Article

Girl Fights and the Online Media Construction of Black Female Violence and Sexuality

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Abstract

This article uses content analysis to examine the media construction of violence and sexuality among young Black, White, and Latina women who fight on WorldStarHipHop.com. I explore symbolic themes derived from the construction of violence through physical fighting. Findings suggest overrepresentation of depictions of Black women as perpetrators, specifically with weapon use and amount of physical violence shown. Findings also indicate racial differences in displays of nudity. Yet, these racialized images conflict with existing codes of violence in urban Black communities. This article adds new insight into the critical discourse surrounding urban Black women and new media construction of girl violence.

Keywords

girls, media issues, Black youth, crime and victimization in popular culture, female delinquency, interpersonal violence, fighting

Introduction

> Young people quickly learn that that which scales, that which spreads, tends to be that which is most embarrassing, humiliating, grotesque or sexual.

> —boyd (2014, p. 117)

Fueled by shifting attitudes toward female violence, criminology has shown renewed interest in violent offending and victimization among young, urban Black women. A

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sizable literature exists on patterns of female crime and violent offending by race and class (e.g., Kruttschnitt, Gartner, & Hussemann, 2008; Moore & Padavic, 2010; Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996), as well as on the racialized and gendered representations of violent crime that are prevalent in traditional media, including television, film, and newspapers (Entman & Rojecki, 2001). Much less is known about these cultural constructions in the context of "new media" or the Internet (Jenkins, 2006). This absence is notable, given the proliferation of user-generated content such as videos, blogs, and file sharing (Crane & Sornette, 2008). This content is not only shared and consumed by large audiences but users also have the ability to control its production, distribution, and consumption (Nightingale, 2007). New media is highly influential in shaping ideas about marginalized bodies in urban spaces, given the salience of racial and gendered inequality (Gaunt, 2015a; Gray, 2014), although the exact mechanism by which this mediation occurs is not well understood. Some scholars argue that forms of new media promote the same racial and gender biases that inhabit forms of old media (Daniels, 2009), while others assert that cyberspace may have a singular potential to develop antiracist and antisexist social discourses (Ebo, 1998).

This article examines the visual, online construction of violence among young Black women in comparison with young White and Latina women, specifically their participation in urban street fights, or physical altercations in and around the street in urban communities. Urban street fights are often captured online as part of the viral video phenomenon in which personal electronic devices are part of everyday use (Nakamura & Chow-White, 2013). Youth, in particular, orchestrate fights using cell phones to text and rally large groups of friends and peers to observe, record, and then post such fight videos online (Lane, 2014, 2016). These self-productions are embedded within "cell phone culture," (Goggin, 2012) which allows "ordinary people" to use digital technology to show themselves (or others) engaging in violence, and thereby performing before local and virtual audiences (Yar, 2012). Yet, the recording and dissemination of fight performances also strip away the original context of the encounter to fit within a digital narrative. I analyze this construction of physical fighting, and the ways in which the social identities and lived realities of young, urban Black women can be collapsed and distorted through videography and media platforms (Gaunt, 2015b).

WorldStarHipHop.com (*WSHH*) is often the destination place for online fight videos. Created in 2005 and lauded as the "CNN of the Ghetto" (Milo, 2012; Tesfamariam, 2014) by Haitian American site creator, the late Lee "Q" O'Denat, *WSHH* is an American shock website and content blog said to specialize in hip-hop and urban media content (Curry, 2012). The term "CNN of the Ghetto" was first made popular in 1988 by hip-hop rapper Chuck D, when he referred to rap music as the "Black CNN" (Kuwahara, 1992). Here, O'Denat equates hip-hop as a musical art form steeped in the marginalized experiences of urban Blacks, and CNN as a broadcast news program, to *WSHH*—a website that solicits a smorgasbord of music and dance videos, public fights, celebrity interviews, lewd sexual acts, local news, and comedy spoofs (Bell, 2013; Milo, 2012). Online users submit fight videos to *WSHH* in hopes of garnering Internet fame and exposure. *WSHH* also pulls videos from other websites to post on

their site, regardless of whether featured parties are aware they are being recorded or displayed online (Smiley, 2015). Accordingly, *WSHH* becomes a conduit for symbolic capital among fighters, videographers, and bystanders who can gain recognition and attention (albeit violent) through online visibility.

The "Sharkeisha fight" is a salient example of this phenomenon of viral online fight videos. In 2013, a violent altercation between two Texan Black girls went viral on *WSHH* and YouTube within hours, flooding Twitter feeds, Instagram hashtags, and local news broadcasting. Sha'Michael Manuel, the bespectacled victim who was unsuspectingly struck and kicked, claims that she had no idea she was being recorded, nor did she give consent for the video submission to *WSHH* (Huffington Post Live, 2014). Meanwhile, her assailant, Sharkeisha, instantly became a "micro-celebrity" (Senft, 2008) and "world star," as millions viewed and found humor in her performance in the fight video (Huffington Post Live, 2014).

This article focuses on these kinds of depictions of young Black women as both victims and aggressors, and the ways in which *WSHH* actively solicits and disseminates troubling representations of violence among these women. Part of the site's popularity and controversy emerges from its cultural branding of revealing "the good, the bad, and the ugly of the urban experience" (Jacobson, 2012), and a "glimpse at the stretch-marked underbelly of hip-hop" (Detrick, 2011). This gendered notion of "stretch-marked" suggests that visual content on *WSHH* is not only feminized but also unsightly; while "underbelly" connotes a hidden scene that *WSHH* is privy to, or an "insider's look" into a particular urban subculture of chaos. Similar to Goffman's (1978) "backstage" region, *WSHH* invites viewers into localized (and even private) performances of violence that become public. Because we lack data on the prevalence of "ordinary street fights" (Ness, 2004) or "occasional fist fights" (Voisin, Bird, Hardestry, & Shiu, 2011, p. 2488), especially between young Black women, recordings of urban violence on *WSHH* may overrepresent actual conflict with levels actually found in inner-city neighborhoods. Video depictions on the website may also amplify certain aspects of violence. In the recording of "cat fights" (Brown & Tappan, 2008), young women become sexualized when the camera focuses on exposed female body parts and flashes of nudity.

Using a cultural criminological approach, I explore this blending of physical and sexualized violence, and examine how urban Black women compared with other young women who fight are depicted on *WSHH*. Drawing on 50 videos that include 180 shorter video segments, I address two central questions:

Research Question 1: How prevalent are fight videos between young Black women in comparison to other women?
Research Question 2: What racialized themes about female violence are portrayed in online videos of fights with Black, White, and Latina women?

Finally, I draw conclusions about what these representations suggest about Black racial authenticity and "codes" of violence among Black women (Anderson, 2000; Jackson, 2005; Nguyen & Anthony, 2014).

Disentangling Urban Violence From Media Stereotypes

Scholars have begun to discuss the "digital flow of street culture" (Lane, 2014, p. 29), as urban Black youth enact the "code of the streets" (Anderson, 2000) through video-sharing sites and other social media. Based on street life in urban communities, rules of respect, reputation, loyalty, and authenticity regarding physical conflict extend to virtual communities (Anderson, 2000; King, Walpole, & Lamon, 2007; Patton, Eschmann, & Butler, 2013). Conflict among Black girls can easily propagate through social media (Ness, 2004), leading to the unfounded assumption of a growing trend of girl-on-girl violence (Brown, 2014; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2013; Luke, 2008; Prothrow-Stith & Spivak, 2005; Waldron, 2011). Data suggest that young Black girls engage in physical fighting at higher rates than other girls (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2015; David-Ferdon & Simon, 2014), leading many to pigeon-hole these girls as particularly prone to violence and the enactment of "dangerous" masculine behavior (Chesney-Lind & Eliason, 2006; Irwin & Chesney-Lind, 2008). Yet, growing scholarship contradicts this conclusion, arguing that taken out of context, these data give rise to essentialist and cultural-deficit interpretations that pathologize Black women and girls and justify their harsher punishment (Arnold, 1990; Brown, 2014; Goodkind, Wallace, Shook, Bachman, & O'Malley, 2009; Hitchens & Payne, 2017). Black girls are 6 times more likely to be punished and suspended in school than other girls (White House Council on Women and Girls, 2014), especially Black girls with darker skin tones (Hannon, DeFina, & Bruch, 2013). This differential treatment exists even when controlling for behavior or offense (Miller, 1996; Piquero, 2008). School officials and law enforcement often make these punitive decisions subjectively, and Black girls' perceived inappropriate behavior is frequently "upcrimed" (Chesney-Lind, 2004) or "deviance[d] up" (Krauthammer, 1993), and penalized more severely. Consequently, official arrest data may distort the prevalence of fighting and aggression among girls, as Black girls who fight are more likely to be caught and penalized, particularly in urban schools (Astor & Meyer, 1999). Black youth's connections to social media (Cohen & Kahne, 2011) may also accelerate the transfer of violent images among these youth and reinforce inequities in the treatment of Black girls.

Media depictions about urban Black girls and women that are infused with cultural and racial stereotypes are problematic, in that they lack informed understandings of the lived experiences of Black women with violence as found in some ethnographic research (Crenshaw, 1991; Jones, 2009; Miller, 2008; Ness, 2004). In neighborhoods where police responsiveness is low and the threat of victimization is high, many urban Black girls adopt a street code and orientation in response to inner-city violence and disadvantage (Miller, 2008). As a result of "working the code" (Jones, 2008), these girls craft street identities that personify them as tough and violent, even at the risk of being perceived as "street," "ghetto," or "fighters" by others in their schools and neighborhoods (Jones, 2009; Patton, Lane, Leonard, Macbeth, & Smith-Lee, 2017). Street rules classify girl fighters as either "fair" or "dirty" fighters. "Fair ones," or one-on-one fist-fights between people of the same sex, are granted the most respect in urban communities among fighters. Winning a "fair one" legitimizes a young Black woman's street

authenticity within the urban context, as she is seen as able to defend herself with her own two hands (Anderson, 2000; Ness, 2010, p. 89). Fights are considered "dirty" when additional women jump into harm another person or when weapons are used. These women are viewed as less "real" and authentic in a street context, as they violate spoken and unspoken politics of street fighting. Thus, while young women with a reputation for fighting "dirty" might be more feared for their fighting abilities, they are not respected as "fair" fighters. And as Anderson (2000) reinforces, respect is a fundamental element of the street code. Consequently, an imbalanced media depiction of urban Black girls as "dirty" fighters could work to delegitimize the actions and behavior of these young women as trivial, impulsive, and worthy of scorn.

"CNN of the Ghetto?" WorldStar's Veneer of Legitimacy in Framing of Urban Black Women

Arguably, among *the* most popular online media source for contemporary hip-hop and urban culture, *WSHH* is granted the mainstream notoriety and legitimacy for providing an accurate or "authentic" portrayal of Black culture and people (Woldoff & Weiss, 2010, p. 190) through the lens of digital media. Amassing upward of 6 million daily online viewers (Bell, 2013; Detrick, 2011; Jacobson, 2012), *WSHH* is heavily commercially endorsed by the Black Entertainment Television (BET) network, and its viewers are mostly Black and White males between the ages of 18 to 34 (Jacobson, 2012). Despite the perception that *WSHH* captures physical altercations in their natural or "uncut" form, this analysis challenges this perception and *WSHH*'s taken-for-granted commercial appeal as a source that depicts "real people" engaging in "real violence." This legitimation of authenticity and popularity through the lens of violence is particularly insidious for low-income, urban Blacks who are overrepresented as perpetrators of crime and underrepresented as victims of crime in news and media (Dorfman & Schiraldi, 2001; Entman & Rojecki, 2001). Urban Black women face a higher risk of violent victimization than women from other racial groups (Miller, 2008) but are often portrayed as incendiaries of violence (Brown, 2014). Embedded in this racialization of violence are stereotypical assumptions that conflate race and class, and erect a symbolic dichotomy that separates "poor-Black-*violent*-girls" from "*mean*-White-middle-class girls" (Brown, 2014, p. 399).

Media depictions of female violence reify these racial and gendered stereotypes by constructing urban Black girls in terms of their deviance and sexuality. Sexually, they are constructed as "not *really* girls" (Luke, 2008, p. 45) as their behavior and bodies challenge traditional notions of White femininity and beauty. Black women's physicality is often constructed as aesthetically problematic and grotesque, particularly the buttocks (Collins, 2004; Hobson, 2003). The male display of Black women's buttocks not only serves to exploit these women within hip-hop culture, but also "makes hip-hop intelligible to a young White male audience previously adept at consuming racially coded pornography defining Black female desirability from behind" (Durham, 2010, p. 119). Mainstream media often depicts Black female nudity in terms of excess and lewdness (Cooper, 2014), and Black women's bodies are "always public, always

exposed" (Henderson, 2010, p. 3), and "always troubling to dominant visual culture" (Fleetwood, 2011, p. 113). These depictions exist at the expense of White female nudity, which is often appraised in terms of beauty and desirability (Hobson, 2003). In terms of deviance, Black women are often constructed as social problems (Du Bois, 2008; Morris, 2012) whose behavior violates Black respectability politics (White, 2010). The media constructs Black women as "loud" and "ghetto" (Evans, 1988; Fordham, 1993; Ispa-Landa, 2013; Jones, 2009; Morris, 2007; Waldron, 2011), as well as "argumentative, irrationally angry, . . . verbally abusive" (Harris-Perry, 2011, p. 138), and "hate-filled bitch[es]" (Henderson, 2010, p. 2) who are dangers to themselves and their communities.

Scholars have long examined how racialized and "controlling" (Collins, 1993) images are framed within the media, and how social audiences can differentially perceive identical acts of violence, particularly as the race, class, or gender of the perpetrator is signaled (Cerulo, 1998). Furthermore, these biased media images potentially influence social behavior toward urban Blacks (Erigha, 2015) who are disproportionate recipients of such bias. This article examines the construction of violent images of young women through the lens of online fight videos found on *WSHH*. Analysis of these images elucidates the mechanisms used to shape and frame female bodies based on their racial, class, and gendered identities.

Method

Using a two-stage qualitative content analysis (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004), I analyze a total of 50 fight compilation videos that include 180 individual video segments to examine the construction of violence among young women on *WSHH*. This sample represents all of the available videos uploaded between the earliest existing fight compilation (February 2012) and the most recent compilation at the time of this study (April 2014). A video segment is an individual fragment of a lengthier video that is both shortened and edited to fit into a compilation video comprised of several segments (Smiley, 2015). These segments resemble "Greatest Hits" on music programming with various lengths, cinematography, and background music.

A sample of 50 videos was chosen from both the "Fight Compilations of the Week" and "Fight Compilations of the Month" on *WSHH*, which include the most popularly viewed videos depicting scenes of physical violence between various individuals and groups. On average, compilation videos have more than 1 million views. Such popularity and viewership are good criteria for choosing this sample because they suggest wide dissemination, potential breadth of impact, and cultural resonance among Internet users. I accessed these videos using *WSHH*'s online database with the search terms "Fight Comp" and "Fight Compilation." Each search term yielded 1,000 videos, but I only selected videos with either search term in its tagline or title to indicate that the video was a part of *WSHH*'s fight compilations. To organize my sample, I created a spreadsheet and ordered each video compilation chronologically by date of upload (see Table A1 in Appendix). Videos were sampled over a 5-month period from April to September 2014. Fight compilations were and continue to be uploaded on a monthly

basis after that time frame. Video compilation length ranged from 9:11 min to 33:22 min with an average running time of 18:55 min. In total, 13 hr and 57 min of video content were coded. Within these 50 compilations, there are 180 total video segments that display at least one fight between two or more women.

Video segments were content coded using a formal coding system developed for this study.[1] Before data collection began, I piloted the coding procedure and amended the coding manual to improve its clarity. This coding system can be broken up into six descriptive categories: (a) title of fight compilations and video segments, (b) setting and location of fight(s), (c) type of fight(s) shown, (d) context (e.g., conversation and dialogue, constructed "reason" for fight), (e) participants (e.g., perceived race, class, and gender; perceived victim and perpetrator), and (f) violence displayed (e.g., number of physical blows or hits, props or weapons used, nudity shown). These categories were chosen to examine the manifest content about *what* is occurring in the fight videos, *where* the fights occur, and *who* is involved in the fights. Category E includes descriptive characteristics of each fighter, videographer, and audience member. Each variable in the coding schema includes "unclear" or "not applicable" options to accommodate ambiguous or missing depictions. Videos and video clips were viewed several times by the author in an iterative process of coding and recoding to increase understanding of the media content.

I refer to the 180 coded video segments as "girl fights," and divide the substantive sample of video segments by same-race ($n = 150$) and between-race fights ($n = 30$; see Figure 1). For comparisons by race, I categorize women in the segments as Black, Latina, and White. Asian women were removed from the study due to limited sample size ($n = 4$). Both gender and race variables were subjectively interpreted by the author based on physical features (e.g., skin complexion and tone, facial structure, hair color, and texture), dress, voice and speech (e.g., language or dialect), and degree of femininity or feminine qualities (e.g., hair length, jewelry, or makeup). *Same-race fights* refer to altercations featuring women of similar skin complexion and phenotypic characteristics. *Between-race fights* refer to altercations, including women of differing skin complexion and phenotypic characteristics (e.g., White and Black women).[2] It should be noted that although racial categories were subjectively interpreted, research suggests that racial self-identity matters less in media depictions than how others cognitively perceive skin tone and racial characteristics (Dixon & Maddox, 2005). For example, a young woman with brown skin is likely to be cognitively considered as *Black* whether she self-identifies as such or not.

In addition, to reduce the likelihood of biased coding, these interpretations were triangulated using reliability coding at the end of data collection. Two graduate students were selected to be raters for the analysis, and both were instructed to watch 10 fight compilation videos with a total of 37 girl fights (or about 20% of the whole sample). Raters were instructed to describe the perceived gender and race of combatants, the type of fight (e.g., same race or between race), the content of the fight, and the perceived context of the fight (e.g., type of violence displayed, dialogue, or audio). Each rater's transcript was scored against a master copy created by the author. An overall interrater reliability of 88.0% agreement was achieved between the two raters.
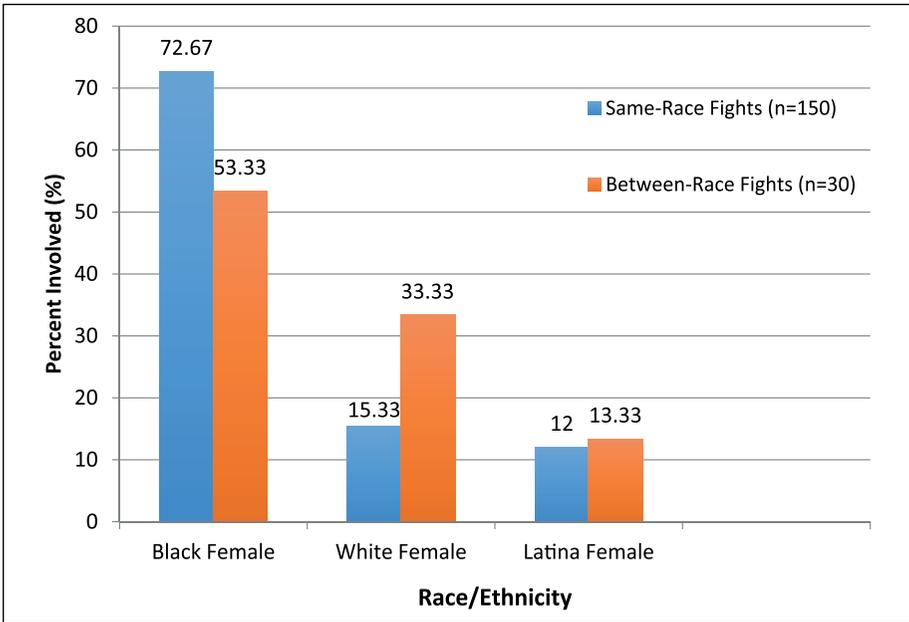
Figure 1. Frequency of female fights on *WorldStarHipHop*, by race (%).
Source. www.WorldStarHipHop.com, Fight Compilations 2012-2014.

Using manifest content gathered from descriptive categories, I then examine the latent content of each fight video segment to gather common and divergent themes and meaning. Following Graneheim and Lundman's (2004) outline of qualitative content analysis, I interpret the latent content of *how* female violence is constructed and racialized on *WSHH*. I analyze the racialization of female violence by comparing the fight depictions by race of combatants, examining female perpetrators versus victims, as well as the amount and extent of violence shown (e.g., initial aggression, weapon use, type and number of physical blows). I also interrogate the sexualization of female violence through nudity (full or partial) displayed during fights. Finally, I examine spatial contexts (e.g., location and setting) and situational contexts of fights (e.g., fair or dirty fights, immediate or build-up of violence). Grappling with these conceptual frames allows for in-depth interpretation and evaluation of violence portrayed among and by women (Cerulo, 1998).

Findings

"You Better Kill Her": The Racialization of Girl Fighting on WorldStarHipHop

To begin, I examine the degree to which women from different racial groups are presented in the video segments. The results addressing this issue are presented in Figure 1

Table 1. One-Way ANOVA of Difference in Number of Physical Blows on *WorldStarHipHop*, by Race.

Number of blows by race	Sum of squares	df	M^2	F	p value
Between	2,641.54	2	1,320.7719	3.15	.04*
Within	74,186.65	177	419.133619		
Total	76,828.19	179	429.20779		

*$p < .05$.

which displays the racial distribution of same-race fights as well as the prevalence of between-race fights. Clearly, young Black women are overrepresented in both types of fighting, as nearly three quarters of same-race fights portray Black women fighting each other, and more than half of between-race fights include Black women fighting other women. Similar to the portrayal of Blacks in crime news, this overrepresentation reinforces stereotypes of Black violence that suggest a propensity for engaging in violence among Black women. While some might argue that this saturation makes sense given *WSHH*'s ostensible target Black audience, *WSHH* is widely viewed by both Blacks and Whites—many of whom are males (Jacobson, 2012).

Young Black women are not only overrepresented in fight videos on *WSHH*, but they are also constructed as the most physically violent by site creators. A one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of race on the mean number of physical blows thrown in the video segments among young women (Table 1). Physical blows were measured by the number of times each combatant physically punched, kicked, or slapped another combatant within the video segment. The ANOVA revealed that Black women were more likely to be shown using violent, physical contact toward other women ($M = 28.27$, $SD = 21.64$), then were Latina women ($M = 25.46$, $SD = 15.64$) and White women ($M = 17.27$, $SD = 18.03$). The ANOVA confirmed that these differences by race are statistically significant ($F = 3.15$, $p = .04$). This problematic construction of young Black women as hyperviolent, even within the cinematic frame of brief video segments, amplifies racialized ideals about urban communities without a nuanced understanding of how violence functions within these spaces.

I now turn to the research question regarding the content of the fights in the videos and whether these differ by race. I discovered three particular symbolic themes in the media content analysis: (a) Impulsiveness, (b) Unfair Fighting, and (c) Sexualization.

Impulsiveness. Racialized themes about violence among young women on *WSHH* can also be contextualized through depictions of impulsiveness. Impulsivity implies an action that is committed without forethought or warning. Table 2 explores the symbolic themes of Impulsiveness, Unfair Fighting, and Sexualization that emerge within fights, wherein Black, Latina, or White girls are depicted as perpetrators of violence. Impulsiveness is measured by video segments that open with immediate violence. More than 55% of girl fights open with immediate physical violence, including using

Table 2. Symbolic Themes of Racialization of Female Violence on *WorldStarHipHop* (%).

Symbolic themes	Total sample (N = 180)	Black female perpetrators (N = 130)	White female perpetrators (N = 26)	Latina female perpetrators (N = 24)
Impulsiveness				
Open with violence	55.56 (100)	59.23 (77)	50.00 (13)	41.67 (10)
		Fisher's Exact Test Pr = .222		
Unfair Fighting				
More than two female combatants	33.33 (60)	35.38 (46)	34.61 (9)	20.83 (5)
		Fisher's Exact Test Pr = .407		
Weapon use	15.56 (28)	20.00 (26)	3.85 (1)	4.17 (1)
		Fisher's Exact Test Pr = .031*		
Sexualization				
Nudity	39.44 (71)	43.08[a] (56)	19.23 (5)	41.67 (10)
		Fisher's Exact Test Pr = .067[†]		

[a]Level of significance using Dunnett's post hoc test (*p* = .044).
[†]*p* < .1. *p* < .05.

fists or limbs, pulling hair, slapping, grabbing, or slamming violently (Table 2). *WSHH*'s depiction of these fights does not include predialogue or narration that would add critical context to the altercations among young women. Such dialogue could demonstrate a "build up" or escalation of violence, and provide insight into the situational processes that shape violence between young women. When such dialogue is edited or excluded from fight videos, viewers are left only with the frame of physical violence as provided or manipulated by *WSHH*. While users may be able to locate longer versions of *WSHH* fight segments on other websites, the video fight tag, subtitles, and other descriptors are often changed—making such a search more difficult. Absent from many of these segments are the added voices and perspectives of the women themselves. Hence, viewers are apt to rely on *WSHH*'s proposed framing as reflective of the depiction of female violence.

Fisher's Exact Test was performed to examine the relation between the race of the perpetrator and videos that open with violence. Although not statistically significant, there are still notable qualitative differences by race in how young Black women are depicted as impulsive. More than 59% of fights including young Black women open with immediate violence and without any predialogue which could allow viewers to comprehend, rationalize, or even sympathize with the actions of these young women. These women are often shown "beefing on sight" (Cameron & Taggar, 2005) or fighting their opponent instantaneously upon coming in close proximity. An example of this impulsiveness is found in a fight compilation video:

> Video segment entitled "Waffle House Employees Scrap," opens in a Waffle House restaurant with one Black and one White woman fighting behind the counter. Both are

wearing blue uniforms, and the video begins with the Black woman wildly slapping and punching the White woman in the head. The recording cell phone is held by a man, as evident by a deep, masculine voice that shouts "Worldstar!" three times as the women fight. The Black woman yanks the White woman's hair as a Black male employee attempts to break up the altercation. He pulls the Black woman off of the White woman and guides her down the counter. The cell phone frame widens and viewers can see two White men watching the scene as they sit and eat at the lunch counter. Both appear unmoved by the display of violence. The Black woman exclaims indignantly, "Don't hit me in my face!" The White woman replies shrilly, "You hit me in the face!" The two continue to bicker before the cell phone recording cuts short.

In this particular video segment, the Black woman is shown attacking the White woman without provocation. This video segment and others of this type construct Black women as angry perpetrators, while White women are constructed as passive victims who appear to be taken off guard. Of the 30 between-race fights, 14 fights portray White women as victims, and six fights portray them as perpetrators of violence. Conversely, only eight between-race fights portray Black women as victims, while 18 depict these women as perpetrators of violence. *WSHH*'s video editing creates and manipulates the representations of Black women as driven by impulse and violence without rational cause.

In the next section, I expand on the construction of violent Black women and analyze the second symbolic theme of fighting "unfairly" in the inner city, particularly with the use of weapons.

"Hood Chicks With [Baseball] Bats": Framing Weapon Use and "Unfair" Fighting in the Inner City

Unfair Fighting. *WSHH*'s construction of aggression among Black women is discordant with notions of street authenticity as it relates to fighting in Black, urban spaces. "Fair" fighting is regulated by specific street codes that include fighting "one-on-one" or fistfights that involve no more than two combatants. Street codes of "fair" fighting also dissuade the use of weapons of any kind, as one woman is given a disadvantage in defending herself against another. When a woman violates either of these codes, she can gain the reputation of "dirty" fighting or using violence to give herself an unfair advantage in winning an altercation. "Dirty" fighting is a form of deviance that suggests a willingness to engage in lawless behavior at the expense of being perceived as less authentic or "real" within a street context. *WSHH* plays on these notions of street authenticity, and frames the behavior of Black women as divergent from these notions.

The theme of Unfair Fighting has two measures: video segments that depict more than two women fighting each other, and segments that show women brandishing or using weapons as a form of violence against other women. Weapons used include stationary objects (e.g., tables, concrete walls, or floors) and nonstationary objects (e.g., baseball bats, glass bottles, and knives). Table 2 indicates that a third of all fights among Blacks, Latinas, and Whites include more than two female combatants. Black

women were statistically no more likely than other women to fight with two or more female combatants. Yet, findings suggest that Black women were significantly more likely to use weapons while fighting than Latina and White women ($p = .031$). Weapons are brandished in 15.56% of all fights, yet 20% of fights with Black women as perpetrators include weapons and only 4% of fights with either White or Latina perpetrators include weapons.

A salient illustration of the theme of Unfair Fighting is an altercation between three Black women:

> The video begins with two women, one of whom is morbidly obese, who are fighting on the front lawn of a dilapidated row home. A mass crowd of Black neighborhood spectators of all ages watch from porches, while others swarm the street and nearby patches of grass. The obese woman is nude with the exception of undergarments and swings wildly at the second woman. A third woman jumps into the altercation between the two women. She begins fighting the partially nude woman, and reveals a knife. The partially nude woman goes inside the adjacent house and reemerges wielding a large pole. They both advance toward each other with weapons in hand. Before either woman can use their weapon, a Black male spectator (who appears to know both women) stops and physically restrains them, thereby ending the altercation.

This frequent depiction of violent Black women in and around low-income neighborhoods demonstrates how representations of female violence become racialized and sexualized. *WSHH* appears to take viewers into the "backstage" (Goffman, 1978) of violence in urban Black spaces through the discursive construction of a zany, "unfair," and violent street performance. Not only do the women fight "dirty" with their use of weapons and inclusion of more than two combatants, but public nudity and the uncensored Black female body dovetail with *WSHH*'s construction of the urban spectacle of unfiltered violence. Findings indicate that although the majority of fights are constructed as "fair" fights, fights among Black women are more likely to deviate from this socially constructed norm. Instead, these women are constructed as more likely to use extreme forms of violence to reach a desired end. These findings overlap with other dramatized media images of "gun-toting urban girls of color" (Brown, 2014; Lee, 1991) and "brutish" Black girls (Badia, Paddock, Thomas, & Schapiro, 2015) who are perceived as both physically and socially dangerous. However, the inaccuracy of these constructions is particularly relevant, given recent data that reveal that White and Latina high school women are more likely to report carrying a weapon than Black women (CDC, 2015; Child Trends Data Bank, 2014). In fact, data suggest that while weapon use among Black and Latino students has drastically declined, such use has increased among White students in recent years (CDC, 2015). Findings provide significant support for one of the measures of Unfair Fighting, and suggest that weapon use is constructed as a symbolic theme to provide an inaccurate and stereotypical framing of violence among Black women.

The next section examines the third symbolic theme of the racialization of female violence. *WSHH* intertwines spectacles of public nudity within the framing of violence to extend racialized notions of girl fighting to include sexualization.

"Seductive Digital Spectacles": The Sexualization of Black Girls' Violence

Sexualization. The sexualization of girl fighting on *WSHH* continues in the media trend and "public obsession with erotically tinged violence" found in female wrestling matches, popular films, and pornography (Brown & Tappan, 2008, p. 48). Girl fights on *WSHH* are laced with nudity and camera close-ups to emphasize female body parts exposed during physical altercations. Nearly 40% of fights include partial or full female nudity (Table 2). In these incidences, young women's bodies are exposed among large crowds and often remain visually uncensored by *WSHH* online. More than 63% of girl fight videos I examined were recorded by men, whereas less than a quarter were recorded by women ($n = 180$). As males record and consume the majority of *WSHH* fight videos, young women's bodies are sexualized as objects beneath the "male gaze" (Mulvey, 2003) and masculine control of the camera lens. Some male videographers and audience members even make suggestive comments, jeer, and surround women while they fight—as if in a boxing ring or mud-wrestling pit.

Such sexual objectification is most pronounced among Black and Latina women who are shown nude or partially nude in 43% and 41% of fights, respectively (Table 2). In fact, only Black women are shown fully nude and without censor in any of fight videos analyzed on *WSHH*. White women are shown partially nude in only 19% of fights. Findings suggest a marginally significant relationship between nudity and race ($p = .067$). Dunnett's post hoc test revealed that nudity among Black women was statistically higher than nudity among White women ($-.24 \pm .10$, $p = .044$), yet did not significantly differ from nudity among Latina women ($-.01 \pm .10$, $p = .988$; Table 2).

An example of nudity among Black female combatants on *WSHH* is described below:

> Five Black women fight outdoors in their pajamas among a crowd of neighborhood residents of various ages. It is late evening, and the women fight beneath the yellow glow of city streetlights. One Black woman grabs and pulls off the pajama shirt of another younger Black woman to reveal her completely nude body. The naked woman tries to cover herself as several spectators point and laugh. Her body remains naked and uncensored during most of the fight, and she soon walks out of camera view, appearing mortified.

The physical unveiling of Black female bodies on *WSHH* reflects the wider objectification and commodification of these bodies in mainstream media (Collins, 2004; Morgan, 2000). *WSHH* constructs Black female bodies as objects of humor, objects that can easily be exposed given the "impulsive" and "wild" nature of Black girl fights. *WSHH* includes these racialized images of Black female nudity to titillate mostly male audiences, and concretize gendered and racialized notions about Black femininity, behavior, and sexuality. Interestingly, despite breaking all other boundaries, *WSHH* still manages to protect ideals about White female purity through the lack of videos depicting White female nudity. *WSHH*'s frame suggests that some female bodies can and should be exposed, while others deserve discretion and censorship.

"Pit-Bull Puppies" and "Ghetto B#tches": Racialized Language as Symbolic Violence

Beyond the symbolic themes of Impulsiveness, Unfair Fighting, and Sexualization, further differences exist by race in the content of fight videos on *WSHH*. Racialized language is frequently used in reference to Black women, even when these women are absent from the cinematic frame. During a physical altercation between three White women over a parking spot in a private apartment complex, one tattooed woman spits on and punches a heavy-set woman in the face. The woman who receives the attack appears unfazed and yells:

> I can take on a lot more than that—I deal with Black bitches all the time!

Here, *WSHH* depicts White violence as something that pales in comparison with Black violence. Despite being spat on and physically assaulted, the White woman under attack still perceives these actions as less severe than "deal[ing] with" or fighting Black women. In addition, the use of the pejorative epithet "Black bitch" intensifies the racialized framing of female violence on *WSHH*. Qualitative data reveal that Black women are often described with degrading language such as *pit-bull puppies, ghetto bitches, Black bitches, ratchet hoes*, and *hood chicks* by videographers, spectators, online commenters, and even site creators of *WSHH*'s fight compilations. Similar to "ghetto," *ratchet* is a pejorative slang term usually directed at low-income Black women who are perceived as "unintelligent, loud, classless, tacky, and hypersexual" (Lewis, 2013). Although segments of Black feminism and hip-hop culture have reappropriated the terms "bitch" and "ratchet" to reflect more positive and agentic conceptualizations of Black femininity, this reappropriation does not extend to the Black woman who fights on *WSHH* (Brown & Kwakye, 2012; Cooper, 2013). Instead, the nexus between Black femininity, low-income class identity, and violent bodies collides to symbolically construct this woman as a "*different* kind of bitch" who defies social norms through fighting (Gaunt, 2015a). This construction of deviance serves not only to stigmatize Black women who fight but also to normalize violent behavior among White women—even if this behavior is similar or more violent. Furthermore, the terms "pit-bull puppies" and "ghetto bitches" both imply a discursive construction of young Black women as female dogs: Women who are perceived as animalistic, coarse, and even vicious—but are still immature and not to be taken seriously. This process of "insidious gendered animalization" (Brown, 2014, p. 403) through racialized language adds to the broader racist and misogynist discourse aimed at urban Black women, and illustrates the layers of symbolic violence evident in new media.

Discussion

Through data gathered from qualitative and quantitative analyses of fight videos on *WSHH*, I have demonstrated how race and gender play integral roles in shaping distinctive media constructions of violence of young women of color in comparison with

young White women. I argue that for young Black women in particular, *WSHH* participates in racialized projects of Black criminality and violence with the veneer of providing an authentic portrayal of Black urban life (Alexander, 2012). These racialized projects not only conflict with the existing data that find that poor Blacks and Latinos are significantly less likely to condone fighting than Whites (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998), but they also have implications both online and offline for young Black women. Below, I summarize my findings and discuss these implications in depth.

Consistent with past research on the racialization of media images and violent stereotypes, I found that young Black women are overrepresented in videos of girl fights on *WSHH*. Videos of young Black women engaging in violence are more prevalent on the site, and these women are more often depicted as perpetrators of violence and underrepresented as victims of violence. Important to my analysis is the role of *WSHH* in the construction and manipulation of violence by race. Black women are statistically more likely to be constructed as violent fighters through the use of weapons and volume of physical violence shown. The predominance of Blacks among girl fights on *WSHH* is consistent with racial tropes of "invisible" or absent Asian girls (Pyke & Johnson, 2003) who *never* fight, "mean" White girls (Behm-Morawitz & Mastro, 2008) who *seldom* fight, and "hyper-violent gangsta" Black girls (Brown & Chesney-Lind, 2005, p. 74) who are almost *always* ready to fight. The overrepresentation of young Black women in between-race fights implies that anyone can feel the wrath of young Black women, as their propensity for violence can extend beyond the racial identity of their victim. As one Black female bystander exclaimed before a recorded fight began, "You better kill her [your opponent]," or, Black girls must be ready to fight and win—by any means.

Yet, this construction of violence—examined through themes of Impulsiveness, Unfair Fighting, and Sexualization—conflicts with the existing codes of violence through street authenticity, and distorts the realities of fighting in low-income, urban Black spaces. Similar to boxing, mixed martial arts, and other combat sports, fighting in urban Black neighborhoods is organized by formal and informal rules that are important in deciding a winner and a loser. These rules regulate fighting to one-on-one fistfights between two people of the same sex, and discourage an imbalanced fight through the addition of more than two fighters or weapons. *WSHH* creates a racialized framing of violence by depicting young Black women as more likely to engage in extreme, "unfair" forms of fighting through the higher proportional use of weapons and physical blows (e.g., kicking, punching, slapping, or slamming). *WSHH*'s racialized framing is paradoxical to street codes of violence and authenticity, and thereby symbolically constructs young Black women as inauthentic, unfair, and less "real" in a street or urban context. This racialized framing of inauthenticity constructs young Black women as unable (or unwilling) to only use two hands to defend and protect themselves, and symbolically works to delegitimize the actions and behaviors of these women. *WSHH*'s delegitimization of fighting among Black women then constructs violence among these women as digital parody, and renders Black women as objects of ridicule. This digital parody can also be found in reality television (e.g., *Real Housewives of Atlanta* or *Love & Hip-Hop*), wherein violent altercations among Black women are used for comedic relief (Love, 2012).

More broadly, *WSHH*'s racialized framing manipulates the presence of fighting in urban Black spaces to appeal to mainstream audiences as "the source" for urban violence. This manipulation of violence can be understood through MacCannell's (1973) theory of "staged authenticity," wherein people or institutions can consciously "mystify" the appearance of a social reality to capture a desired audience. Under the guise of "authentic hip-hop" and "real street-life," *WSHH* feeds into the ugly cultural stereotypes about urban Black communities as "disorganized jungle[s]" (Leonardo & Hunter, 2007, p. 780), and "out-of-control, chaotic space[s] dominated by young, violent men" (Zurawik, 2012) and women. Fighting among young Black women is depicted as a circus of reckless violence that the site claims to capture and expose for the world to see. These violent performances are categorized as "seductive digital spectacles" (Hayward, 2012, p. 25) that take on a "carnivalesque flavor" (Miller, 2008, p. 46), given the nature of fighting among peers, family, and friends in public spaces. Accordingly, *WSHH* acts as the virtual "messenger" (Curry, 2012; Jacobson, 2012) of this subculture and, in turn, satisfies the palette of its mainstream viewership that perceives Black communities as spaces of "unbridled violence, erotic fantasy, and/or imaginary alternative[s] to suburban boredom" (Kelley, 1997, p. 39). Black misery is then constructed as both humorous and sordid—as *WSHH* fulfills the fantasy of the mythical Black urban experience.

The primary implication of my findings for research on media representations of violence is that media can benefit from an intersectional approach of race, class, and gender in a holistic examination of violence among urban Black women and girls. Such an examination can elucidate how media representations disseminate racialized and gendered stereotypes about Black women as violent (such as the "angry" or "mad" Black woman), but also create a distinctive, classed framing of low-income, urban Black women as "ratchet" and "ghetto." *WSHH* uses this distinctive framing to amplify media stereotypes about Black women in urban communities, despite the fact that the original site's owner is a Black man who grew up in an urban, Black neighborhood in New York City during the "golden era" of hip-hop and the crack epidemic. This argument has also been made about Mona Scott Young, the Black female executive producer of VH1's *Love & Hip-Hop*, a highly rated franchise that regularly shows Black women engaging in fights and other negative, stereotypical behavior (Abrams, 2012). *WSHH*'s media construction of violence demonstrates that misogynist and racialized stereotypes about Black women can propagate regardless of the race of the messenger.

The larger implication of my findings is that racial differences in school punishment, law enforcement treatment, and sentencing severity are, in part, derived from gendered and racialized ideologies about how girls of color behave in comparison with their White counterparts (Chesney-Lind & Eliason, 2006; Moore & Padavic, 2010). If media representations of violence like those on *WSHH* inform mainstream culture, these representations also potentially inform actors in the criminal justice system. These decision makers are critical in shaping outcomes for young Black women, and data have consistently shown that racial bias has collateral consequences for the lived experiences of girls of color. *WSHH* is a virtual conduit for the greater issue of the criminalization of Black youth through racialized notions of violence.

Appendix

Table A1. Descriptive List of Fight Compilations by Date of Upload.

Fight Compilation Title[1]	Date of Upload
Fight Compilation Of The Week: McDonald's Employees Go At Each Other, 2 Vs 1 Slap Boxing, Girl Gets Busted Open At Restaurant, Jamaican Girl Gets Hit With Brick, Boy Rocked For Hitting His Girl + More!	3/3/12
Fight Compilation Of The Week: 1 Hit KO, Chick Gets Dropped Defending Her Man, Big Girl Throws Hands With Dude & Holds Her Own, Father Body Slams His Son + Guy Attacks Wrong Dude Thinking He Stole His iPhone & More!	4/15/12
Fight Compilation Of The Week: Girl Beats Dude Down For Calling Her "N-Lover", Mother Jumps In Her HS Daughter's Fight, Smackdown For Stealing $700, Laid Out For Eating 1 Chicken Wing, Shots Fired, Brawl In Deli Over Sandwich, Knicks Vs Miami Fans	4/22/12
Fight Comp of the Week: Peedi Gets Whooped Over Thirsty FB Message to His Friend's Girl, Boy Talking Smack on FB Yells For His Mom, Y Not to Rock Red Sox Gear At Yankee Game, Home Confrontation Over Twitter, Girl Pees Herself & More (*Warning* 18+)	4/29/12
Fight Comp Of The Week: Boxer Gives Another Boxer A 1 Piece Combo, 2 Houston Chicks Squabble Over Facebook Mess, Floyd Mayweather Type KO & More	5/6/12
Fight Comp of the Week: Old Man & Little Boy Get Into It, Wild K.O. In Hallways, Dude Thrown Like a Rag Doll, Hood Chicks Get Buck, 2 Guys Try to Scrap With 2 Girls & More	5/13/12
Couples Scrap at McDonalds, All Girl Brawl in the Projects of SC, Ratchetness Inside Chicago Shop & More!	5/22/12
Fight Comp Of The Week: Neighbor's Wife Just Found Out Her Hubby Was Cheating, Waffle House Employees Scrap, Boy Gets Whooped For Stealing, Crown Heights Gets Live & More	5/30/12
Fight Comp Of The Week: Off-Duty State Trooper Slapped By Big Girl, Man Breakdances After Getting Jumped, 2 Dudes Get Beat On With A Scooter, Friendly Fight Sends Someone Sleeping & More!	6/3/12
Fight Comp of the Week: One Hitter Quitter, KO'd for Harrassing Girl, Bicycle KO, Flatbush Chick Gone Wild & More (*Warning* Must Be 18yrs Or Older to View)	6/12/12
Fight Comp Of The Week: Dude Goes Savage On Friend For Taking His Pills, Man Goes Nite Nite, Jamaican Serves Up, 2 Combo, Bully Gets Treated + More!	6/20/12
Fight Comp of the Week Pt. 6: KO Boxing Style Drag Queen Scrap, Woman Attacks Female in Walmart Parking Lot, Stripper Getting Beat By Waffle House Employee, Slap 4 Cash & More	7/11/12
Fight Comp of the Week Pt. 7: 100 Slaps.. African Style, Dude's Arm Pops Out on Camera During Scuffle, 4 Fights Broke Out of Nowhere in Brooklyn NY, 4 Girls Vs 1 Boy, One Hitter in Trenton, NJ & More	7/19/12

(continued)

Table A1. (continued)

Fight Comp Of The Week Pt. 8: KO'd On Sidewalk, Puerto Rican Brawl, One Hitter Quitter, KO In Buffalo NY, Man Fights Crip, & More!	7/23/12
Fight Comp Of The Week: Strippers Fight For $10K, Girl Scrapping With A Midget, Security Guard KO, Drunk Teens In The DMV, & More	8/14/12
Fight Comp of the Week Pt. 10: Dude KO's Auntie & Cousin For Jumping On His Sister, 1 Hitter Quitter At Jordan Bridge, 3 vs. 3.. Boy Yellin for Help, Stripper Gets Beat For Typing Reckless on Facebook, Myrtlewood Brawl & More (*Warning NSFW)	8/25/12
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 12: Kid KO's Bully For Beating His Friend, 2 On 1, One Hitter Quitter, West Side Riot, 2 Wigs Comes Off & More	9/4/12
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 13	9/10/12
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 14: Piru Vs Crip KO, 1 Punch KO, Gettin It In Over Words On Twitter, Preggo Girl Warns Chick, KO Before GED Test & More [Audio Completely Fixed]	10/12/12
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 15: Guy Gets Beat By Cop & Girl Hit By Car, KO For Talking Reckless, Karate Kidd Vs Street Fighter, Basketball Brawl & More	10/24/12
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 16: 16-Year-Old Takes On 22-Year-Old, KO By A Slap, Chicago Brawl, Talking Ish Goes Wrong, Dormroom Fight, Stealing Rims In The D & More	11/3/12
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 17: 16-Year-Old KO's Adult, Dude Learns Not To Steal $200, Bully Takes Bat To Head, College Scuffle, Dunkin Donuts Beating & More!	11/23/12
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 18: Man Escapes Taser Attack From Club Security, Dropped Like A Zombie, Girl Harlem Shaking, Thanksgiving Fight, 100 African Slaps & More	12/3/12
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 19: 20 Vs 5, College Brawl, Budget Employee Puts Hands On Someone, 1 Man KO's 2 Dudes & More!	12/8/12
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 20: Not The Wig, Basketball KO, Popped With A Chair, Grown Man Fighting For His Son, Stud Takes On Woman For Throwing Gang Signs & More	12/20/12
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 21: Pizza Shack Rumble, Flying Kick, Elbow KO, Crazy Haymakers, Detroit Girls Scrapping, Laid Out Pacquiao Style & More!	1/4/13
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 22: Big Ish Talker Gets Dropped, 7 Vs 1, Slammed Through Table, 2 Trannies Vs 1 Dreadhead, Put To Sleep, Train Scuffle & More!	1/20/13
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 23: Put To Sleep On Beach Side, KO In Front Of LA Fitness, 2 Girls Vs Man On Train, Brawl At Mall, Slammed With Desk & More	2/2/13
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 24: KO Level Expert, 2 Big Joints Duke It Out On The 6 Train, Lost 35 Cents, That Slam & More	2/12/13
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 25: 5 Sec KO, Big Girl Vs Tranny, Hindu Vs Hillbilly, 1 Punch KO, Friendly Wrestling Gone Wrong, Whipped With Rod & More	2/28/13

Table A1. (continued)

Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 26: One Hit KO, Latin King Takes On Man For Disrespecting Miami, Slammed All Over The Place, When Trying To Sucker Punch Goes Wrong, KO Leads To Twitching & More	3/16/13
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 27: SXSW 2013 Throwdowns, Locker Room Brawl, Big Girl Gets The Undertaker, Stripper Fight, Talking Smack Goes Wrong & More	3/28/13
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 28: Wrong Girl Gets Hit On The Head By A Hammer, Crip Gives 1 Hit KO, Don't Call Me A N*gga, KO At McDonalds, Mexico Vs Peru Soccer Game & More	4/27/13
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 29: Kocked Out & He Ain't Even Know It, Vitalyzdtv Catches Brawl 10 Second Drop, Ghetto 300, Never Steal & More! [Fixed]	5/20/13
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 30: Female Brock Lesnar, Super Mario Bros Jump,1 Sec KO, Slam Goes Wrong & More!	6/9/13
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 31: Rapper Gets KO, Night Night Moment, Scrap In Denny's, Messed With The Wrong One & More!	6/26/13
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 32: Girl Gets Body Slammed WWE Style, Skinny Guy Leaves Big Dude Leaking, KO Over Tweets, Teen Mom Gets Hands On Her, KO Over Bojangles & More	7/20/13
Fight Comp Of The Month Ep 33: Dropped At A Wiz Khalifa Concert, Brawl At Lil Wayne's America's Most Wanted Tour, 1 Hit KO & More!	8/11/13
Fight Comp Of The Week Ep 34: Praying For Jesus During Fight, When Drinking & Driving Goes Wrong, WWE In The Block, Brazilian Women Throwing Down & More!	8/25/13
Fight Comp Of The Month Ep 35: Hit By A Car, KO For Dropping N Bomb, Broken Leg, Bat To The Head & More!	9/17/13
Fight Comp Of The Month Ep 36: Bottle To The Head, Knives & Bat Brought Out To A Brawl, 2 Vs 1 + More [23]	10/5/13
Fight Comp Of The Month Ep 37: Teens Vs McDonalds Employees, Coward Jumps In A Female Brawl, That Slam Though + More! (Feat. Childish Gambino's Official "WORLDSTAR" Track)	10/24/13
Fight Comp Of The Month Ep 38: ECU Wildin, McDonalds Brawl Letting It All Out, Tall Guy Vs Little Guy, Riot At High School & More! [33 Min]	11/14/13
Fight Comp Of The Month Ep 39: Tranny Vs Straight Man, McDonalds Brawl, Cold KO, 3 On 1 Turns To 5 On 2 & More! [Fixed Titles]	12/4/13
Fight Comp Of The Month Ep 40: 12 Santas Throwing Down, Talking Mess Backfires, 1 Sec Boxing KO, Tace Bell Brawl, Xbox Live Settled & More	12/24/13
Fight Comp Of The Month Ep 41: Barbershop KO, Epic Street Brawl, Knees Buckled, Wild Pride Gathering & More!	1/22/14
Fight Comp Of The Month Ep 42: Why Men Shouldn't Hit Females, One Slap KO, Walmart Power Slam & More! [Sound Effects Version]	2/13/14

Table A1. (continued)

Fight Comp Of The Month Ep 43: 44-Year-Old Man KO's 25-Year-Old, College Brawl, That Slam Tho, 1 Punch Crunch & More!	3/11/14
Fight Comp Of The Month Ep 44: SXSW 2014 KO, 13-Year-Old Boy Lays Hands On A 22-Year-Old Girl, South Padre Island KO & More	3/18/14
Fight Comp OF The Month Ep 45: Panama City Spring Break KO, Pulling Out Knife Goes Wrong, Double KO, Brawl In McDonald's & More! [20 Min]	4/8/14

[1]All titles are written directly as printed on WorldStarHipHop.com.

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Notes

1.   A full list of the coding scheme is available from the author upon request.
2.   I used skin color as the primary descriptor for race. I did not find any "dark-skinned" Black- or Afro-Latinas in this sample, but I coded all Spanish-speaking women as "Latina."

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