



Mediated Girlhoods

new explorations of girls' media culture



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INTRODUCTION

Girls' Media Studies 2.0

Mary Celeste Kearney

Welcome to the Second Generation. As the content of this collection attests, the study of girls' media culture has grown dramatically since the first wave of scholarship in this area took off in the 1990s¹ via such pioneering monographs as Angela McRobbie's *Feminism and Youth Culture: From Jackie to Just Seventeen*, Susan Douglas' *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media*, and Dawn Currie's *Girl Talk: Adolescent Magazines and Their Readers*, as well as edited collections like Sherrie Inness' *Delinquents and Debutantes: Twentieth-Century American Girls' Cultures* and Sharon Mazzarella and Norma Pecora's *Growing Up Girls: Popular Culture and the Construction of Identity*.² In fact, since the turn of the twenty-first century, girls' media studies has developed into a legitimate area of critical inquiry all its own populated by scholars from multiple disciplines and multiple countries. Nevertheless, no journal or anthology devoted specifically to such scholarship has yet been published. Now is the time. In fact, we're overdue.

The Field

Girls' media studies is a unique area of academic research that has girls' media culture as its overarching object of study. Scholars working in this area analyze a diverse range of media forms, including not only traditional entertainment forms, such as film, radio, television, and magazines, but also music, comics, video games, and contemporary information and communication technologies, such as smart phones, mp3 players, and Web-based social networking sites. Although

many researchers in this field are concerned with how discourses of girlhood are constructed through media images of and stories about female youth, other scholars focus on girls' reception and uses of media, while still others have the production of girls' media as their primary concern.³ The vast amount of research in this field to date has centered on mainstream commercial media culture; however, some scholars have focused on alternative media cultures, particularly those associated with entrepreneurial youth cultures, such as punk, hip-hop, and riot grrrl. Although attention to younger girls' media culture has increased in recent years, most research in girls' media studies has focused on media texts about, consumed by, and/or produced by female adolescents.

With academic roots in sociology, literary studies, communication studies, film and television studies, and, of course, women's and gender studies,⁴ and geographic roots in England, Canada, Australia, and the United States, girls' media studies today is broad both disciplinarily and internationally.⁵ Moreover, it is one of the largest and most productive areas of research within the general field of girls' studies.⁶ This should come as no surprise, given that popular media have been central to girls' culture since the late nineteenth century. Moreover, the media have long been of interest to feminist researchers and activists interested in the various messages about gender sent to female youth as well as the ways girls use popular culture to form their identities and tastes, relationships and values.

As the term "media culture" in the title of this collection suggests, no matter what our disciplinary training or affiliation, scholars involved in girls' media studies today are indebted to the theories, methods, and values associated with cultural studies, an interdisciplinary field which approaches popular culture as a site of various struggles over power, pleasure, identity, and community.⁷ Cultural studies scholars use various qualitative methodologies associated with the humanities and fine arts (e.g., discourse analysis, narrative studies, formal analysis) to examine cultural practices, artifacts, sites, and meanings. They also commonly employ ethnographic methods developed by social scientists (e.g., interviewing, observation, questionnaires) to explore the tastes, values, practices, and responses of everyday people. This focus on the culture of ordinary people is a reaction to traditional approaches in the academy, which prior to the late twentieth century privileged the culture of the social elite at the expense of popular culture. In keeping with poststructuralist theory, cultural studies scholars also question the truth claims of science, opting instead for explorations of the complexity of culture as it is constructed and experienced by different individuals and groups in different historical moments and different geographical places.

In studies of media culture in particular, cultural studies scholars are concerned with not only media texts, but also the users of such texts and their practices of reception, as well as the production context of those texts, be it commercial or subcultural (Kellner). Media-based cultural studies scholars pay close attention

to the sociohistorical specificity of each component of this cultural circuit, as the geographical and temporal location of production and consumption are not always the same, and use, value, and meaning are therefore relative. Although attending to all of these different sites of inquiry can prove difficult for any one research project, particularly those published as a book chapter or journal article, media-based cultural studies scholarship attempts to provide critical reflections on various components of media culture which keep in mind the larger circuit of production/consumption that is always at stake (D'Acci).

Although cultural studies is a primary area of affiliation for girls' media studies scholars today, the most essential discipline for such researchers is the equally interdisciplinary field of women's and gender studies, an academic area grounded in feminist politics.⁸ Not all girls' media studies scholars have the same feminist ideologies, however, having come to feminism and gender studies at different times and in different places. Nevertheless, most researchers working on girls' media culture today—the majority of whom are graduate students and junior faculty—have been strongly influenced by poststructuralist feminist epistemologies, particularly the idea that gender and other identities are socially constructed, as well as theories of identity as intersectional, that is, the notion that identity is a complex composite of multiple, interdependent, and unisolatable modes of being. In turn, many contemporary girls' media scholars have been trained in postcolonial, critical race, and queer theories. As a result of such education and perspectives, as well as an understanding of popular culture as an important site for feminist intervention, many scholars associated with girls' media studies consider themselves third wave feminists.⁹

Scholars who examine girls' media from a solely empirical perspective (for example, research psychologists) may be feminists, they are not typically associated with the field of cultural studies and thus are not included in *Mediated Girlhoods*. Rather than understand media culture as sites of agency and pleasure for consumers and users, such researchers more typically construct audience members, particularly youth, as potential victims of mass media, which in turn are assumed to be dangerous, pollutive forces. Moreover, such work commonly lacks attention to sociohistorical context and the complexities of power, pleasure, and play in cultural phenomena.

By contrast, the scholarship in this collection is powerfully inflected by a cultural studies approach that values all of those things, while also championing the third wave feminist perspective that girls are powerful, agential beings. This does not mean, however, that the authors whose work is collected here do not have concerns about girls' critical abilities, not to mention the possibly detrimental effects of some media texts, practices, and policies on female youth. Indeed, in comparison to much of the optimistic and celebratory work to date within girls' media studies, several of the chapters included here foreground some of the less

progressive aspects of girls' media culture and thus challenge us to be mindful of the regressive forces many female youth regularly negotiate, and sometimes reproduce, in their everyday practices.

Goals and Contributions

Mediated Girlhoods has as its primary objective the raising of public awareness and critical thinking about girls' media culture, as well as girls and girlhood. As its subtitle suggests, this collection aims to publicize and support research that examines girls' media culture from new perspectives and thus expands girls' media studies in novel and provocative directions. Indeed, in its effort to complicate what we know about girls, girlhood, and girls' media culture, this collection devotes considerable space to approaches and objects of study that currently exist outside or on the margins of girls' media studies' conventions.

One obvious way some of the studies in *Mediated Girlhoods* can be considered novel is that they explore texts, audiences, and users/producers associated with *contemporary* girls' media culture. Thus, in addition to examining the mediated experiences of girls alive today, several of the studies in this collection are focused on the most recent forms of media technologies and the cultural practices they facilitate, including YouTube, mp3 players, and smart phones.¹⁰ Moreover, some of the authors explore contemporary girls' media through the lens of conglomeration, analyzing properties that are exponentially capitalized on via conglomerates' synergistic production of a broad range of entertainment goods, including films, TV series, and dolls. This is a somewhat new approach for girls' media studies scholars, whose textual analyses heretofore have typically focused on one product at a time.

Despite *Mediated Girlhoods'* attention to some of the most recent phenomena in girls' media culture, another of this anthology's primary contributions is its publication of several studies that consider girls' media texts, audiences, and producers from an *historical* perspective. In other words, this collection resists equating innovative research with a presentist approach, a practice which unfortunately continues to dominate both girls' studies and media studies (Kearney, "New Directions"). By looking backward and investigating the past, the authors of these historical studies not only enrich our understanding of girls' media culture, they chart a path for future historical research and challenge other scholars to follow. In similar ways, the scholars whose analyses look outside the United States, or to refugee experiences within the United States, have further expanded this field by drawing attention to the ethnic and regional diversity of girls' media cultures around the world and thus upsetting the assumed Hollywood-centrism of global media texts, producers, and audiences.

Like media, girls are constructed broadly in this collection also. Many chapters concern young female media characters, performers, producers, and audience members who are adolescents, which is much in keeping with the larger field of girls' studies to date. Nevertheless, several of the projects included here trouble that convention by exploring the media culture of younger girls. Still others consider media characters, consumers, and producers who are young adults. Within this collection, therefore, "girl" and "girlhood" are elastic terms, comprising a range of ages as well as generational subjectivities and performances.

The diversity of girls and girlhoods in this collection is not related to age only, however. In keeping with third wave feminism, all the authors in *Mediated Girlhoods* approach identity intersectionally. Hence, in these analyses, close attention is paid not only to age and gender but also to race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, locality, religion, and/or nationality. Indeed, one of *Mediated Girlhoods*' primary contributions to girls' media studies—and girls' studies at large—is its numerous explorations of girl media characters, producers, and audience members who are not normative—that is, not white, not Anglo, not middle-class, not heterosexual, not suburban, and/or not Western. While hegemonic forms of Western girlhood are in evidence here, they coexist with and are often displaced by the marginalized identities of Israeli girls, young Somali refugees, Japanese schoolgirls, adolescent tomboys, Australian country girls, young lesbians, Latina tweens, Singaporean young women, and working-class African American girls.

Another contribution *Mediated Girlhoods* makes to the field of girls' media studies, and girls' studies at large, is some authors' explicit attention to the role feminism plays in the mediated lives of young females. While many previous research projects on girls' media culture have used feminist theory to understand the construction of gender in media texts, producers, and consumers, few scholars have focused specifically on the role feminist politics plays in girls' media culture. Several chapters here focus on proto-feminist moments in girls' media prior to the mid-twentieth century. Others look to the effects of 1970s' women's liberation discourse on girls' culture. Though not about feminist politics per se, several of the studies concern contemporary Western girls' media culture and thus entail critical reflection on the contradictorily feminist/anti-feminist rhetoric present in today's postfeminist commercial culture.¹¹

While none of the theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches in this book is new to academia, some of them are novel within girls' media studies. For example, half of *Mediated Girlhoods* is composed of ethnographic studies that include girls' viewpoints alongside the authors' own. This high level of girls' involvement helps to subvert the common criticism that girls' studies scholars have failed to provide space for the voices and perspectives of female youth, and thus failed to address the imbalance of power in youth-oriented research (Duits and Van Zoonen; Kearney, "Coalescing"; Mazzarella and Pecora, "Revisiting").

More innovative perhaps are some authors' uses of historical self-ethnography and oral history, which requires them to dig deep into their own and others' pasts to understand previous generations' experiences of girls' media culture.

In addition to expanding our understanding of girls' media culture via unconventional methodologies, most of the studies here engage with subjects new to girls' media studies. From feminist themes in teen magazines, to girl-made memory books, to mediated country girlhoods, to girls' explorations of pornography, to the surveillance of girls via new media technologies, to girls' self-branding on YouTube, the studies included in *Mediated Girlhoods* boldly break new ground and clear new paths, forcing this field to expand and grow in provocative new ways. Indeed, what we may be seeing here is not the second wave of girls' media studies, but the beginnings of the third.

Organization

Mediated Girlhoods is organized into three major sections intended to facilitate readers' critical attention to particular sites within girls' media culture: Representation and Identity, Reception and Use, and Production and Technology. That said, most of the chapters include subject material that connects with the book's other sections. Therefore, readers are encouraged to use the index to discover which chapters concern specific themes of interest.

Section 1—Representation and Identity—is devoted to research on depictions of girls in commercial media. Expanding beyond the normative identities privileged in mainstream media culture, the chapters collected here pay specific attention to issues of difference with regard to girls' media representations. These studies primarily involve close analyses of media texts (e.g., magazines, films, performers, television shows), with a particular focus on how discourses of girlhood intersect with those of race, sexuality, ethnicity, and/or political activism. Most of these chapters focus on earlier iterations of girls' media culture and utilize archival materials to explore the past. As with several other chapters that appear in other sections of the book,¹² these historical studies help to push girls' media studies forward by undertaking the seemingly contradictory practice of looking backward.

With a particular focus on cultural texts made for and about schoolgirls between 1910 and 1940, Yuka Kanno's chapter reclaims the queerness of discourses of sisterhood and female friendship in Japan's early *shōjo* (adolescent girls') culture. Arguing for a political reading of this cultural work and the girls with whom it is associated, Kanno demonstrates how the mediated dispersion of such discourses helped to construct a site for the imagination of homoerotic relations between female youth and thus contributed to the development of queer networks in early twentieth-century Japan. Kanno's chapter appears first in this anthology since it challenges so many conventions of girls' media studies to date—particularly

its presentist, heteronormative, and Western perspective—and thus models concretely in one place multiple new directions for this field.

Focusing on U.S. children's media culture during the post-World War II era, Sarah Nilsen's chapter analyzes the discursive construction of Disney Mouseketeer Annette Funicello. As Nilsen demonstrates, the Disney studio effectively exploited Funicello's Italian background and appearance in its development of her star image and in its appeals to suburban youth audiences, for whom ethnicity was still a concern. In foregrounding Funicello's ethnicized persona, Nilsen challenges earlier arguments about postwar media culture's assimilationist bent while also calling attention to the diversity of postwar girls' culture.

Kirsten Pike's study explores feminist discourse in *Seventeen* magazine during the late 1960s through mid-1970s, the height of the U.S. women's liberation movement. Pike argues that in the midst of considerable commentary about citizenship during this period, *Seventeen*'s writers encouraged girls to model an active but not activist form of femininity and consumer citizenship. Nevertheless, Pike reveals that readers were responsible for much of the commentary about women's liberation appearing in the magazine, with some constructing a kind of "do-it-yourself" feminism through ideas and suggestions they shared in opinion essays and letters to the editor.

Examining a period of U.S. film culture just after that discussed by Pike, Kristen Hatch's chapter analyzes depictions of tomboys in Hollywood films of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Through formal and narrative analysis, Hatch demonstrates how tomboy films from that era, such as *The Bad News Bears* and *Little Darlings*, subvert the traditional literary and cinematic representation of tomboys by refusing to transform such girls into feminine creatures worthy of heterosexual male attention. Although Hatch notes that such films do little to celebrate female masculinity since their primary goal is to advocate girls' prolonged abstention from sexual activity, she nevertheless argues for the cultural significance of such texts and their stars for lesbians and other queer women who similarly resist the normative pull of heterosexual femininity.

Employing the metaphor Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga introduced in *This Bridge Called My Back* to explore the burden of symbolic and material connections between girls, Angharad Valdivia avers that Latina girls function in contemporary U.S. media culture as a bridge between hegemonic whiteness and the racial difference most explicitly suggested by African American bodies. Situating this trend within the larger contexts of the recent Latino/a population and cultural boom within the United States, the tweening of girls' culture, and media conglomerates' synergistic practices, Valdivia explores the commercial exploitation of ethnically ambiguous Latina characters in several girl-centered cultural properties, including Bratz dolls, *The Cheetah Girls*, and *The Sisterhood of the Traveling Pants*.

The second section of this collection—Reception and Use—focuses specifically on studies of girls’ media consumption. In an effort to expand reception-oriented girls’ media studies in new directions, the chapters here include historical analyses of girl consumers produced via autobiography and oral history as well as research with contemporary girl audiences who are non-normative in terms of race, geographic location, cultural heritage, and/or types of media they consume. The chapters in this section strongly privilege the voices of female youths themselves, thus meeting one of the primary goals for contemporary girls’ studies as advocated by scholars who have surveyed the field.

The first chapter in this section, co-authored by Rebecca Hains, Shayla Thiel-Stern, and Sharon Mazzarella, is based on oral histories of women who grew up in the U.S. during the 1940s and 1950s. This was a formative period for the commercial development of girls’ media culture, and this study is the first to survey girls who lived through it. Part of a larger study, this chapter demonstrates that girls’ mediated engagements during the postwar era were as complex and diverse as female youths themselves. (While the majority of the women in this study are white and middle-class, one is African American and several grew up poor.) By attending to such complexity in identity and cultural practice, this study contests the homogenized stereotype of postwar mediated girlhood offered by the media industries.

Catherine Driscoll’s study of girls’ media culture in 1970s’ Australia helps to move us beyond not only the U.S. and presentist focus of much girls’ media studies but also the dominant methodology used by scholars in this field—textual analysis. Taking her own teen-girl media experiences as the objects of her research, Driscoll redirects feminist ethnography toward the autobiographical in order to explore the specific cultural experiences of girls living in non-urban locales during a time of considerable media expansion. Through her attention to country life and her own adolescent place in it, Driscoll challenges the urban and suburban perspectives that dominate both girls’ studies and media studies.

Shiri Reznik and Dafna Lemish’s chapter concerns Israeli girls’ reactions to Disney’s globally popular *High School Musical* film series, whose plots contemporize Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*. Through interviews, the authors explore girls’ various interpretations and negotiations of the movies’ dominant theme of romantic love, as well as the localizing of Disney’s property for Israeli audiences via a stage version using Hebrew dialog. By attending to differences in viewers’ socio-economic status and cultural background, Reznik and Lemish provide a complex portrait of girls’ reception of these texts that reveals the degree to which girls must balance the glamorous fantasies of romantic love offered by commercial media culture with their real life experiences and values.

The fourth chapter in this section is by Sarah Baker, who analyzes South Australian pre-teen girls’ use of the Internet during after-school care, a liminal site

between home and school. Informed by observation and the girls' own discourse about their practices, Baker's study examines girls' explorations and negotiations of identity, sexuality, and morality via their collective perusal of Web sites devoted to pop stars and pornography. She also discusses an offline incident precipitated by one of the girls, whose ownership of pornographic content disrupted the play of her peers, challenged the cultural stereotype of innocent girlhood, and thus resulted in increased surveillance by the adult staff.

Exploring a cultural site similar to that in Baker's study, Jennifer Woodruff's chapter presents her findings from an ethnographic study of girls' musical activities in an after-school youth club in Durham, North Carolina. Analyzing the dance practices of several pre-teen African American girls at the club, Woodruff demonstrates how they incorporate hip-hop's sounds, lyrics, and movements into their conversations even when music is not playing, thus attesting to both the significance of hip-hop in their lives and the skill with which they observe media texts from this culture. As Woodruff argues, the girls' gestures and dance movements facilitate not only their peer relationships within the club but also their negotiations of discourses of race, gender, sexuality, and morality present in mainstream representations of black female sexuality.

The final section of *Mediated Girlhoods*—Production and Technology—includes scholarship on girl-made media, as well as the various media technologies girls use to entertain themselves and communicate with one another. As a result, many of the chapters here mesh easily with those in Part 2 given their similar attention to girls' media uses. Nevertheless, given that there are so few studies of girls' media production and the media technologies female youth employ in their everyday lives, it is important to separate this work from analyses of girls' media reception. Since research on production and technology entails close attention to both texts and practices, the methodologies utilized by authors in this section are somewhat more mixed than that of others in the book, involving formal analysis, discourse analysis, political economy, and/or interviews. While some of the chapters included here note the considerable agency and confidence many girls have with media technologies and production today, others caution us to be mindful of the ways in which female youth may be complicit in reproducing discourses and values that work to contain them and their cultural practices.

The first chapter in this section is by Jane Greer, whose analysis considers the productive cultural work performed by American schoolgirls during the first decades of the twentieth century. Utilizing commercially manufactured memory albums, the female adolescents in Greer's study transformed such texts into personal archives of their high school experiences via their creative arrangement of drawings, photographs, objects, autographs, and other memorabilia. Through her close attention to the girls' imaginative authoring of such albums via sampling

and mixing, Greer's work challenges scholars interested in contemporary girls' media production to reconsider the historical legacy of such practices.

Moving forward a century, Sun Sun Lim and Jemima Ooi's chapter explores attitudes towards and perceptions of information and communication technologies (ICTs) among a group of adolescent girls and young women in Singapore. Although traditional gender norms discouraged previous generations of female youth from finding mechanical and electrical technologies of interest, Lim and Ooi's ethnographic study demonstrates that contemporary Singaporean girls are avid, confident, and knowledgeable users of ICTs. As a result adoption of and access to media technology is broadly gender-neutral among that nation's youth. Nevertheless, this study also reveals that some girls see boys as more adept with technology while other female youth find the traditional gender scripts prevalent in ICT advertising to be unproblematic. Lim and Ooi's research encourages us to be mindful, therefore, of the diversity of female youth and mediated girlhoods, as well as the resilient nature of traditional gender discourses even within societies rapidly transforming via new technologies.

Leslie Regan Shade's chapter encourages us to reflect critically on the celebratory discourse that often accompanies academic rhetoric about girls' media use. Focusing on mobile telephones with Global Positioning System components as well as social networking sites with biometric identifiers, Shade employs political economic and policy analysis to examine contemporary domestic technologies marketed to parents in order to monitor their children's, especially their daughters', movements and to contain their activities. With a particular focus on the gendered nature of public discourse about "protecting children," Shade encourages scholars to attend to the expanding systems of surveillance developed by corporations and adopted by parents in the name of security at a time of girls' heightened activity and agency as media users and producers.

The final chapter in this collection by Sarah Banet-Weiser is similarly cautious about girls' contemporary engagements with media technology. Banet-Weiser's study focuses on videos produced by adolescent girls and posted to YouTube.com. Connecting this increasingly popular practice to the interactive nature of Web 2.0, celebrity culture, neoliberal brand culture, and postfeminism, this project challenges the optimism found in many earlier feminist studies of girls' media production. While Banet-Weiser acknowledges the progressive possibilities of identity exploration and self-disclosure via digital media, she reveals the limits placed on girls' agency today via sites like YouTube as a result of the contradictory discourses of self-promotion associated with postfeminism and commercial cyberculture. Like Shade, Banet-Weiser cautions us to be wary of ascribing too much progressive potential to girls' media practices given the various disciplinary logics that work to contain young females and their creative expressions.

Onward

Although the growth of academic attention to girls' media culture over the past two decades is certainly worth celebrating, there is still much work left to do, and this book cannot do it all. While *Mediated Girlhoods* addresses some critical gaps in our current understanding of girls' media culture by including work that privileges the lenses of race, ethnicity, sexuality, class, nationality, and politics, considerable research must still be conducted if we are to fully subvert the white, heterosexual, middle-class, Western, and presentist framework that continues to dominate girls' media studies and thus public perceptions of girls' media culture. More attention to issues of girls' differences and diversity globally will not only round out popular knowledge about girls' media culture but also validate marginalized female youth and their media practices. I am proud that this collection has helped to further this project, and I hope it inspires other scholars to take up the charge.

I am also proud that this collection has significantly undermined the historical dominance of textual analysis in girls' media studies to date. Half of the research projects here utilize ethnographic practices to foreground girls' perspectives and voices, thus troubling the notion of who has authority to speak about girls' media culture. In turn, more than half of the chapters in this collection are devoted to analyses of girls' media reception and production, thus helping to expand greatly public knowledge about what female youth *do* with media texts and technologies, and thus to debunk the die-hard stereotype of girls as passive consumers, if not victims, of media.

My only regret with this collection is that it does not contain research on girls' uses and production of subcultural and anti-corporate media, for it risks reproducing the common perception that girls' media culture is always already mainstream and commercial. Perhaps the primary reason for this omission is that I did not receive promising proposals for chapters in this area, which I am hoping was a fluke and not indicative of trends within this field. Scholarship on girls' involvement in mediated subcultures and alternative forms of media production seemed to be on the rise at the turn of the twenty-first century, largely as a result of girls' increased participation in punk, hip-hop, and riot grrrl.¹³ Yet girls' media studies scholars seem to have far less interest in, and exposure to, such alternative practices and entrepreneurial subcultures today. Many possible reasons exist for this phenomenon, not the least of which is adolescent girls' decreased engagement in such cultures since the 1990s, particularly in the realm of production, as well as the overwhelming increase in the number of mainstream girl-centered media properties, especially for younger girls. Indeed, as much as it was hard for girls' studies scholars to focus on hip-hop and riot grrrl when the Spice Girls and *Beverly Hills, 90210* were dominating the cultural landscape, it seems all the more

difficult for us to even *locate* alternative girl-centered media texts and performers today in the midst of the global media storms fueled by *Twilight*, *Hannah Montana*, and the ever-expanding Disney Princess line.

While I certainly don't want to dismiss the many pleasures associated with products from the media industries, or girls' subversive uses of such products, it seems imperative for girls' media studies scholars invested in the progressive politics of both feminism and cultural studies to also explore the media practices of female youth outside this commercial realm. Not only can analyses of girls' alternative media practices tell us much about how female youth negotiate hegemonic systems of identity, representation, leisure, and labor, they also can allow us to explore girls' and boys' collective media engagements given that the commercial industries continue to bifurcate youth and their media into pink and blue. Moreover, attention to girls' alternative media culture can suggest future trends within women's media production. Indeed, a considerable amount of the next generation of feminist media will likely emerge from this non-corporate arena, even if it eventually is hosted on commercial Web sites, like YouTube and MySpace. It is my hope, therefore, that recent studies like Alison Piepmeier's *Girl Zines: Making Media, Doing Feminism*, Helen Reddington's *The Lost Women of Rock Music: Female Musicians of the Punk Era*, Emilie Zaslow's *Feminism, Inc.: Coming of Age in Girl Power Media Culture*, and Anita Harris' recent collection *Next Wave Cultures: Feminism, Subcultures, Activism* will inspire more scholars to explore the margins of girls' media culture past and present, here and abroad.

Notes

1. Angela McRobbie was the original pioneer in girls' media studies, her work on girls' culture and girls' magazines dating back to the late 1970s and early 1980s. Many of those studies did not receive as much attention as they deserved, however, until they were reprinted in her book, *Feminism and Youth Culture*, in 1991.
2. Many pioneering book chapters and journal articles were published during this period also, of course—too many to list here, unfortunately.
3. To date, no study has examined all three of these sites of girls' media culture simultaneously; however, several have undertaken textual analysis and reception studies concurrently, and some have involved textual analysis and production studies.
4. For an exploration of this development, see Mazzarella and Pecora, "Revisiting."
5. Although many scholars studying girls' media culture are associated with media and communication studies, a good number are not, having affiliations in such diverse fields as folklore, music, literature, journalism, and sociology.

6. For an overview of the development of girls' studies as a field, as well as a survey of its various subdivisions, see Kearney, "Coalescing."
7. See Barker for an overview of cultural studies.
8. For a discussion of girls' studies relationship to women's studies, see Kearney, "Coalescing."
9. For explorations of third wave feminism, see Dicker and Piepmeier, Heywood and Drake, and Walker.
10. Although it has resulted in a collection that may not seem up to date, the minimal number of Web-based studies in *Mediated Girlhoods* was a conscious choice, given Peter Lang's concurrent publication of Mazzarella's collection, *Girl Wide Web 2.0*.
11. For studies of postfeminism, see McRobbie, *The Aftermath*, as well as Tasker and Negra, *Interrogating Postfeminism*.
12. In this collection, see Driscoll, Greer, and Hains, Thiel-Stern, and Mazzarella.
13. For example, see Gaunt, Guevarra, Kearney's *Girls Make Media*, Leonard, O'Brien, Perry, and Rose.

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