only 2.1 dislikes. Emre Coskun, age unknown, commented under the music video of Rompe not able to watch this video because his mother was in the room all the time. His comment is in line with the study of Guzman et al. researching the comfortability in discussing sex with others. Their findings concluded that most adolescents were most comfortable discussing sex with their peers while discussing sex with one's parents scored high on the uncomfortable scale, just as grandparents and school counselors (Guzman et al. 590-591). In Draai het om, by Boef, much controversy was about his repost of the video after removing a shot that displayed a necklace with Allah because it did not fit into a setting with girls twerking. The music video was criticized for the combination of Allah and the portrayal of sexualized women, alcohol, and drugs. Boef is known for his strong punchlines, and after his very personal song *Sofiane*, some comments criticized Boef that he went too far in this music video. However, it still has over ten million views and 76 thousand likes.

Remarkable, the song 4/5 and Last man Standing, which also highly objectify women, hardly evoke a discussion over the representation of the women. People commenting mainly expressed their

love and gratitude towards the songs. The song 4/5 received over 11 million views, 80 thousand likes, and 4 thousand dislikes. Last man standing received the fewest number of dislikes of only 1.2 thousand, yet it also only had 3 million views and 29 thousand likes. Instead of comments over the sexual objectification of women, Tara Koppers even promoter herself in the comments as a model if they ever needed new models again for a music video. Her desire to be a 'video vixen' is shared by others who consider these music videos as "an entry into the world of stardom" (Pough 85). They recognize that sex sells in society and use this to their advantage. Pough acknowledges how the voices of these women making decisions to be in these videos bring the 'gray' areas to light which Joan Morgan writes about in When Chickenhead comes home to Roost. Morgan coined the term hip-hop feminism expressing the ambiguity of black feminists who support feminist and anti-racist movements but still enjoy the hip-hop culture that reaffirms misogyny. The negative comments of the representation of women in the music videos reject the viewpoint of Vincent Patty, the owner of Noahsark, who denied that the rappers impact how people see gender in society. The comments and discussions about self-objectification, self-respect, or no respect for women, show that the music videos play a role and leave ugly marks, as Hofman mentioned, on how we perceive women in society. The comments also support Pisart's argument that listening to a great extent of misogyny in music normalized to place negative comments under female artist's music. In this case, the women are criticized for self-objectification in the music videos of male rappers. It is normalized to critique these women instead of questioning the male rappers for creating such a video.

Besides online platforms, Dutch hip-hop is consumed frequently in clubs and via live performances. During summer, the artists go on 'summer tour,' a period in which Dutch artists travel abroad to perform at places where the Dutch youth go on vacation (Bizzey episode 1, 19.35-22.03). The entire summer, they fly in and out of places to perform for the Dutch youth. In three months, Boef says he has 80 shows and estimates his total of an entire year to be between 300 and 400 shows (*Gewoon Boef*, episode 1, 9.55- 10.10), which is also an expected number of shows for the other artists. The audience of these shows is a mixture of young teenagers, adolescence, and adults. Consequently, fourteen-year-olds who are fans of the rappers encounter misogynistic and violent content. For instance, Boef vlogged how an elementary schoolboy was able to rap to one of his song: "Bitches willen plakken maar we focken ze, ja we focken ze, ik geef geen fock om ze"²² (*Gewoon Boef* episode 1, 12.25-12.35). Although Boef encouraged this behavior, it is problematic for young boys to come in contact with normalized misogynistic and violent content that degrades women.

The attraction towards aberrant behavior among youth is nothing new. Robert Benjamin wrote in *Sex and Drugs before Rock 'n' Roll* how deviant behavior of youth and adolescents is of all times and that it was not uncommon for teenagers in the 17th century to be interested in sexual intercourse. In the United States, gangster rap attracts listeners for "whom the ghetto is a place of adventure,

²² Translates: "Bitches want to stay, but we fuck them, yes we fuck them, I don't give a fuck about them."

unbridled violence, and erotic fantasy or imaginary alternative to suburban boredom" (Kelly 202). African American men construct their masculinity through hip-hop due to "blocked educational and economic opportunities" (Payne 295). For men, the consumption of hip-hop allows for the fantasy of living a more masculine life. Two popular categories are the pimp fantasy and the gangster fantasy in hip-hop, in which males can enact their masculine desire (Arthur 113-114). For women, Hunter and Soto explained through the good versus bad girl narrative how female listeners of rap music view the girls in the songs described as 'hoes' and 'bitches' as bad girls while they regard themselves as the good and decent girls (172-173). The good versus bad girl allows girl listeners of hip-hop to be detached and enjoy this music without the feeling of humiliation. The fantasy narrative and the good versus bad girl narrative are also applicable in my study of Dutch hip-hop. While men in the Netherlands do not face the same race and poverty problems as African American men in the United States, the music analysis provides a hypermasculine male character portraying violence, money, conspicuous consumption, and sexual dominance. For women and girls, the escape into an imaginary alternative in combination with the good versus bad girl narrative is present in shows from Bizzey, for instance. Of the six artists, Bizzey's content is the most misogynistic. He thought his music would attract male listeners, but instead, the majority of the people in the audience of his shows are girls ("Bizzey: Break met Famke Louise" 4.14-5.04).

In 2020, Dutch hip-hop, placed in the Single Top 100 charts, noticeably dropped. Only six songs of the artists were placed in the Single Top 100 charts, of which three contained lyrical sexual objectification while there was no visual sexual objectification. There were no summer tours in the wake of the pandemic, events were canceled, clubs had to close, and travel restrictions were in place, preventing the youth from partying to Dutch hip-hop music. Instead, songs like Rollercoaster by Danny Vera ended in the top 10, bringing comfort to people during the pandemic (Alexander van Eenennaam). In 2018 and 2019, when #MeToo had hit, there was no reduction in the misogynistic content in Dutch hip-hop. Therefore, the pandemic provides a more plausible explanation that influenced the decline of misogyny in hip-hop than the Music#MeToo foundation achieved. The pandemic called for music with a deeper meaning instead of shaking one's 'ass.' Moreover, songs like Blinding lights by The Weekend and Savage Love by Jason Derulo at which TikTok dance challenged were created, became trendy in 2020 instead of Dutch hip-hop (Maidment; "a year in 60 secs").²³

²³ A compilation of the dance challenges on TikTok is found at:

[&]quot;Blinding Lights Dance Challenge tik tok compilation." *YouTube*, uploaded by TikTokTrends, 5 April 2020, www.youtube.com/watch?v=SsHzl9cK1ls.

[&]quot;Jason Derulo Savage love TikTok Compilation." *YouTube*, uploaded by Oscar Kip, 14 May 2020, www.youtube.com/watch?v=lThkYjK1hJw.

4.2 Sexual discourses in Dutch society

The debate on sexual objectification and sexual liberation has continued from the sex wars in the 1980s. Anti-pornography feminists such as Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon oppose the sex industry, which they criticize for sexual objectification, subordination, and exploitation of women, while pro-sex feminists argue against anti-pornography feminists for ignoring women's sexual agency (Strossen 1103-1105, 1147-1149). The third-wave feminisms, established during the sex wars, rejected the unified categorization of women and embraced individualism and diversity (Snyder 188). Therefore, having nonjudgment, third-wave feminism identified more with the pro-sex side of the sex wars. Currently, we live in the era of fourth-wave feminism that started around 2012-2013 and focuses on female empowerment using the internet. The internet provides a 'call-out' culture "in which sexism or misogyny can be 'called out' and challenged" (Munro 23). The #MeToo movement is an example in which the fourth-wave feminists harnessed social media and brought awareness to change the normalization of unwanted sexual behavior by 'calling out' sexual assaults.

Despite the #MeToo movement's efforts against unacceptable sexual behavior and the Music#MeToo's desires to reduce the misogyny and antisemitic content of Dutch rappers, the demand for online sexual content continues to rise. On television, shows such as Ex on the Beach, Temptation Island, and Love Island rise in popularity among the Dutch youth. Ex on the Beach frequently displays sexual content between single men and women on vacation together with some of their exrelationships. While it is currently online available on Videoland, from 2016 to 2020, it has been in the top 5 of the most-watched TV shows of MTV and VIACOM in the Netherlands ("Jaarrapporten"). Temptation Island, in which couples are separated from each other for two weeks in which people of the opposite sex try to seduce them, was even more popular online among the Dutch audience. For instance, in 2017, it was the best-watched show online among the age group of 13-19 ("Jaarrapport online 2017"), and it was the second-best watched tv-show online in the age group of 20-34 and 35-49. It is not entirely something new, as previously, the youth and adolescents enjoyed shows like Jersey Shore and Geordie Shore. In Geordie Shore, eight housemates and their 'party lifestyle' are followed by cameras. The show hypersexualizes the limited sexual acts by exaggerating the cast's continuous references and talk of sex. Sex stories are not shameful in these shows, which "weighs heaviest upon the women," who are questioned about their "public sexual exploits" (Wood 49). Similarly, in the hip-hop music videos, women's self-objectification weighs heavy on them being questioned about their self-respect, while the men are critiqued less for objectifying women in their videos. Negativity towards the women instead of the men confirms the double standard about sex, in which girls experience less sexual freedom than boys and receive a bad reputation for sexual behavior (Lyons et al. 444-447).

Not only on television but online, the supply and demand for sexual content through pornography or OnlyFans keeps rising. In 2019, the Netherlands climbed two spots and ended up at

place 13 in the top 20 of most visitors of the free pornography website Pornhub ("The 2019 Year in Review"). Worldwide, the number of visits has doubled from 2015 to 2019 from 21.2 billion ("Pornhub's 2015") to 42 billion visitors ("Pornhub's 2019"). Moreover, in 2019, the Netherlands was placed third on worldwide average visit duration, which Bart ter Huurne, online editor of Men's health, describes as an excellent business for the Netherlands in Cijfers van Pornhub. The frequent use of pornography is encouraged and seen as an outstanding achievement. Celebrity and pornography are intertwined in the online platform OnlyFans, which is a feature of the "late-capitalists consumption" (Longstaff 9). The platform was launched in 2016 in the United Kingdom but became a worldwide phenomenon. OnlyFans "allows people to join as either creators or subscribers of content revolutionizing digital sex work by creating easy access and payment for those who want to broadcast sexual content" (Ryan 120). The creators post sexual content on their accounts, for which subscribers pay a monthly fee. The users may not promote or advertise violence, escort services, sex trafficking, or prostitution ("Term of Services"). According to the New York Times, in 2019, OnlyFans had around 120,000 content creators, which increased to more than one million in December 2020 and over 90 million subscribers (Friedman). In the Netherlands, OnlyFans also grew as a platform when Covid-19 hit in March 2020. The creators all post content which they are comfortable with; however, sociologist O. Velthuis calls it a "winner takes all" platform in which only a small group of content creators earns a high income while most people barely make money off of OnlyFans ("Alles voor de Fans" 2.15-2.35). He states that the danger of OnlyFans is that people will post more extreme and explicit content than they actually planned in order to earn money from subscribers ("Alles voor de Fans" 8.13-8.37). Rosanna, an OnlyFans creator, confirmed how her content got out of hand because she wanted to keep her subscribers happy and is worried about pushing boundaries ("Alles voor de Fans" 14.56-15.50). OnlyFans normalizes self-objectification in which men and women seek to be evaluated by others. The long-term effects of OnlyFans are unknown, but as Fredrickson and Roberts describe, there is a high chance that objectification can lead towards mental health problems. Media educator Jacqueline Kleijer explains how people keep feeding their 'fans' with sexual content, in which people cross their personal boundaries and lose themselves in the process (NPO 3TV 8.24-8.58).

On gender equality and patriarchy in the Netherlands, the director of Atria, Kaouthar Darmoni, an institute on gender equality and women's history, was interviewed by Riemersma of the Volkskrant in 2020. She moved to the Netherlands in 2000 after having lived in France, the United States, Sweden, and her birth country Tunisia. She argues how patriarchy is an epidemic but on the verge of coming to an end. According to Darmoni, the Netherlands does not have a good enough gender policy, and she encourages the Dutch government to follow the Swedish model. In the 90s, the gender mainstreaming strategies, implemented by Dutch agencies supporting women's empowerment and gender equality, did not bring about the desired results due to "a disconnect between de organization(s) having embraced gender equality objectives, and actual implementation in the

programs" (van Eerdewijk and Dubel 498). Nevertheless, the Netherlands, like the other Western European countries, still scores higher than the Central and Eastern European countries on promoting gender equality, while Scandinavian countries as Sweden and Finland take the most outstanding initiatives (Ruxton and van der Gaag). In the Netherlands, masculinity is the norm; therefore, women need to act like men when they want to be taken seriously (Riemersma). For instance, motherhood in the workplace is seen as an obstacle and an inconvenience instead of perceiving it as bringing a gift or a miracle into the world. Darmoni states there to be a lack of respect for motherhood in the Netherlands, having to be back at work three months after giving birth, for example. Nevertheless, Darmoni still believes femininity to become more critical today. The pandemic showed us how crucial women are in vital professions while they simultaneously take care of their children. Darmoni argues that men are not the enemy but the system that values masculinity over femininity. Femininity should not be perceived as weak but should be embraced in society.

Thus, when performative acts of gender discourses in TV shows, pornography, and websites as OnlyFans are normalized in a patriarchal society in which masculinity is preferred over femininity, it is not surprising how the music industry continues to objectify women as sexual objects. Our society accepts hegemonic masculinity that is preserved through these performative acts of gender. According to the pro-sex feminists, there is nothing wrong with portraying one's sexuality in front of a camera as a form of empowerment. However, the controversy in the music videos is that it only occurs one-sided. The male rappers do not use forms of self-objectification and are fully clothed, while they objectify the women who are scantily dressed. Gender is a rehearsed act in which the men are always projected as the consumers of sexual activity on the demand side of the equation, while the women are projected to be the providers of sex on the supply side.

Conclusion

According to Kooijman, American popular culture became part of the Dutch culture by producing movies, television programs, and music videos that seem to imitate American pop culture (Kooijman "Americans We Never Were" 96.) In my analysis, the artists of the new wave generation are also often inspired by American rappers and create hip-hop music consisting of Dutch, North American, South American, and African influences. While considerable research had been done on gender discourses in American hip-hop, I focused on the research question of how gender is represented in the music videos of the Dutch 'new wave' generation hip-hop artist in the #Metoo era. To answer this question, I analyzed 45 music videos placed in the top 100 of the Single Top 100 charts from 2018 to 2020, when the #MeToo movement gained momentum. I consulted the theoretical framework of the performativity theory of Judith Bulter, concepts of hegemonic and hypermasculinity and misogyny, and the objectification theory by Fredrickson and Roberts. Gender is not static but a performative act that requires actualization and interpretation, according to Butler. Therefore, how women are represented in music videos matters because their visibility in the media influences gender discourses within our society. People like Vincent Patty disagree with this statement and argue how artists have artistic freedom and the liberty to express themselves in their music.

The fourth-wave feminism, of which #MeToo is one example, utilizes the internet to achieve gender equality and 'called out' sexual harassment. The #MeToo movement brought awareness to sexual assaults and strives to de-normalize hypersexuality. However, this is not found in the representation of gender in commercialized Dutch hip-hop that constructs hypermasculine male characters and subordinate female characters. Weitzer and Kubrin analyzed Gansta rap from 1992 to 2000, when rap music was less commercialized and reflected grassroots values and local conditions. They found misogyny to be present in only 22% of the lyrics but did not code all conventionally negative labels as derogatory. In contrast, I examined very commercialized music and found misogyny to be present in 82.2% of the songs (75.6% lyrically, 46.7% visually). The gender representation in music videos maintains a power dynamic and negative stereotypes that enhance the normalization of gender-based sexual violence in our society. The dichotomy of men as consumers of sex and women as the providers of sex continues to preserve hegemonic masculinity and accepting male dominance in society. My findings support prior research of scholars researching misogyny in American hip-hop; however, there is no support found in Dutch hip-hop linking hypersexuality and the 'video vixen' to predominantly black women (Frisby and Behm-Morawitz; Hunter and Soto; Pough "What it do Shorty"). Whereas the black community is dominant in American hip-hop, Dutch hip-hop consists of a mixture of different race and ethnicities and sexually objectifies women of different ethnicities.

Sex has become a consumer product that the music industry explores and influences how we perceive gender in society. The increase in demand for sexual content in our patriarchal society leads to the double standard about sex that normalizes to critique and question women's self-respect of

utilizing self-objectification without criticizing men for exploiting women in the music industry. The hypermasculine character, exaggerating sexual potency and conspicuous consumption, is encouraged in Dutch hip-hop to maintain a particular image as a rapper. The attraction towards aberrant behavior among youth is of all times, for which currently, the hypermasculinity in hip-hop attracts listeners for its imaginary alternative to suburban life. However, the hypermasculinity in hip-hop of a superior male gender corresponds with representing the female gender as inferior through acts of misogyny. Antipornography feminists argue against this sexual objectification, while pro-sex feminists argue for women's sexual agency and sexual freedom and are against censorship to control sexual activities. Although I favor sexual agency and sexual freedom, in Dutch hip-hop, the sexual objectification and submissiveness are too one-sided, degrading women into sexual objects for male consumption. According to the objectification theory, superior male and inferior female gender performative acts are problematic and can lead to damaging mental health disorders. Through performative acts of gender, the music and the television industry could change the gender norms in society that have normalized male dominance. However, this is not found in Dutch hip-hop that legitimizes hegemonic masculinity. For hip-hop to contribute to change gender norms in our society, both men and women need to cooperate because we cannot demand a marginalized group of female rappers to change the perspective on women in hip-hop. Currently, Dutch hip-hop reinforces hegemonic masculinity wherein male artists' content needs to change in order to represent gender equality in hip-hop.

As I examined music videos of male rappers, this thesis is limited in recognizing the influence of the director and producer of the music video. Every music video is a collaborative process; however, I did not explore the director's influence in this thesis due to the limited scope. By focusing on music videos, this thesis also limits the exploration of performances. Social media and streaming platforms as Spotify and YouTube are essential for the distribution of Dutch hip-hop. The music is not mainstream enough for the 'white, middle-class suburban audience' of Dutch radio. However, I recognized in chapter four how performances are also significant for the Dutch youth to consume the music of the artists. Therefore, there is room in this thesis to explore the live performances further as an extension of the representation of gender. Further research is also possible after the pandemic has come to an end when festivals and clubs are open again. In 2020, there was a decrease in misogyny and hypermasculinity in Dutch hip-hop. The pandemic, unlike the Music#MeToo foundation, was able to reduce the misogyny in hip-hop. Once clubs open again, further research could explore the development of Dutch hip-hop and how the pandemic has influenced artists their music. I also did not find any representation of the LGBTQ+ community in the music videos of the six artists. As the Netherlands identifies itself as accepting the LGBTQ+ community, additional research on gender in music could compare the Netherlands and the United States in the representation of queer people.

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Appendices

1.1 Annual Single top 100 Chart

2018 Nr.	Artist	Title	Record label
2	Frenna & Lil Kleine	Verleden tijd	UNIVERSAL
7	Josylvio	Catch Up	TOP NOTCH/UNIVERSAL
8	Esko, Josylvio & Hansie	Hey meisje	CLOUD 9
9	Bizzey & Boef	Drama	UNIVERSAL
12	\$hirak feat. SBMG, Lil' Kleine, Boef & Ronnie Flex	Miljonair	WARNER
15	Idaly feat. Ronnie Flex, Famke Louise & Bizzey	Wine Slow (Remix)	UNIVERSAL
16	Ronnie Flex feat. Maan	Blijf bij mij	UNIVERSAL
21	Broederliefde & Frenna	Hoe je bent	UNIVERSAL
23	Bizzey feat. Kraantje Pappie, Chivv & Yung Felix	Ja!	UNIVERSAL
31	Bizzey, Frenna, KM & Ramiks	Culo	UNIVERSAL
32	SBMG feat. Boef	Lit	UNIVERSAL
37	Hardwell, Bizzey, Lil Kleine & Chivv	Ze willen mee	UNIVERSAL
38	Kevin, Lil Kleine & Chivv	Beetje moe	ROTTERDAM AIRLINES
47	Ronnie Flex	4/5	UNIVERSAL
50	Ronnie Flex feat. Famke Louise	Fan	UNIVERSAL
61	Frenna x Boef x Madam Julie feat. Kaeh	Speciaal	UNIVERSAL
82	Ronnie Flex & Bløf	Omarm me	UNIVERSAL
83	Dyna/ Frenna/ Ronnie Flex	Pull Up	UNIVERSAL
90	Bizzey & Ronnie Flex feat. \$hirak	Maria	UNIVERSAL
95	Boef	Draai het om	TRIFECTA/WARNER
97	Boef	Sofiane	TRIFECTA/WARNER

2019 Nr.	Artist	Title	Record label
1	Kris Kross Amsterdam, Maan & Tabitha feat. Bizzey	Hij is van mij	SPINNIN'/TOP NOTCH
22	Snelle & Frenna	Plankgas	CLOUD 9
30	Bizzey, Kraantje Pappie, Jonna Fraser & Ramiks	Drup	UNIVERSAL
35	Priceless, Frenna & Murda	Rompe	UNIVERSAL
36	Frenna & Lil Kleine	Verleden tijd	UNIVERSAL
38	Boef feat. Dopebwoy	Guap	TRIFECTA/WARNER

41	Lil Kleine	Dichterbij je	UNIVERSAL
42	Frenna feat. Mula B	Viraal	TOP NOTCH
43	Jonna Fraser & Lil Kleine	4 Life	UNIVERSAL
48	Yung Felix & Poke feat. Bizzey	Baby Momma	UNIVERSAL
52	Frenna feat. Chivv	Give dem	UNIVERSAL
69	Josylvio feat. Mula B & Yung Felix	Waarom zoeken naar liefde	TOP NOTCH/UNIVERSAL
75	Josylvio	Gimma	TOP NOTCH/UNIVERSAL
81	Frenna feat. Jonna Fraser, Emms & Idaly	Louboutin	UNIVERSAL
83	Caza feat. Bizzey	Positie	UNIVERSAL
88	Dopebwoy feat. Boef & SRNO	TikTok	AVALON
93	Josylvio feat. Esko	Vroeger	TOP NOTCH/UNIVERSAL
94	Bizzey feat. SFB	Hup	UNIVERSAL
98	Yung Felix, Chivv, Bizzey & Kraantje Pappie	Last Man Standing	TOP NOTCH

2020 Nr.	Artist	Title	Record Label
6	Yxng Le x Frenna	Wat is je naam	UNIVERSAL
18	Boef feat. Numidia	Tout est bon	SONY
33	Bilal Wahib feat. Bizzey	Video Vixen	UNIVERSAL
50	Lil Kleine	Jongen van de straat	UNIVERSAL
59	Kris Kross Amsterdam & Lil Kleine & Yade Lauren	Mij niet eens gezien	SPINNIN'/TOP NOTCH
77	Boef feat. Ashafar	Nooit thuis	SONY

1.2 Summary of the categorization of the songs

Category	Lyrics	video
Violence	Drama	Drama
	Beetje moe	Miljonair
	Lit	Culo
	Viraal	Draai het om
	Give dem	Viraal
	Waarom zoeken naar liefde	Waarom zoeken naar liefde
	Plankgas	Hup
	C	Wat is je naam
Violence against women	Beetje moe	Wat is je naam
	Lit	,
	Video Vixen	
Gun violence	viraal	Drama
		Miljonair
		Culo
		Viraal
		Hup
Immigration at the US-		Culo
Mexican border		
Criminality, illegal activities	Viraal	Miljonair
, , <i>B</i>	Give dem	Draai het om
	Waarom zoeken naar liefde	Waarom zoeken naar liefde
	Plankgas	hup
	Gimma	пар
	4/5	
Stereotypical gender roles		Drama
		Culo
		Beetje moe
Reference of money used for	Catch up	Catch up
consumption	Drama	Lit
	Miljonair	Ze willen mee
	JA	4/5
	Lit	Maria
	Ze willen mee	Draai het om
	4/5	Rompe
	Pull up	Guap
	Draai het om	Viraal
	Rompe	4 Life
	Guap	Baby momma
	Viraal	Give dem
	4 Life	Waarom zoeken naar liefde
	Baby momma	Gimma
	Give dem	Louboutin
	Hup	TikTok
	Waarom zoeken naar liefde	Last man standing
	Gimma	Nooit thuis
	Louboutin	Plankgas
	TikTok	Tankgas
	Last man standing Tout est bon	
	Nooit thuis	

	Plankgas	
Prefer money over lover	Catch up Guap Waarom zoeken naar liefde	
	TikTok	
Spending money on women in the club, no prostitution	Drup JA! 4/5 Give dem TikTok	JA! Draai het om
Misogyny	Verleden tijd Drama Catch up Wine slow Blijf bij mij Hoe je bent JA Culo Lit Ze willen mee Beetje moe 4/5 Fan Pull up Maria Draai het om Sofiane Hij is van mij Drup Rompe Guap Viraal 4 Life Give dem Waarom zoeken naar liefde Gimma Louboutin Positie TikTok Hup Last man standing Tout est bon Video Vixen Mij niet eens gezien	Drama Cath up Wine slow Miljonair Hoe je bent JA Ze willen mee Beetje moe 4/5 Fan Maria Draai het om Drup Rompe Guap Viraal Baby Momma Give dem Hup Last man standing Wat is je naam
Derogatory naming and shaming of women	Verleden tijd Drama Blijf bij mij JA Lit Ze willen mee Beetje moe 4/5 Maria	

	Hij is van mij	
	Drup	
	Guap	
	Viraal	
	4 Life	
	Waarom zoeken naar liefde	
	Gimma	
	Louboutin	
	TikTok	
	Hup	
	Last man standing	
	Video Vixen	
Sexual objectification	Catch up	Cath up
Sexual objectification	Drama	Drama
	Wine slow	Wine slow
	Hoe je bent	Hoe je bent
	JA	JA
	Culo	Ze willen mee
	Lit	Beetje moe
	Ze willen mee	4/5
	Beetje moe	Fan
	Fan	Maria
	Pull up	Draai het om
	Maria	Drup
	Draai het om	Rompe
	Drup	Guap
	Rompe	Viraal
	Guap	Baby Momma
	Viraal	Give dem
	4 Life	Hup
	Give dem	Last man standing
	Louboutin	
	Positie	
	Hup	
	Last man standing Tout est bon	
	Video Vixen	
Distance of	Mij niet eens gezien	
Distrust of women	Catch up	
	Beetje moe	
	Louboutin	
	Last man standing	
	Sofiane	
Gold digger	Beetje moe	Beetje moe
	Sofiane	
	Louboutin	
Celebration of prostitution	Culo	Miljonair
and pimping		4/5
	Wine slow	Ze willen mee
Submissive		
	JA Pastia mass	Drup
	Beetje moe	Wat is je naam
	Sofiane	
	4 Life	

	TikTok	
Od	Video Vixen	
Other		
View danger as exiting –	Ze willen mee	Drama
macho behavior	4/5	Lit
	Drup	Catch Up
	Waarom zoeken naar liefde	Draai het om
	Gimma	Waarom zoeken naar liefde
		Jongen van de straat
Love	Verleden tijd	Verleden tijd
	Special	Special
	Dichterbij je	Dichterbij je
	Wat is je naam	Wat is je naam
	Hey meisje	Blijf bij mij
	Omarm me	Mij niet eens gezien
	Pull up	<i>y</i>
	Blijf bij mij	
	Mij niet eens gezien	
	Hij is van mij	
Personal story	Miljonair	
<u>,</u>	Sofiane	
	Vroeger	
	Jongen van de straat	
	Nooit thuis	
	Speciaal	
	Dichterbij je	
Homophobia	Ze willen mee	
Loneliness	Sofiane	Sofiane
Lonenness	Nooit Thuis	Verleden tijd
	Troot Thais	Jongen van de Straat
Reference to the United States /	Drama	Viraal
American artist	Wine slow	Vroeger
American artist	Ze willen mee	Last man standing
	4/5	Hoe je bent
	Pull up	Tout est bon
	Hij is van mij	Tout est bon
	Viraal	
	Nooit thuis	
	Last man standing Louboutin	
	Sofiane	
Family celebration	SUITAIIC	4 Life
Celebration of African culture		Hoe je bent

1.3 Coding Songs from 2018

Verleden Tijd	Cover of "Onderweg" by A	hel about a former love	
- Frenna and			
Lil Kleine	No misogyny or hypermasc		
Derogatory naming of women	Lyrics by Frenna and Lil-Kleine "De straten lijken te huilen M'n bitches maken geluiden Ik doe de deur dicht Ik zag jou als mijn wifey Maar jij deed niet als m'n wifey Ik begrijp niet"	"Ik zie de velden Langs mij gaan de huizen Het is stil achter de ruiten Wie kan mij zien In blauwverlichte treinen Je hart is zo dicht bij me Maar het klopt niet"	Frenna and Lil Kleine's verse is more misogynistic compared to the original verse adding "mijn bitches maken geluiden" and belittle her by saying she did not act as his "wifey".
Other – loneliness		Screenshot 0.54 ("Verleden tijd")	
Love – equality between man and woman		Screenshot 1.09 ("Verleden tijd")	
Catch up - Josylvio	Song about a girl who left hagain	im but wants to catch up	
Sexual objectification	"En na m'n shows willen di Ze wil me alleen voor d'r ze		Talking about girls wearing provocative clothing to be noticed by a guy
Distrust	"Maar ik ben niet met die li		He does not trust her because she lied to him.
Money over love	"En na m'n shows willen di Ze wil me alleen voor d'r ze Ik zeg je eerlijk de money t "Ik ben op de block aan het stacks" "Geef me nog even dan zek	elf, ze trekt wat heets aan rekt me het meest aan" rennen, we maken echt	More interested in money than women. Stacks = Stack of money Mil = Million

Sexual objectification of non-white females		Screenshot 0.12 ("Catch up") Close-up of a women's body and breasts as sexual objectification Screenshot 0.23 ("Catch up")
Consumption		Luxury car screenshot 0.53
	176971	("Catch up")
Macho		Screenshot 1.01 ("Catch up") Danger as exciting – smoking
Hey Meisje - Esko, Josylvio & Hansie	Song about a woman he really likes/loves	The women in the video are white women.
Other	"Je dikke lippen en je body zijn verleidend Ben in de laan je kan mij vinden bij de strijders, ik ben een rijder Ben op een motion, als ik je body vol mag smeren met die lotion" "Jij wordt niet vergist, ik wacht op je zegen (oh) Girl je hoeft alleen maar het ja-woord te geven"	While these first lines refer to the appeal of a woman's body, the male artist also waits for her blessing to be with her, "ik wacht op je zegen".
Drama – Bizzey & Boef	The music video is based on the story of Narcos and	
Derogatory naming of women	"Bitches willen mij, pussy, pussy nigger kom niet met je drama Herken de style, ik ben de vader Back it down for me mama Bitches willen mij (ratatata) Bitches, bitches willen mij (ratatata) Bitches willen mij (ratatata)	"Bitches"

Sexual objectification -	"Now wine op die cocky don't play, play, play" "Dus schuurt ze mij, en ze schuurt papier (hah)" "Let op je vrouwtje want ik heb d'r in mijn mobiel (mobiel)"	- Now wine op die cocky → demanding a woman to sexually dance on his penis schuren, sexual dance form - Tell other guys to watch over their ladies as he has their phone numbers and implies he can have them
Sexual objectification		Screenshot 3.18 ("Drama")
Money	"Stack paars maar, rood zijn mijn voetzolen Ballen staal, ik zie jou met roest lopen Van de straat maar nu loop ik met blouse open Hoofd heet ik heb schijt, man ik moest blowen, ja (moest) Zie me stunten met een nieuwe deal (nieuwe deal) Ik spend 30K in een juwelier (ice)"	Stack paars = stack of 500- euro bills, as they are purple Red on his feet refer to shoes of the brand Louboutin From the street but now walking with his blouse open, referring to his success Spending 30 thousand on jewelry
Other – reference to USA	Terwijl jij in prison breakt maar geen Scofield	Reference to the American TV show Prison Break in which Scofield was the main character
Violence (gun)	Mannen komen strapped deze dagen	Meaning that men carry a gun nowadays
Violence (physical, gun)		Screenshot 2.06 ("Drama") Screenshot 2.13 ("Drama")

		Screenshot 3.08 ("Drama") Screenshot 3.15 ("Drama")
Traditional gender roles		Women as victims and men as protector, saviors, heroes Screenshot 3.04 ("Drama")
Macho behavior		Screenshot 1.28 ("Drama") Danger as exciting, hanging out of a moving car with a gun
Miljonair - \$hirak feat. SBMG, Lil' Kleine, Boef & Ronnie Flex	Song based on personal stories on how they came from the streets but changed their life and are now working hard on their future and hope to be a millionaire one day.	The video shows marginalized boys from the hood (non-white) Screenshot 0.24 ("Miljonair")

Violence – illegal activity		Screenshot 1.36 ("Miljonair") Stealing at a young age
		Screenshot 2.18 ("Miljonair") Making money from drugs
		Screenshot 2.33 ("Miljonair") Gun violence
Money,	"Ik heb een bom in m'n zak, laat 'm afgaan"	Spending much money
consumption	"Terwijl ik gisteren zijn lievelingswagen kocht" "Ik ging spitten enzo, en die shit werd beloond Ik duw, ik trek, ik ren Geef een PS aan een fan"	Due to rapping he was able to buy his (step)dad his favorite car and give a PlayStation to a fan
Celebration of prostitution/ pimping		Screenshot 2.34 ("Miljonair")
		Screenshot 2.39 ("Miljonair")
Wine Slow –	Misogynistic song about women who sexually dance	
Idaly feat.	for guys with a mixture of white and non-white women	
Ronnie Flex, Famke Louise & Bizzey	dancing provocatively in front of their camera	

Sexual objectification	"Shawty, wine voor me slow (6x) Shawty, wine voor me laag (6x) Meisje, wat gaan we doen (6x) Als de club dicht gaat (6x) Shawty, wine voor me slow" "Hoe ik wine, hoe ik wine voor me boy Hoe ik wine, hoe ik wine voor me boy Hoe ik wine, hoe ik wine Jij vindt me geil, ik vind je mooi"	Tells a woman to dance slowly sexually / provocatively, and low to the floor. The female artist herself 'wines slow' believing the guy thinks she is horny
Sexual objectification		Screenshot 0.39 ("Wine Slow") Sexual provacative dance moves having the camera focused on the women's buttocks Screenshot 2.22 ("Wine Slow") Twerking
Submissive	"Doe het goed en je krijgt het For the rest of your life"	Only if she performs well, she will have his attention for the rest of her life.
Other – reference to American artist	Ben een Eastside boy dus get low	Reference to <i>Get Low</i> by Lil john and the East Side Boys ²⁴
Other – reference to another artist	Put me arms right around ya	This line is used by Bizzey from the song Hold You by Gyptian, who also made a song called 'Wine Slow' 25

²⁴ Idaly, feat Bizzey, Famke Louise, and Ronnie Flex. "Wine slow – remix." Produced by Idaly & Reverse, *Genius*, 2018, genius.com/14956477

See *Get Low* at: Lil Jon, and The East Side Boyz, feat Ying Yang Twins. "Get Low (Official Music Video)." *YouTube*, uploaded by Radial by The Orchard, 19 April 2009, www.youtube.com/watch?v=IYH7_GzP4Tg ²⁵ Idaly, feat Bizzey, Famke Louise, and Ronnie Flex. "Wine slow – remix." Produced by Idaly & Reverse, *Genius*, 2018, genius.com/14956477

See *Hold you* at: Gyptian. "Hold You Official Music Video." *YouTube*, uploaded by VP Records, 30 March 2010, www.youtube.com/watch?v=O6SeD1xE7NA

See *Wine slow* at Gyptian. "Wine Slow (Official Video)." *YouTube*, uploaded by Noisey, 31 January 2013, www.youtube.com/watch?v=57PEukh5gig

Blijf bij mij – Ronnie Flex feat maan	Love song in which Ronnie as the male artist admits he finds it hard to admit his feelings.	
Derogatory naming of women	"Laatste keer dat ik je zag was ik een domme fool Aan het lullen met die bitches met m'n domme smoel Je moet niet flirten voor m'n neus dat is niet focking cool"	He was talking to other women which he calls 'bitches'
Other – love, anti-hyper masculine,	"Blijf bij mij ga niet weg Jij bent de enige die ik heb" "Ja, ik voel me misselijk wanneer ik jou mis Oh, wie houd je vast wanneer het buiten koud is?" "Ik vind het moeilijk om te zeggen wat ik voor je voel" "Damn shawty, ik doe alles voor je op gevoel Onvoorwaardelijk aan jou, yeah"	Explaining how they are the only one for each other and they feel miserable without each other. Ronnie Flex says he find it hard to talk about his feelings for her but will do anything for her.
Love – equality between man and woman		Screenshot 2.47 ("Blijf bij mij")
Hoe je bent – Broederliefde & Frenna	Ambiguous song, on the one hand celebrating African culture and singing about how the guys like black women, on the other hand, the black women are stereotyped as very sexual women	
Attraction for black women	Black like choco, that's what I like want je bent m'n soort (bent m'n soort)	Attractiveness for black women, as he himself is black as well.
Sexual objectification	Neem je naar m'n island mee, temptation (aah) Als je wined voor me slow (ahaa) Wine voor me slow, yeah, eyy	Reference to the show temptation island in which couples are tempted to cheat on one another. Wine slow, sexually,
Sexual objectification		Screenshot 0.52 ("Hoe je bent") While women should be able to wear this, the camera zooms in so close on her buttocks that it counts towards sexual objectification

Other – celebrating African culture		Screenshot 0.29 ("Hoe je bent")
Reference to the United States	JANUE 2 28 CELLICS 28	Screenshot 1.14 ("Hoe je bent") Basketball Jerseys of American NBA teams
Ja – Bizzey	Sexual song degrading women to mere sexual objects	
feat. Kraantje Pappie, Chivv & Yung Felix	for male enjoyment The video is a reference to the gameshow "Ik hou van Holland"	
Sexual objectification	"Je doet netjes maar je dans is vies Zit in je bloed netjes kan je niet Je hebt geluk want d'r groeit nu iets Schuur harder meisje stop nu niet"	His penis erects from the mischievous way the girl dances and tells her not to stop.
Sexual objectification	6 5 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6	Screenshot 3.54 ("JA") Sexually putting her fingers in her mouth
Sexual	"Je bent een dier van de nacht	-Referring to someone who
objectification	Slaapt overdag en op jacht in de nacht" "Badman ollo, zet me dollo in je ollo Daarmee kill ik al die vlinders in je maag (in je maag)" "Backstage doen we hele vieze dingen (vieze dingen)"	-Referring to wild sex -Refer to mischievous actions backstage
Submissive	"En liever you do have geen mening En also liever not much kleding"	- "Do not have an opinion and no clothes on"
	"Beter kom je niet te laat anders wordt een nigga kwaad"	-Do not be late or he will be mad
	"Ben de baas, baby, jij bent mijn slaaf"	-Saying that he is the boss and she the slave
Derogatory naming of women	Bad bitches weten hoe het gaat Ik gedraag me als een aap, want dan krijg je resultaat	Referring to 'bad bitches'
Money, consumption	Koop de hele club en lach naar de bank Nu snap ik why you make it raining	Make it rain = throwing bills at strippers
		1

Video about men trying to help women and children migrants crossing the US-Mexican border. However, the lyrics, influenced by Spanish, does not match the video having misogynistic language about a woman's buttocks	
The state of the s	Screenshot 0.22 ("Culo") Men as soldiers rescuing women and children who are the victims.
	Screenshot 2.14 ("Culo") Taking the women through the US-Mexican border
Kan je bewegen met je culo, culo, culo, culo, culo,	Culo = butt
Ben je papi chulo, chulo, chulo, chulo, chulo? Yeah Kan je bewegen met je sanka? Mami, sanka, mami, sanka, mami	Sanka = butt / butt cheeks He is obsessed with her butt
Tanline op je kont, schat ik draai je om, om, om O-o-otra, otra, otra vez Die culo van jou, ik ben obsessed	asking her to turn around and shake her butt for him and to impress him.
	Bakka = butt
Hoe je die bakka voor me drukt is onbeleefd Je weet ik wil het traag, traag, traag, traag, traag (hode)	Tells her to dance (sexually) slow and low to the floor
	Doni abula — ci 26
ben je papi chulo, chulo, chulo, chulo? Yeah	Papi chulo = pimp ²⁶
	Screenshot 0.43 ("Culo")
	migrants crossing the US-Mexican border. However, the lyrics, influenced by Spanish, does not match the video having misogynistic language about a woman's buttocks Kan je bewegen met je culo, culo, culo, culo, culo, culo, culo, culo? Ben je papi chulo, chulo, chulo, chulo, chulo? Yeah Kan je bewegen met je sanka? Mami, sanka, mami, sanka, mami, mami Ben je papi chulo, chulo, chulo, chulo, chulo? Yeah Tanline op je kont, schat ik draai je om, om, om O-o-otra, otra vez Die culo van jou, ik ben obsessed Que lo que, que lo que, aquí met that ass Impresáme, la niña Hoe je die bakka voor me drukt is onbeleefd Je weet ik wil het traag,

 $^{26}\mbox{``Papi Chulo.''}$ Dictionary.com, www.dictionary.com/e/slang/papi-chulo/

		Screenshot 1.02 ("Culo")
		Screenshot 2.51 ("Culo")
		Screenshot 2.53 ("Culo")
Lit -SBMG feat Boef	Seeing everything as a party with money, women, sex, alcohol, and smoking. Mainly non-white man and women plus a	
Derogatory naming of women	representation of midgets "Domme bitch, dikke akka, veel grip" "Bitches op m'n huid net als haar aan m'n been" "Vijftien barkie, dus pas op waar jij je tanga schuurt"	'bitches' in relation to a big butt he can grab and have too many 'bitches' around him. Tanga is a reference to either a beautiful woman or a slut/whore, from the lyrics he means the latter.
Derogatory naming of women + violence against women	"Ben niet eens streng maar ik kan je bitch slaan"	Saying he can beat a woman
Sexual objectification	"Mami is fine, mami is slanky Shake je ass voor Money Gang, shake je ass voor Henkie" "Mami eet goed, ze blijft me chappen net Wendy's En ik ben geen kabouter maar ik kan je ploppen We gaan een tandje hoger, nee ik kan niet stoppen"	A woman is looking fine and told to shake her butt for the guys. Money Gang referring to the duo SBMG consisting of Chivv and Henkie T Reference to sexual intercourse
Money, consumption	"Plus ik ben nog niet rich, maar toch heb ik veel saaf" "Pull up in een Benz of ik pull up in een Bempie"	Reference to money and luxury items Saaf = money

	"Want me ketting is kouder dan IJsland (VVS)" "Vijftien barkie, dus pas op waar jij je tanga schuurt Zie me proosten op succes, dit heeft te lang geduurd En dat voor een jongen uit de achterbuurt" "Breng die flessen, we betalen meteen"	Benz = Mercedes Benz Bempie = BMW Jewelry vijftien barkie = 1500 euro
Macho		Screenshot 1.18 ("Lit") Danger as exciting Motorstunts Screenshot 1.05
		("Lit") Danger as exciting – aligator walking around Screenshot 1.25
		("Lit") Danger as exciting – smoking
Ze willen mee Hardwell, Bizzey, Lil Kleine & Chivy	Sexual song degrading women to mere sexual objects for male enjoyment. Combination of hypersexual lyrics and video with more white or light skin women over black women	"Sex hang in de lucht" – Title of chapter 4
Derogatory naming of women + sexual objectification	"We kunnen drinken en dansen tot het ochtend is (yes) En sorry als dit je dochter is (ey) We gebruiken openbaar, we verstoppen niks (nee) 'k Heb je bitch die twerkt en op me zit (hm)"	They know their own actions are not neat apologizing if she is someone's daughter when twerking on him.
Sexual objectification	"Kleed je uit, raak me aan, kom springen in m'n douche Doe het thuis, veel geluid, laat me springen in je poes"	-Telling her to undress, to hop in the shower, so he can can have sex with her.
	"Ik wil kijken of het past daar, ikke hou je vast daar Effe lekker handtastbaar" "Z-z-zet m'n vinger in je poes en in je reet Als je down bent Shawty die is bad, ja, we weten dat je stout bent"	Poes = vagina "kijken of het past" if his penis fits in her vagina -putting his vinger in her vagina and butthole saying she is a naughty girl.

Sexual objectification + reference to American artist	Chica niet verlegen, meisje trabajo (na na) Ey ándele, ándele, mama hiya, délo (oh) Ándele, ándele, mama hiya, délo	The chorus is derived from the American rapper Nelly'song E.I. Ándele is Spanish for come on, trabajo is Spanish for work, therefore Bizzey is saying that the girl should not be shy but 'get to work'
Sexual objectification		Screenshot 0.49 ("Ze willen mee")
		Screenshot 1.50 ("Ze willen mee")
		("Ze willen mee")
Submissive		Screenshot 1.42 ("Ze willen mee")
	ALE TO THE PARTY T	Screenshot 1.49 ("Ze willen mee")

Money + macho	"Ik ben in de club (na na) Money op mij en drugs (ja)"	Spending money on drugs in the club.
(drugs)	"Schat, ik zie veel cijfers je zou denken ben accountant Je weet ik hou het honderd, swagger altijd one thousand, dom"	Reference to the occupation of an accountant working with large sums of money to imply he is wealthy
Money, consumption		Screenshot 0.29 ("Ze willen mee")
		Screenshot 0.35 ("Ze willen mee")
		Screenshot 1.01 ("Ze willen mee")
		Screenshot 2.25 ("Ze willen mee")
Other – homophobia	"Scha-schat we kunnen hangen, ben niet gay"	Explicitly saying he is not gay
Beetje moe – Kevin, Lil Kleine & Chivv	Misogynistic song attaining hypersexualization of women	
Sexual objectification + submissive + Derogatory naming of women	"Ey, hoe je chickie met m'n dick werkt, is beetje moe, is beetje moe Ik vind het nep voor je, beetje moe Ik kan die ho nu voor je Snappen, maar is beetje moe, is beetje moe Ik ga vertrekken zo, dat weet ze goed"	Either a girl becoming tired from multiple rounds of blowjobs/sexual intercourse, or he becomes tired of them. Either way there is a lack of respect towards women calling her a whore and a

	"Ik heb je bitch hier op d'r knees voor me, niet stoppen	bitch, but also leaving her after she is finished.
Sexual objectification + submissive	Nou kom de ring in meisje, drie rondes, vier rondes" "Lieve schat, wees stil, nee vraag me niks (Nah) Schud je billen op een van m'n laatste hits"	Demanding a girl to shake her butt, but to also be quiet and not to ask questions.
Violence against women	"Ik heb een paar rondes geslagen Maar ik wist niet was je chickie, nee"	He hit her a couple times during sexual intercourse
Sexual objectification	"Ik kan alleen maar hangen als ik hoofd krijg (Wooh)" "Als we wiepen is het één op één Ik heb die pussy on lock, geen PGP" "Kom eens zitten op je knees voor me (Wow)" "Ik hoef niet eens meer veel te praten Nee, zij grijpt naar m'n dick meteen"	-Only wants to hangout if she gives him a blowjob - wiepen=sex - pussy on lock = he can control her to have sex with him -reference to blowjob - saying that she immediately goes for his penis
Distrust	"Beetje moe, ze liep me uit te lokken Hou je hand van m'n stack, kom je ruiten bossen (Ai, ai, ai, ai)"	Does not trust her with his money, "keep your hands of my money, otherwise I will break your window"
Distrust - golddigger	"Ze skipt jou, want ze weet je bent een broke guy (Grauw) En ik ben op m'n paperchase (Money)"	A woman ignores a man that is broke, she is out for money, which he says he has. Screenshot 0.25 ("Beetje moe") Woman trying to gain attention of a rich old guy
Sexual objectification + traditional gender role		Screenshot 0.08 ("Beetje moe") Zoomed in on her butt while slowing sliding her hand over her leg Screenshot 0.15 ("Beetje moe") Putting her foot near the penis of her boss

		Screenshot 0.50 ("Beetje moe") Man as boss, woman in a assistant position
4/5 Ronnie Flex	Rich lifestyle, spending money with friends on women and luxury items Sexualization of white women in video	
Derogatory naming of women	"O-Oké, ik heb 4/5 bitches aan de lijn (Prr, prr) Pull up daar met 4/5 nigga's aan m'n zij (Yeah)" "Je weet we gaan dom in die bitch"	Saying he has many 'bitches'
Money, consumption	"Stapel al m'n money, ik bestel geen ene trein" "Nu ben ik terug, ik ben eindelijk rich Ik heb een Roley gekocht voor de sport Ik heb een villa gekocht, net een fort" "Vroeger was ik skeer, maar de tafels zijn gedraaid"	Stacks of money, he does not have to travel by train anymore. He can buy a Rolex watch just for fun and a villa. Back in the day he was broke, but now the 'tables have turned'
Spending money on women	Ze is een finesser, ze neemt money van een sjeik (Yeah) Shawty ben je bad? Dan maak lawaai Girl, ik heb de cash, so let it fly	She takes money from a charming guy. Let it fly – same as making it rain, spending much money, in this case on women.
Other	"Boy ik ben Lil' Flex, ik ben de G.O.A.T., ik ben het brein (Yeah)"	In America, the term G.O.A.T. is used for Greatest of all time. Ronnie uses this term to say he is the Goat in hip-hop in the Netherlands
Sexual objectification		Screenshot 0.10 ("4/5") Screenshot 0.12 ("4/5")

	Screenshot 0.27 ("4/5") Screenshot 0.38 ("4/5")
Money, consumption	Screenshot 1.01 ("4/5") Villa
	Screenshot 1.18 ("4/5") Cars
	Screenshot 1.33 ("4/5") Watches
Money	Screenshot 2.23 ("4/5") Money

Illegal activity + macho	"Ik heb een beetje lean, lean het lijkt op wijn"	Screenshot 1.56 ("4/5") Lean is a drugs consisting of codeine and promethazine and often has the color red/purple looking like wine
Celebration of prostitution and/or pimping		Screenshot 2.05 ("4/5")
	SECSE.	Screenshot 2.21 ("4/5")
		Screenshot 2.24 ("4/5")
Fan – Ronnie Flex feat. Famke Louise	Song in which both Ronnie Flex and Famke Louise sing how much they want to be with each other, however, Famke is sexualized for her body.	
Sexual objectification	"Dus shawty come wine pon me Buck it up met je achterkant en draai het eens Girl, je hebt de wickedest wine nog steeds Ik wil het, jij wil het, wij zijn het eens, aye"	Reference to sexually dance with her butt on him
Sexual objectification		Screenshot 1.02 ("Fan") Famke Louise is shown in the bear minimum amount of clothes laying down on a mirrored floor.

		Screenshot 2.38 ("Fan") Ronnie Flex is mainly seen in hoodies. Screenshot 1.21 ("Fan") Scene on the bike can be referred to as a sexual position.
Speciaal – Boef & Frenna	An anti-hypermasculine song in which he admits being wrong by cheating on her and that she deserves better. He begs for a second chance as she is special to him, and he does not want to be with anybody else but her.	
Other – Love	"Enna, enna Ya 7abibi, mo7al ensaak Enta 3omri, enta 7ayati Ya 7abibi, mo7al"	Arabic for: "Me, me, my love, I might not forget you You are my twin soul, you are my life My love, I might not forget you"
Other – personal story + love	"Ik verdien jou niet Ik ging vreemd, jij verdient dat niet Oh my God, wat een streek, liet je vaak in de steek" "Ik wil een nieuwe kans dus vandaar dit lied like"	Frenna had cheated on his girlfriend and asks her for a second chance
Love Equality between man and woman		Screenshot 0.34 ("Speciaal") Screenshot 3.09 ("Speciaal")
Omarm me Ronnie flex, Blof	Love song of a cover of Blof Omarm No hypermasculinity or misogyny	
Pull up – Dyna, Frenna	Very happy and fun video with mainly black men, women, and children dancing while the lyrics are inspired by the song "nice and slow" from Usher about	

& Ronnie Flex	a man trying to be with a woman. Pull up is also about pulling up in a car to pick up a woman he likes.	
Sexual objectification	"Ik wil je zien bewegen met je bum, mami Dadelijk raakt er iemand nog gewond, mami Shawty buss it open als een gun, mami"	He wants to see her move with her butt, and reference that she has a big butt
Money, consumption of luxury item	"Ben in die drop top onderweg naar jou want je wacht"	Drop top = convertible car
Other – Reference to American artist	"Ze lijkt op Jenny van de block, ze is hot"	Refer to Jenifer lopez
Other – Love	"Laat me weten ben je down voor mij (down for mij) Ik kan je zeggen ik ben down voor life (down for life)"	Asking her if she wants to be with him as he is ready to spend his life with her.
Alternative to sexual objectification Black women and children dancing in clothes to the music		Screenshot 1.36 ("Pull up") Screenshot 2.30 ("Pull up")
Maria – Bizzey & Ronnie Flex feat. \$hirak	"Maria hoe is je naam?" Bizzey tells that Maria is an umbrella term for girl in which he wanted to centralize women's beauty in a dirty music video ("Exclusief 538"). There is a poolparty in which the men are fully clohted and the women are there for the male enjoyment shaking there butts. The beat is inspired by the beat from <i>Mas Maiz</i> by N.O.R.E (Victor Santiago Jr.) ²⁷	The video editing was inspired by Lil Pump's video Gucci Gang, how he used color grading and a large lamp mirroring the sun as it was cloudy (video ("Exclusief 538" min 5.10-5.56)
Sexual objectification Derogatory naming of women	"Ey, drop drop That ass to the floor Ey ja, ey nee Nee dat maakt je nog geen ho" "Vergeet je vriendje, ik wil niet stoken Ik heb de saus, hij is overbodig (arriba)" "Kan je schudden op en neer, wip, waf"	References to a woman having to shake her butt and to forget her boyfriend. First saying that by shaking your butt as a woman to the floor it does not make you a whore, later saying that she

 $^{^{27}}$ N.O.R.E. "Mas Maiz." $YouTube, \ uploaded \ by Norevevo, 17 June 2009, www.youtube.com/watch?v=N7hh2FwFVgU$

	"Boss is met je backa want die shit is faya Ko-kom wine fasta of wine slow Eerst was je van hem maar nu ben je mijn ho En je kan niet terug nee girl ik blijf zo Wine slow" "Ja we gaan up, up, up Doe het op en neer Wip, wap, prr Ah, ja, ja"	was first from someone else and now she is his whore.
Sexual objectification + consumption of luxury item (Jet ski in a pool)		Screenshot 0.22 ("Maria")
		Screenshot 0.34 ("Maria")
		Screenshot 1.00 ("Maria")
		Screenshot 2.08 ("Maria")
Draai het om – Boef	The video takes place in a stripclub in which women are hypersexualized while the lyrics refer to a womens butt and making money.	
Violence		Screenshot 1.01 ("Draai het om") Boef had an argument with rapper Armoo who is often compared with a dolphin and punctures the dolphin.

Violence Criminal	"Ik heb die criminelenhoofd, geen babyface (ha)" "Tii mookt goon eigen kouze meer is hiteh heneelt"	Screenshot 0.16 ("Draai het om")
Derogatory naming of women	"Jij maakt geen eigen keuze maar je bitch bepaalt"	
Sexual objectification	"Draai het om, draai het om schat (draai het om) Dubbel D, ze zegt maak je borst nat (prr)"	Dubbel D, cup size of a bra, used in rap to refer to big breast
Money,	"En ik kan blijven neuken maar ik richt op saaf (haha)"	Focusing on money
consumption	"In een, Land Rover, toch ben ik piraat (skrr) Neem ik weer een nieuwe auto of een schip hierna	Brand of a car, buying a new car or a ship
	(boot)" "Ben op m'n paperchase en maak het peper heet (heet)"	Saaf and paperchase = money
Sexual objectification		Screenshot 0.36 ("Draai het om")
		Screenshot 0.47 ("Draai het om")
		Screenshot 1.13 ("Draai het om")

		Screenshot 1.32
		("Draai het om") Screenshot 1.59
		("Draai het om")
Money, consumption		Screenshot 2.27 ("Draai het om")
•		Making it rain, spending money on strippers
		Screenshot 0.15 ("Draai het om")
Macho		Screenshot 2.36 ("Draai het om") Danger as exciting – smoking
Sofiane – Boef	Not a violent song but a song about his violent past, very personal story	
Submissive	"Ruzie met je vrouwtje dat moet zeker over lijken gaan Als zij tegen je uitvalt snap ik niet dat jij nog blijft bij haar (hoe dan)"	Belittling a woman, asking why he would stay with her if she lashed out at him
Derogatory naming of women	"Was met een bitch in die tijd maar ze meende niet Omdat ik zonder paper liep maar ewa dat moest zo zijn (ewa ja)"	Woman did not want to be with him because he did not have money.

+ distrust - gold digger		
Other – reference to American artist	We luisteren Tupac en we schreeuwen hier outlaws	Reference to the American rapper Tupac who was part of the group Outlaws after he was released from prison
Other - Loneliness	"Waar is mama, waar is papa, waarom ben ik in me eentje Waarom is hij rijk en waarom heb ik niks te eten"	Asking where his parents are and questioning why he has nothing to eat while others are rich. Screenshot 1.11 ("Sofiane")

Songs from 2019

Hij is van mij –	Two women are in love with the same man and fight	
Kris Kross	for his love. The song is inspired by "The boy is	
Amsterdam,	mine" from the American R&B artists Brandy and	
Maan &	Monica (1998) who were again inspired by Michael	
Tabitha feat.	Jackson and Paul McCartney's song "The girl is	
Bizzey	mine" from 1982.	
Derogatory	Bizzey's verse:	Bizzey's verse uses
naming of	"Ik vind het moeilijk om te zeggen hoe het voelt	profanity against women
women	Dat er niks anders is wat ik mis, nee	referring to bitch which
	Jou beschermen, dat is mijn doel	seems to be about the
	Courtois op die bitch, ik mis niks	women who say they love
	Ik hou van make up seks, maar dit gaat te ver, uh	him. Snelle substituted
	We don't need to go there (Ooh)	Bizzey's verse when he
	You don't wanna go there"	sang with Maan for a more
		female friendly and
	Snelle's verse:	romantic version
	"Ik vind het moeilijk om te zeggen wat ik voel	
	met iedereen hier in de zaal	
	maar lieverd het komt allemaal goed	
	want je spreekt precies mijn taal	
	Ik hou van make up seks, maar dit gaat te ver,	
	Maar echt iedereen die weet het	
	Wij zijn sterker met zijn tweeën"	
Plankgas Snelle	Working hard to be where they are as artists	
& Frenna		
Violence –	"Tijdje terug deed ik iets hier wat wettelijk niet mag"	"Legally not allowed"
illegal activity		
Money	"Tien kop voor een show	Making money on the road
	Ik breng die rappertjes naar school	by making 10 thousand
	We make money, make money pon road"	euros for a show

Money, consumption		Screenshot 0.25 ("Plankgas") Screenshot 1.24 ("Plankgas")
Drup - Bizzey, Kraantje Pappie, Jonna Fraser & Ramiks	Drup from the verb dripping, comes from American slang which means that someone is cool, and that their success is so big that money does not matter much anymore. Drup is about success, women, sex, money, drugs, and alcohol.	
Money, consumption + sexual objectification + macho	"A-alle alcohol op mij, alle drugs op mij Alle vrouwen op mij, ik laat het regenen Drup, drup, drup, drup, laat het regenen" "Cash slingert in het rond, superslordig"	Reference to making it rain which is throwing money at strippers.
Sexual objectification	"Alle vrouwen willen dick deze dagen" "Je bakka is meer waard dan de Nachtwacht" "Uitslapen voor die ochtendgymnastieksessie Het kan je aan, ik ga het geven in je visie Ik geef de wiepie van je leven, da's illusie (Ja)" "Nu ben ik in de club en die bakka die gaat huts Ja, nu ben ik op je zus door die Henny in mijn cup (Ey)"	-Every woman wants to have dick these days - your butt is worth more than the painting of the Nachtwacht - ochtendgymnastieksessie, and wiepie both refer to sexual intercourse - her butt is shaking in the club - he is with someone's sister because he is drunk from the Hennessey
Derogatory naming of women Macho	"Die bitch is halfnaakt dus ik kan niet half gaan (Ey)"	Screenshot 1.32 ("Drup") Tough guy act in front of a woman

	Screenshot 2.06 ("Drup")
	Screenshot 4.24 ("Drup") Ridicule her for filling in for the male newsreader (Bizzey)
	Screenshot 2.20 ("Drup")
	"lets see if I can get her pussy"
-Even kijken of ik dit poesje te pakken krijg	Screenshot 3.22 ("Drup") Focusing on her butt while she bends over to grab something
The chorus of the song is derived from the Puerto Rican artist Daddy Yankee's song "Rompe", meaning break it.	
Frenna and Murda's Dutch version is also about a rich lifestyle and misogynistic references to women.	
"Kan je het zakken tot de grond? (Oh yeah) Baby, ik ben in love met je kont, aye" "Zij heeft een bunda (Yeah), ik in d'r kunda (Yeah)" "Schat, ik weet jij loevt (Uh yeah-yeah)"	Reference to her butt Bunda = butt Loeven (voelen+love) = admire
"Jij mag sippen van die Dom Pé, Dom Pé, Dom Pé" "Als ik pull-up in die waggie zonder roof Kijk m'n swag, dit laat je drippen, net een douche" "Ik in die Benzo, zij in die Bempie Kijk naar de fashion, baby, it's trendy"	Luxury items: champagne, convertible car, Mercedes Benz, BMW, Watch
	The chorus of the song is derived from the Puerto Rican artist Daddy Yankee's song "Rompe", meaning break it. Frenna and Murda's Dutch version is also about a rich lifestyle and misogynistic references to women. "Kan je het zakken tot de grond? (Oh yeah) Baby, ik ben in love met je kont, aye" "Zij heeft een bunda (Yeah), ik in d'r kunda (Yeah)" "Schat, ik weet jij loevt (Uh yeah-yeah)" "Jij mag sippen van die Dom Pé, Dom Pé, Dom Pé" "Als ik pull-up in die waggie zonder roof Kijk m'n swag, dit laat je drippen, net een douche"

	"Je ziet het aan m'n watch, ik ben iced-out Je weet hoe ik het doe, ik geef je right now"	Iced out (Ice refers to Jewelry)
Sexual objectification		Screenshot 0.04 ("Rompe") In slow motion touching/sliding/licking an object with her mouth
		Screenshot 1.27 ("Rompe")
	TURBURK	Screenshot 1.39 ("Rompe")
Sexual objectification		Screenshot 0.11 ("Rompe")
		Screenshot 0.15 ("Rompe")



		Caranghat 1 10 ("Danie 2")
	THE THE STATE OF T	Screenshot 1.19 ("Rompe") Screenshot 2.09 ("Rompe")
Guap – Boef feat. Dopebwoy	A song that is all about the money	Guap = money
Prefer money	"Sorry, maar ik ben verliefd op guap	While she is in love with
over love	Ik heb geen tijd voor je liefde, schat Sorry, maar ik ben verliefd op guap Zij is in love, ik ben niet met dat"	him, he does not have time for love, he is in love with money.
	"Ey, ik moet je iets vertellen schat, ik ben verliefd op vellen (Money) Dus draait 't niet om doekoe, dan hoef jij me niet te	Therefore, if it is not about money (doekoe), then she should not call him
	bellen (Nee)" "En m'n tv is 4K, maar hij kostte 3K Kan niet met jou in zee, man, je werkt in de Wibra Kijk, m'n hoofd op geld, man, ik block 'r als ze vies praat (Block 'r)"	Refer to his television that is worth 4.000 euros. Aversion to someone working at the Wibra (cheaper non-brand store)
	"Ey, sorry, maar ik ben verliefd op guap Ik wil die huis met een rieten dak"	He wants a house with thatch roofing
Derogatory naming of women + sexual objectification	Fuck die vieze sletten, jouwe die is niet zo lekker Want draait ze om, dan is ze platter dan je vliegenmepper	Does not want to be with sluts because they are too skinny and have no curves.
Sexual objectification + submissive	Zij heeft geen kont, waarom wiep je dat?	He is saying that you should not have sex with someone who does not have a good butt.

Money,		Screenshot 0.18 ("Guap")
consumption		Screenshot 0.39 ("Guap")
Sexual objectification		Screenshot 1.10 ("Guap")
		Screenshot 1.23 ("Guap")
Dichterbij je – Lil Kleine	An anti-hypermasculine and more feminine song about a man admitting his mistakes and how he was not always there for her. He loves her and thinks she is his number one for the way she is and how she made him the way he is and not for her body.	
Other – love	"En jij hebt mij gemaakt tot wie ik nog steeds ben Dat is de reden dat jij m'n nummer één bent En ik zeg het je niet vaak, je bent bijzonder Ik denk dat we spreken van een wonder Ik wil dat je blijft, ik wil niet dat je gaat Want ik kan niet zonder, echt ik kan niet zonder"	She made him how he is and that's why she is his number one. She is special, a miracle, and he wants that she stays with him as he cannot be without her.

		Screenshot 1.34 ("Dichterbij je")
		Romantic music video with his own wife
Viraal Frenna feat. Mula B	The title says it all, Frenna and Mula B sing about going viral, reaching popularity in a short time.	
Money, consumption	"Jullie mannen zijn op niks Ik moet die money gaan halen" Nu ben ik rich als een bitch"	All references to becoming rich, earning, and spending money
	"Oeh, ik pak vijf ton en ik stash wat bij m'n mama" "Ik heb bust money, maar ik wil veel meer, ja Dus ik zal plussen tot ik flink tekeerga"	
	"Ik zweer ik blow die money uit verveling" "Pull up in een X6 Pak die MX6, ja, die deed een X6"	Refer to BMW X6 and Mazda MX-6
Derogatory naming of women + sexual objectification	Oeh, Franse bitch, bustdown om, ze zegt, "Oh, Djadja"	Reference to the song Djadja from the French singer Aya Nakamura that went viral in 2018. Calling her a bitch and bustdown is often referred to a female performing oral sex to men for money.
	"Je bitch slikt mij, net Aloë vera"	Reference to how women have oral sex and swallow his sperm just like how often they drink juice with Aloë vera in it.
Violence – illegal activity	"Als ik ergens heen ga, moet het illegaal gaan"	"When I go somewhere, it has to be illegal"
Derogatory naming of women + violent lifestyle	"Al die kechs kunnen voelen waar de loop is Kunnen samen schieten, kijken wie d'r eerder dood is Mannen blijven zoeken waar die coke is"	Kechs = whore Shoot and see who is dead first men keep looking for coke
Sexual objectification (Black women)		Screenshot 0.04 ("viraal")

Violence		Screenshot 0.43 ("viraal")
Money, consumption	1954	Screenshot 0.19 ("Viraal")
		Screenshot 0.56 ("viraal")
	OV. TO PARIS OUT	Screenshot 2.15 ("viraal")
Other – Money + Reference to Barack Obama as president	"Oeh, ik kom van Ghana, Presi om, Barack Obama"	Screenshot 0.17 ("viraal") Presi om = Rolex watch from the presidential line. President Barack Obama is known to wear these watches
4 Life – Jonna Fraser & Lil Kleine	The video and the lyrics of 4 Life do not match. The video is about a family celebration having a nice lunch together, however, the lyrics are about a 'bad girl' who is hypersexualized.	
Sexual objectification	"Candy heb ik voor je, ah Bust it down en gooi het, ah Schat je hebt die sojasaus Wine op "PARANOIA", ah Doe het met je ass, ass, ass	Bust it down (Bust down = refers to a female performing oral sex to men for money)

	Oeh, ass, ass Doe het met je ass, ass" "Deze leest een boek en kan zakken naar beneden"	Sexually dance (Wine) on the song Paranoia and shake your butt She is smart ("can read a
		book") and sexy ("can drop it to the floor")
Derogatory naming of women	"Bad girl for life Follow en ik like Totally gespiced Don't believe my eyes"	Bad girl referring to a girl doing 'naughty' things
Money, consumption	Als ik pull up in Fendi	Fendi, Italian warehouse, luxury brand clothing
Submissive	Raak me aan, meisje, vraag me niks Ik wil je effe ruiken en ik wil je effe voelen	"Touch me, girl, don't ask anything"
		"I want to smell and touch you"
Money, consumption rich lifestyle		Screenshot 0.56 ("4 Life")
Other – Family celebration		Screenshot 1.38 ("4 Life")
	A Chillian Control	Screenshot 2.10 ("4 Life")
		Screenshot 0.48 ("4 Life")
Baby Momma – Yung Felix & Poke feat. Bizzey	Song about a man going on a date with a mother who was left by her husband	
Money, consumption	"Ik koop een Rolex voor elke dag van de week"	Able to buy 7 Rolex watches

Money, consumption Misogyny – sexual objectification		Screenshot 1.14 ("Baby Momma") Screenshot 1.22 ("Baby Momma")
Give Dem - Frenna feat. Chivv	Party scene, stressing the importance of money and provocative dancing of women.	
Sexual objectification /	"Ik ben met m'n shawty daar in London Schat, ik wil je wiepen zonder condom" "Jij moet niet gaan denken dat je lit bent Ik geef d'r dick en Ik ben allang gone Vind me met m'n shawty daar in Hong Kong"	Wants to have sex with her without a condom, could mean he wants a child with her, but in this context, it is all about his pleasure. He has sex with a girl and then leaves her.
Sexual objectification	"Hey jij, hoe je winet met je body all day Op die grind voor die money all day"	Sexually dance with her body Refer to stripper dancing for
Money, consumption	Fully in die Fendi, dus ik drip eng Honderd batra's als ik in de VIP ben, in de VIP ben Dus neem je dough mee Dus die Roley om m'n wrist is net een trofee, net een trofee (Ey, ja) Maar ik kan never lacken, nigga, dat is no way 'k Heb vier ruggen in m'n zak, maar een nigga blowt twee	money. Fendi, Italian warehouse, luxury brand clothing Able to buy 100 bottles of alcohol in the club. Rolex Watch as his trophy Walking with 4 thousand euro in cash and spending 2 thousand euro.
Violence – illegal activity	"Jongens in de buurt die plegen OV's Veel dieven in de hood, ik was er ook een"	-Committing robberies -He used to be a thief in the hood as well
Money, consumption		Screenshot 0.10 ("Give Dem")

		Screenshot 1.37 ("Give Dem")
Sexual objectification – provocatively dancing of females		Screenshot 0.36 ("Give Dem") Screenshot 1.28 ("Give
		Dem")
Waarom zoeken naar liefde – Josylvio feat. Mula B & Yung Felix	Prefer money over love	
Money over love	"Waarom zoeken naar liefde, als ik kan zoeken naar dough?"	"Why search for love when I can search for money"
	"Ey, heel m'n hart is ijskoud, mattie, kowru" "Ik wil geen love in m'n leven, maar vermogen d'r bij Tijd is geld, dus ik investeer die tijd in geld	"My heart is cold as ice" → no room for love
	Dan ga ik nooit broke"	Investing time in money
	"Ik kan niet zoeken naar love, mattie, fuck dat"	Not searching for love
Derogatory naming of women + money (from drugs) over love + macho	"Blijf zoeken tot ik geld in m'n zakken vind Al die kechs zoeken love, ik zoek appel-mint"	Keep searching for money Kechs (whores) look for love, while I look for apple- mint (flavor for hookah, tobacco, or shisha)
Violence	"Ik ben met de gang en de helft zijn killers"	Half of the gang are killers

Illegal activity Money from drugs + macho		Screenshot 1.32 ("Waarom zoeken naar liefde")
		Screenshot 1.54 ("Waarom zoeken naar liefde")
		Screenshot 2.06 ("Waarom zoeken naar liefde") Macho behavior by drinking alcohol while driving
Gimma – Josylvio	Song about his success as a rapper and about earning and spending money	
Money, consumption	"Ik stack die money, stack die money hoog Ik wil een droptop en een hele nieuwe klokkie ook	Reference to money and luxury items. Droptop= convertible car
	Je mening laat me koud, ik word alleen warm van dough"	klokkie= watch Dough= money
	"In de Rover of de Benz, we trapten hem door rood Bloody shoes, die bloody shoes, al m'n zolen zijn rood"	Range Rover, Mercedes Benz Shoes by Christian
	"Ik en de money zijn getrouwd, we zijn niet meer verloofd	Louboutin (red soles)
	Die tijden zijn voorbij, a mattie, we gaan never broke De enigste die mij gaat stoppen is de fucking dood"	Death is the only way that will stop him to make money.
Derogatory naming of women	"Ben in de studio op dreef, jij bent liever met ho's"	Positive: working on music in the study Negative: being with ho's
Illegal activity + macho	"Hella euro's en een jongen deed dat zonder school In de kitchen daar een jongen whipte hella dope"	Making money without an education, but through drugs

Money, consumption		Screenshot 0.46 ("Gimma")
		Screenshot 1.01 ("Gimma")
		Screenshot 1.52 ("Gimma")
Louboutin – Frenna ft. Jonna Fraser, Emms & Idaly	Louboutin refers to the expensive shoes by the French shoe designer Christian Louboutin	
Money, consumption	"Christian Louboutin, zij wil die Christian Louboutin Ze weet dat ik doekoe spend, omdat ik ze zelf aan m'n voeten heb (Hahh)"	She knows he spends money because he wears Louboutin shoes
Other – reference to American singer	"Zij is Caribbean, maar lijkt op Christina Milian (Hmm, yeah)"	Reference to the American- Cuban singer Christina Milian who experienced critique to her appearance of being Afro-Latina.
Sexual objectification	"Zij rijdt op m'n dick, Kawasaki Ik voel me respect in punani"	He feels respected when she is on top during sex
Sexual objectification	"Dus wine het nu slow en vertraag iets Meisje wine for me slow, slow, slow, slo-ow Ga laag, laag, laag, laa-ag (Ey)"	Sexually dance slow and low
Derogatory naming of women + distrust + gold-digger	"Zij was op de bodem, niet daar (Ey) Nu is die ho een gevaar (Ey)" "Al die ho's zijn gelogen" "Schat ik heb m'n ballen en m'n bands	He says that the 'ho' becomes dangerous and sets out traps for him but that he will not fall for them.
2010 015501	Dus ik trap niet in de vallen die je hebt (Auwts)" "Voor die zapatos, hey Zit ze op mijn schoot, ey druk ze low"	'hoes' having sex with men for their money, to have Christian Louboutin shoes.

Money, consumption		Screenshot 0.07 ("Louboutin")
		Screenshot 1.16 ("Louboutin")
		Screenshot 1.26 ("Louboutin")
		Screenshot 2.31 ("Louboutin")
Alternative to sexual objectification		Screenshot 2.22 ("Louboutin") Men and women fully clothed performing a dance routine
Positie - Caza feat. Bizzey	While there is no hypermasculinity or misogyny present in the music video, the lyrics refer to a man wanting a girl to be in sexual positions	
Sexual objectification	"Zet het in een domme positie, huh Zet het in een enge positie	Putting a woman's body in different positions.

	Zet het in een rare positie, oh-yo Een domme positie"	Her butt is keeping him awake
	"Oh, die bakka, bakka houdt me wakker"	Telling her bend down and move her thighs
	"Zak door je knieën, beweeg met je dijen (Uh-uh-uh)" "Hoe je wiept hier met m'n [?] Seks op de veranda	Does not want to change the way she as sexual intercourse with him
	'k Wil niet dat dat verandert"	
TikTok – Dopebwoy feat. Boef & SRNO	"Waarom zegt je Roley steeds tiktok" He accuses someone of wearing a fake Rolex watch because real ones do not make the tiktok sound. Moreover, a song with references to luxury items they can buy due to their popularity in hip-hop.	
Money, consumption	"Prijs van een fles is de prijs van je huur Ik heb ijs om m'n nek, breng een trein zonder vuur"	Buying expensive bottles of alcohol that are the same
•	"Ik ben miljonair en dat alleen door hiphop"	price as someone's rent of an apartment.
	"Koop m'n tweede osso en ik maak er winst op, winst op,"	Jewelry around his neck Millionaire trough hip-hop Making profit of buying a second house.
Derogatory naming of women	"Hou jezelf voor de gek, hebt jezelf bij een kech Leeft een life op je Snap, 't is een catfish-alert"	Kech= whore
Derogatory naming of women + submissive + sexual objectification	B-B-Bitches zijn partijdig als we uitgaan Want staan we in de club wil zij alleen maar aan m'n kant staan (Hey, prr) Nu laat ik d'r werken, net een taakstraf (Net een taakstraf) In m'n zak heb ik een bom, ik pleeg een aanslag (Pleeg een aanslag)	Women want to be with him in the club because he has money. He 'makes them work, like community service'. He has much money and spends much on those women.
Money over love	"Schat doe niet verliefd, ik loev een paar days Als ik je deze stack laat zien neem ik je hart mee"	Do not be in love, when showing money then he will conquer her heart.
Money, consumption		Screenshot 0.28 ("TikTok") Screenshot 1.50 ("TikTok")

Vroeger - Josylvio feat. Esko	Josylvio sings in this song how he came across a girl he knew from when he was young living in a poor neighborhood. However, she does not want to have anything to do with his new lifestyle. "Ik zag je daar in Amsterdam op de Dam	Screenshot 2.10 ("TikTok") He saw a girl in Amsterdam
story	Je keek me aan, maar vlug Ik ken je van de achterstandswijk Nu groet je mij niet eens terug"	he knew from the low- income neighborhood, but she does not even say hello to him now anymore.
Other – reference to the United States		Screenshot 1.39 ("Vroeger") American neighborhood
		Screenshot 1.40 ("Vroeger") Landromat in the U.S.
	Myrtle AV	Screenshot 2.15 ("Vroeger") Typical American restaurant with a booth and ketcup placed on the table
		Screenshot 0.28 ("Vroeger") Myrtle Avenue, a street in the United States.
Hup - Bizzey feat. SFB	Video: Stealing money from rich white people that they give to poor black women living on the street	

	Lyrics: Wanting to be with a woman only referring to her body	
Sexual objectification	"Dus wine it upon me (Yeah, yeah) Kom wine it upon me, baby girl" "Boss het voor me, draai het, laat me alles zien" "En als ik naar je booty kijk, dan denk ik, "Is een cheat"" "In bed een freak, op straat een vrouw" "Schat, ik wil je voelen van de top 'til your feet Dus ik laat d'r komen, dus ik zeg d'r dan, "Aqui""	Sexually dance on him -Have her turn her body so he can see her entire body. Admiring her butt Freak in bed, reference to sexual intercourse as he also wants to feel her entire body and make her orgasm.
Derogatory naming of women	"Al die bitches bellen, maar ik denk aan jou (Denk aan jou)"	'bitches'
Consumption	Ey, die waist line in die Balmain jeans, ik kan niet aan	She looks good in Jeans from the brand Balmain.
Sexual objectification		Screenshot 0.51 ("Hup") Screenshot 1.23 ("Hup")
Violence (gun)		Screenshot 0.16 ("Hup") Screenshot 1.02 ("Hup")

		Screenshot 2.18 ("Hup")
Illegal activity - Stealing money from the rich to give back to poor women		Screenshot 1.59 ("Hup")
		Screenshot 2.55 ("Hup")
		Screenshot 3.06 ("Hup")
Last man standing – Yung Felix, Chivv, Bizzey & Kraantje Pappie	Last man standing is about that everything they do becomes a trend, providing scenes in their music videos of topics that went viral in 2018.	
Derogatory naming of women	"Weinig, je bent een bad bitch doe het veilig (<i>Ey</i> , <i>ey</i>) Je bent een bad bitch, doe niet heilig (<i>Ey</i> , <i>ey</i> , <i>ey</i>) Zoveel domme bitches kan ik niet vermijden"	
Money, consumption	"We maken money met de clique, da's waar We maken money en bedragen gaan raar, ey"	Reference to making money and luxury items
	"Pull up in a brand-new wagon (Skrrt-skrrt)"	New Car
	"Uhm, de boss, 10k uit m'n zak	10 thousand euros in cash
	't Is een brand new watch, net gekocht, maar ik weet niet (Ik weet niet)	New watch
	Want net als met Supreme voelt het af en toe die kroon op m'n pols net te mainstream"	Reference to the brand Supreme

Sexual	"Let me lick you up en down (Wow)"	-He wants to lick her body
objectification	"Schat, ik laat je kopen, laat me je bakka slopen"	- bakka slopen, could refer to rough sex
Other – reference to an American singer	"Ik ben fucking Lil' Craney (De enige echte)"	Kraantje Pappie uses the Lil in front of his name like the American rapper Lil Wayne
Derogatory naming of women + distrust	"Hoe komen al die hoeren backstage? (Nou?) Wie heeft er gebeld met de escort? (Escort) Straks worden we getapt en gesnitcht hier Dus pas op wat er gezegd wordt (Wow) Nou, wat krijgt ze? Huh"	Do not trust escorts, believing they would snitch on them
Sexual objectification + reference to Butterfly doors by Lil Pump		Screenshot 1.38 ("Last man standing")
		Screenshot 1.22 ("Last man standing")
		Screenshot 1.41 ("Last man standing")
Money, consumption Cars, jewelry, cash		Screenshot 1.57 ("Last man standing")
		Screenshot 2.48 ("Last man standing")

Other – Reference to Kayne West and Lil-Pump "love it"	Donda (Screenshot 4.02 ("Last man standing")
Other – reference to Kayne West against President Trump		Screenshot 2.14 ("Last man standing")
		Screenshot 2.20 ("Last man standing")
Other – reference to the movie Birdbox		Screenshot 2.30 ("Last man standing")
Other – reference to Famke Louise "op me monnie" Sexualization of eating a lollypop		Screenshot 2.34 ("Last man standing")

Songs from 2020

Wat is je naam - Yxng Le x Frenna	Lyrics: Love for a woman Video: A women trapped in a marriage is trying to escape to be with the man she loves	
Other – love and care for a woman	"Schatje, zeg me ben je okay?" "Ik ben in love girl, can't you see? You see?" "Met jou ben ik safe, ik was mister lonely"	Asking about her feelings, if she is okay and admitting how he is in love with her and feels safe with her.

Other – love		Screenshot 0.26 ("Wat is je naam")
		Screenshot 2.00 ("Wat is je naam")
Violence – against a woman, submissive		Screenshot 1.26 ("Wat is je naam") Screenshot 1.31 ("Wat is je naam")
Tout est bon – Boef feat. Numidia	Tout est bon, coming from far but now everything is going well as they make money.	
Money, consumption	"Tout est bon, tout est, tout est bon Ik kijk niet naar jou om, in mijn zak heb ik een bom"	Everything is going well, earning loads of money
	"Waarom doe je stoer als je met een Uber komt?"	Coming with an Uber is
	"'k Heb drie osso's op m'n naam, zeg me, ben ik nu de bom? (Oeh)"	not cool according to him He has three houses
	"Ze zegt, "Je moet ietsie meer lachen, bae" Maar breng me geld en ik zweer het, ik lach een beetje (Snapje?)"	He will laugh when she brings him money
	"Sta op, want d'r bill heb ik al gepayt We stunten nu mee, ga fully Dior en zij fully Bottega"	Reference that they have two expensive well- known brands Dior and Bottega

Sexual objectification	"Tout est bon, kifesh met jouw brute kont? (Wazabi) Loop jij één keer langs? Heel de buurt, die draait zich	Suggesting everybody stares at her butt
	om" "En zij weet ook wel dat iedereen vreemdgaat Vandaag met haar, morgen met d'r collega (Eh)"	Suggesting it is okay that people cheat on each other with a colleague
Alternative to sexual objectification	TORR TORREST	Screenshot 1.19 ("Tout est Bon") People fully clothed are dancing together. Screenshot 2.04 ("Tout est Bon") Dancing, multicultural but mainly non-white. Guy in the front is wearing a Jersey with New York
Video Vixen – Bilal Wahib feat. Bizzey	Bilal and Bizzey's sing they want to be with a video vixen which is a name for female models that appear in music videos of hip-hop artists. The women are defined by sexual traits and "cater to a male consumer's sexual wishes" (Murali, 9). They often have a subordinate and submissive role compared to the power position of the male artist.	
Money,	"Ik pull up in die Ghost Rolls Royce"	
Sexual objectification	"Ze kan het draaien, net de jury van Voice" "Video vixen Famous op de 'Gram, ik moet je fixen"	Suggesting she can move nicely with her body/but In combination with video vixen, that he needs to fix her, reduces her to a mere object.
Violence against a woman + derogatory naming of women + submissive + sexual	"Een vieze nigga is goed voor je (Ja, ja) "Ey schat, ik ga je straffen (Straffen) Om-de-nom-de-nom (Ey, ey, ey, ey)" "Doggy style zonder blaffer Bakka hoge zon (Skrrt, skrrt, skrrt, skrrt)"	Disrespecting a woman by saying he will punish her and have sex with her in doggy style. 'Zonder blaffen' means either without any comments from her or without her making a noise.
objectification	Droptop, bitch ik bloed voor je (Rah) Laat ze praten, bitch ik shoot voor je (Tut-tut-tut)"	Saying that a dirty/naughty guy is good for her.

		Bitch ik bloed/shoot voor je: he wants to be with her but still calls her a bitch.
Other – beauty of the video vixen (white woman)		Originally a video vixen is about black woman, in this video she is a white woman.
		Screenshot 0.25 ("Video Vixen")
		Screenshot 0.19 ("Video Vixen")
Jongen van de straat – Lil	Song about how he comes from 'the street' and not to abandon him.	
Kleine	Showing many other guys in the videoclip who are from the street including other rappers.	
	While admitting he made mistakes in the past and	
	having regrets, there is no form of hypermasculinity or misogyny in the video or lyrics	
Macho	A STATE OF THE STA	Screenshot 1.13 ("Jongen van de Straat)
		Danger as exciting – smoking
Loneliness		Screenshot 0.39 ("Jongen van de Straat")
	INLON	Shot of a guy all by himself.
		Multiple shots of guys by themselves are made who came from 'the street'
Mij niet eens gezien - Kris Kross	Cover of "Toen ik jou zag" written by Guus Meeuwis and Jan Willem for the movie All Stars for the character of Hero	
Amsterdam	Character of field	

& Lil Kleine & Yade Lauren	Original about a dreamy guy falling in love with the wife of his father. However, the cover changed the narrative by showing a woman falling for a man who is with someone else.	
Sexual objectification	Verse Lil Kleine "Toen zag je mij niet staan, maar schatje ga me zien Ik wil je vaker zien, onder de lakens zien Daar raak ik je aan misschien Ik boss m'n loot met je, echt ik voel me goed met je Ik denk dat je niet door hebt Schatje wat je doet met me"	Lil Kleine sings how he wants to see her in bed under the covers and touch her. His verse is much more direct, objectifying her and disregarding her opinion. While in the original
	Origineel verse H.E.R.O. Als ik jou zou vragen, drink jij wat van mij Zou je dan lachen, blijft het daarbij Ik moet het toch proberen, ik weet alleen niet hoe Niet langer verlegen, ik wil ik zal ik ga naar je toe	verse the male artist asks if she has a drink with him and a good time if that will be all. suggesting he wants more from her, but he asks her.
Other – love	THE SECOND STATE OF THE SE	Screenshot 1.31 ("Mij niet eens gezien") Screenshot 1.34 ("Mij niet eens gezien")
Nooit thuis - Boef feat. Ashafar	Personal story – when he was young, he was never home while his mom was worried about him, now he is never home to make money with rap. No misogyny	
Money	"Je maandsalaris is m'n show Nu alleen maar witgeld, kom van stacken in een doos" "Maakt niet uit waar ik ben, d'r moet money mee Money mee"	For one show he will earn the amount of a monthly salary Always having money in his pocket wherever he goes
Other- reference to the United States	"Zijn united als de States, vraag me niets en zoek verder"	"United als the States"

Other – Loneliness	"Ik had niets en zag weinig om me heen Nu ik maak, gaat het goed, maar toch voel ik me zo eenzaam"	Even though he made it, and things are going well he feels lonely
Money, consumption – quats, car, boat		Screenshot 1.14 ("Nooit thuis")
		Screenshot 1.29 ("Nooit thuis")
	SCARIAB SPORT	Screenshot 2.19 ("Nooit thuis")