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Imagery implications of MTV : teen pop, adolescent girls, and sex role behaviors

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IMAGERY IMPLICATIONS OF MTV:
TEEN POP, ADOLESCENT GIRLS, AND SEX ROLE BEHAVIORS

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

JulieAnn G. Bornaes

May 2007

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04/25/07

ABSTRACT

IMAGERY IMPLICATIONS OF MTV: TEEN POP, ADOLESCENT GIRLS, AND SEX ROLE BEHAVIORS

By JulieAnn G. Bornales

This thesis addresses the topic of the imagery implications of music videos by female teen pop artists and the sex role behavior of adolescent girls. It examines the imagery content of the music videos of five female artists of the teen pop music genre, from the years 1996-2006, focusing on the presence and usage of sexuality. In addition, it studies what these image portrayals could be advocating in adolescent females as reflected by the music artist's styling, and the reflected outcomes of their behavior.

Content analysis research of this subject reveals that these music videos provided implications of sex role behaviors for females in its imagery content. Further, despite the differences of each of the artists in their brand of teen pop, they were consistently similar in their gender imagery and portrayal than they were different. It can be concluded, that they all portray the same kind of appearance.

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This is dedicated in memory of my father, Richard Bornales, who always believed I could.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Over the past several years, media outlets have recognized the financial importance of the adolescent market in the entertainment industry. Young people have money, and they are adequately spending it in numerous ways. Adolescent buying power has propelled everything from merchandise, films and television, to music sales. The power of the nation's youth in determining profits has proved a beneficial reality. And the profitability prospects of the teen market have consequently caused the entertainment industry to specifically target the adolescent demographic in its sales and marketing. *Bubblegum pop*, a music genre for the teen market, readily fulfills this task. The music's adolescent friendly sound, its emergence into the popular culture, and its subsequent popularity can be attributed to its young buyers.

Adolescents are readily spending their funds on bubblegum pop artists. The attributions of adolescents have propelled teen pop artists such as Britney Spears and Christina Aguilera to the heights of the success they now enjoy. The obsession of the bubblegum pop market has produced not just music celebrities, but also idols for today's youth. Artists of this music genre continually influence Generation Y in not only music or fashion, but also in attitude. These artists are not just selling their music or their tie-in merchandise like posters and t-shirts. As these artists have become widely popular internationally, their images and their lives and tribulations are sold for consumption in a

plethora of media outlets to willing fans. This constant exposure to their notoriety influences the audience of this music genre whether intended to or not. Therefore, it is important to understand the messages that these musical artists produce in their music, through the visual image content they display in their music videos, and even in their persona, as they assist in constructing the social and personal identities of their listeners.

In teen pop, a genre of music where the audience is predominately female, the significance of the portrayal of gender and the characteristics it either enforces or transcends is meaningful, especially in the commonality and accessibility of music television in households across the world. With the infiltration of music television as a vehicle of youth popular culture, it is essential to analyze the messages that underlay the portrayals shown in music videos in their ideological consumption. Because of the nature of saturation that music television creates, the messages that lay veiled in the sounds and visual images are important in understanding societal norms, expectations, and subsequently culture.

The mass media have been recognized as agents of the socialization process. And as a communication medium, music videos can reflect society and perpetuate ideals about behavior and personality characteristics. Music videos through their interpretations and perceptions have the ability to influence through their images. And subsequently, for the adolescent female fan base of the teen pop music genre, they not only can negotiate images, but can also shape the development of their gender identity.

In the advent of the popularity of MTV and the emergence of music videos as a popular medium of communication, there has been academic research done on its effects.

However, although there have been studies done on the effects of music videos on their audience, most analyses have primarily revolved around sex and violence imagery. Specifically, these studies have focused on the consequences of watching music video content and the effects it has on the attitudes and behaviors of its viewers. Moreover, the genres of music that have been emphasized in the past in these studies have been the styles of rock and/or rap.

The interpretation and construction of music video imagery by adolescent girls have rarely been a subject for investigation. Analyses that have been done on adolescents have primarily focused on either music or television, in comparisons or contrasts. Research has been done on viewing patterns in television or on music preferences, for example. Recently, these studies have focused on music television and its consumption imagery effects in youth culture. Overall though, there has been little empirical research done on music videos and adolescent gender identity within the confines of teen pop music in the United States.

In teen pop, especially where its musical artists reach idolism status among fans, it is important to access the messages that are being sent to teen pop's primary audience. For adolescent girls, the core fan base of teen pop, female pop artists pose a more prominent role in their ability to relate to this demographic, especially in the attributions of the imagery found in relationship to their own gender. What kind of images do these music videos portray in regards to female sex roles and sexuality?

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Commercialized Culture: The Global Impact of MTV and Generation Y

At a time in which the globalization of mass media has made popular culture homogenous in nature, young people today inhabit a world in which media have reached saturation levels. One such illustration is the worldwide phenomenon of MTV (Music Television) and the emergence of the music video into popular culture. Begun more than two decades ago, MTV is not just an outlet to advertise musical artists, but a worldwide agent for propelling genres and trends.

Music videos emerged as a viable communication medium in 1981 with the introduction of MTV in the United States. Some 20 years later MTV is recognizably a mini global empire. As recounted by co-founder Bob Pittman in the book, *MTV Uncensored*, the concept of the channel was “let’s alter the form of television to make it work for music...we sort of destroyed the narrative-story aspect of TV and really made it all about attitude” (Hoye, 2001, p. 41). A hybrid of music and television, MTV not only changed the way people experienced music, it transformed entertainment.

In its humble beginnings, the cable television network was largely seen as a marketing outlet for record companies to promote their music artists. Until MTV, the idea of music clips, and even television, to market an artist was non-conclusive. However, since then, with the success of the network, the channel’s ability to market

artists is now undeniable. MTV has the ability to mold the music scene. MTV was essentially able to create a nationwide music network in the United States. Almost overnight, MTV broke out underground music genres, like '80s new wave, rap, '90s grunge, and punk rock onto the mainstream audience. The artists who have repeated exposure on MTV are reflected on the Billboard charts. And with the success of such television shows as *TRL (Total Request Live)*, the channel has shown the ability to propel not just musical artists, but also music genres. Consequently, today, the cable channel no longer just plays music videos; albeit shows, specials, and the like, in itself MTV has become a name brand and has become a proponent in dictating the popular culture on a global scale.

Once a fledging cable network, MTV has evolved into a global phenomenon. MTV has cultivated itself on a worldwide scale, forging alliances in other countries and incorporating its programming within the world's regions. In fact, MTV was one of the first US cable networks to establish programming in Europe in the late 1980s, establishing MTV Europe in August of 1987, and later garnering complete ownership in 1991 after British Telecommunications and the Maxwell Communications Corporation sold their shares to Viacom (Banks, 1997). Available in more than 82 countries in 300 million households around the world, MTV reaches more than 70 million households in the United States alone (Croteau & Hoynes, 2001, p. 96). Its subsequent popularity, as Steve Jones argued in his study on the effects of MTV, has made the network "a cultural formation available to those of us seeking to use theoretical tools with which to construct understandings of music, image, and popular (particular youth) culture" (2005, p. 84).

As R. Serge Denisoff, in his book *Inside MTV*, expressed, MTV's original slogan of "You'll never look at music the same way again" was valid (1988, p. 267). For music artists and the record labels that represent them, MTV maintains an exposure clout with considerable merit. However, over the years MTV has become a staple institution not just for the music industry. An attendant to popular music, it has the power to dictate trends. And MTV has impacted not just popular music, but also visual style and culture.

Music videos have changed advertising. Initially, music clips were produced by record companies as advertisements for the latest musical releases of their artists. The original strategy behind them was to have the music and imagery presented hold the viewer long enough to connect to a brand name. But today music videos are not made to sell just the musical artist. The music video also sells the director, the cinematographer, the choreographer, the set designer, and the stylist (Reiss, 2000, p. 11).

MTV has not only changed the way music is advertised, but has also transformed entertainment. Like no other network, it has been able to predict and influence TV programming trends. As Becky Ebenkamp reported in an article about MTV's ability to reinvent, "MTV spawns the talent that not only feeds the music charts but spills over to film (*Jackass*, Britney Spears' *Crossroads*), video, and made-for-TV specials" (2003, p. 29). And as MTV grew in stature and popularity, it aimed to further itself and began to air regular series. Coinciding with the rise of talk format in radio, MTV moved toward live and reality programming to capture audiences for longer periods of time than what music videos would allow (Jones, 2005). MTV developed shows in the traditional television genre of programming to make a creative statement, making room for such

series like the cartoon, *Beavis and Butthead*, fashion watch, *House of Style*, and the pioneer of the television reality series, *The Real World*.

MTV, as John Pettegrew described in his post-modernist view of the network, has “quickly developed into an important engine of consumerism...its nexus to pop music and art put it into an ideal position to provide the styling culture based on consumption” (1998, p. 60). As its presence has become ingrained into the popular culture, MTV has inspired merchandising. MTV’s programming has permeated international youth culture, with its ability to influence a global audience to emulate the clothes as seen on the network and to purchase them. A New World Teen study reported by Chip Walker in his research regarding youth and global TV cited that those teens who watched “MTV music videos [were] more likely than other teens to wear the teen “uniform” of jeans, running shoes, and denim jacket” (1996, p. 42). Musical artists have capitalized on MTV to further their own endeavors. Pop singer Jessica Simpson, for example, was able to utilize her MTV reality show *The Newlyweds*, to advertise and garner national attention for her cosmetic line, *Dessert*. And the network has also provided an outlet for celebrity-owned clothing lines like hip-hop mogul Puff Diddy’s *Sean John* or pop singer/actress Jennifer Lopez’s *Sweetface*.

Since its manifestation, MTV has been able to consistently provide a concentrated audience to its advertisers: the youth market. For most adolescents, MTV is a staple in their home, and music videos are considered a standard part of televised entertainment. According to television ratings released in 2001, MTV is now the number one cable network among the 12-24-year-old demographic (“We Still,” 2001). And almost as old

as *Generation Y* (those born between 1977 and 1994), MTV in a recent poll of 1,200 college students, was “by far the favorite cable channel, with 39 percent of students calling it their top choice” (Paul, 2001, p. 47).

Heavily influential among adolescents, MTV’s impact extends beyond the music videos it broadcasts. The network has consistently stayed on top of adolescent tastes, redefining itself with each subsequent generation. In the late 1990s, its efforts contributed to the worldwide success of the teen pop music genre, music by young artists marketed specifically with teenagers as the intended audience.

Music Goes Pop

The term *pop* music was coined in the 1950s as an abbreviation for popular music. Since its incarnation, depending on the artist, the term has been used to describe music in both an approving and a derogatory fashion. By today’s standards the phrase *pop* has diverged, separating the “serious” musicians from those of the “trivial bubblegum” nature (Warner, 1996). In the musical industry today, pop music targeted mostly at teens dominates the world music scene. Worldwide, artists of this genre are highly successful, selling millions of albums, like the 60 million that boyband, the Backstreet Boys, has sold in a span of four albums (Thigpen, 2001). But this has not always been the case.

There certainly was a history of a teen-driven music in the American music scene. One could trace early teen pop beginnings with groups like Frankie Lymon and the Teenagers, the Osmonds, and even the Partridge family. But prior to the onslaught of the pop music scene of today, the last time teen pop artists made a significant impact in the

American charts was between 1988 and 1990, with acts like New Edition, New Kids on the Block, Tiffany, and Debbie Gibson. However, in the early 1990s, American music tastes shifted with the onset of alternative grunge coming from Seattle and hip-hop sounds emerging from Los Angeles and New York. Suddenly, teen pop was deemed uncool to listen to, and the genre suffered a media backlash. Core audiences moved on, ignored teen pop, and turned to the messages of rap artists like Dr. Dre and rock artists like Pearl Jam and Nirvana to fulfill their music fetishes.

It was not until the breakout of England's girl group the Spice Girls and the group's single *Wannabe* in 1996, that the American charts once again embraced the pop scene. By 1997, in the wake of the Spice Girls, the American charts saw the resurgence of teen-based pop with other acts like the Backstreet Boys, Christina Aguilera, Britney Spears, and N'Sync easily attaining superstar status and selling millions of albums. The achievements of this new crop of pop stars have quickly surpassed those of their early '90s predecessors, cementing pop music for teens as an economically viable music genre in America.

Bubblegum Pop as a Music Genre

Bubblegum pop is a subcategory derived from pop music, also known as *teen pop* (a title used interchangeably) because it is a music genre that is popular with the adolescent audience. As defined by *Pulse!* magazine's Jackson Griffith, this type of music is "aesthetically, more rooted in an ancient show business continuum than in anything springing from underground streams" (2000, p. 46). Bubblegum pop is a musical brand that is often ridiculed as music without meaning. The root for most of the

artistic critique of bubblegum pop is the notion that the musical category has been created and further perpetuated by manufacturing. The artists of bubblegum pop are denounced for being assembled and creatively controlled (Griffith, 2000).

The validity for these accusations comes from the origins of the genre's most successful artists. Most teen pop artists are typically the victors of auditions, such as that of the members of girl group the Spice Girls, and America's own *Making the Band* boyband O-Town, which immediately upon a successful tryout (documented through a weekly show on MTV) was given a record contract. And the idea of teen pop as a manufactured musicality is further perpetuated by the continuous creation and grooming of teen acts by record companies in collaboration with pop managers with track records of economic success, like Simon Fuller (Spice Girls, S Club 7), Lou Pearlman (Backstreet Boys, 'N Sync, C-Note, LFO), or Louis Walsh (Boyzone, Westlife), who are trying to capitalize on the market, one that is heavily female.

The manufacturing of teen pop acts can be attributed to the fact that bubblegum pop is a genre in which artists have a short shelf life. *Variety* magazine's Erich Boehm describes the quick turnover to the ideology and knowledge that "pop acts enjoy a phenomenal rise, and if they're lucky one or two years in the spotlight" (1998, p. 89). Consequently, in order for record companies to recoup costs and make a healthy profit with this music genre, they must perpetually find new acts to replace their aging ones. Manufacturing teen ready acts is a quick and easy option to cope with the reality of a short career. Acts in this genre are considered interchangeable, and their appeal and promotions do not differentiate heavily from artist to artist.

Being put together is just one aspect of the manufacturing stigma that bubblegum pop artists have. The other is that of their musical authenticity. Their success is made possible by not just their music but also their marketing, their merchandising, and their personalities (Shuker, 2001). Critics are quick to point out that once put together managers and record labels sell these acts to audiences based on image more than music. And thus, creatively, most acts are controlled. They are told what to wear, how to act, and what to sing. The authenticity issue is further debated with the fact that bubblegum pop artists rarely write or even contribute to their own material. Instead the task is credited to songwriters and producers with an established resume of hit songs, like Swedish Composer and Producer Max Martin (Britney Spears, N'Sync, Backstreet Boys).

Yet at the same time they are criticized for it, it cannot be denied that although these artists may not be the spawn of traditional industry machines, they continue to thrive in an adolescent powered marketplace. Teen pop, almost a decade later from its resurgence in the American music scene, is still very much a prominent and viable music genre today. Its popularity is often reflected in the *Billboard* (the official American music chart) music charts. As recently as September 2005, teen singer Hilary Duff's greatest hits compilation album, *Most Wanted*, debuted at number one in the United States with 207,000 copies sold in its first week. And not surprisingly, in its second week, the album was the only record in the Top 10 to crack six figures, selling another 101,000 copies ("The Chart," 2005, p.145).

The Profitability Factors of Bubblegum Pop

Bubblegum pop acts easily go multi-platinum in sales, with most of the popular recording artists in this genre, like their core audiences, below the age of 21. The driving force for these kinds of sales figures are the acts' adolescent fan base. Former Jive Records U.S. President Barry Weiss acknowledged that "part of the major potency that has driven the sales of those albums [have been] teen audiences...I would say that the teen market has been a major part of the sales" (Rosen, 1997). Data released by the Recording Industry Association of America, the trade association for most U.S. companies that create, manufacture, or distribute sound recordings, showed that in 1994 more than 40% of all purchases in the rock, pop, black/urban, and country categories (the genres closest to the concept of popular music) were accounted for by consumers under the age of 24 (Christansin & Roberts, 1998, p. 16). The buying power of adolescents is a force to be reckoned with. In 1998 alone, the overall impact of 12-19-year-olds in the economy surpassed \$248 billion (Christansin & Roberts, 1998). The profitability prospects of the adolescent market have consequently propelled the music industry to specifically cater to this demographic.

For record labels, what makes bubblegum pop so much more economically significant than other forms of music genres is that these artists are not just selling their music. Fans of these artists provide an additional market for the industry by purchasing spin-off products, promoting tie-in merchandise, and highlighting market trends (Fiske, 1992). A prime example of the possibilities of this encompassing success is American teen band N' Sync. Its revenue for the year 2000 was \$267 million, making it the highest

grossing musical act of the year. This amount was in large part due to merchandising (dolls, calendars, shirts, even lip gloss) and its tour, which sold 1 million tickets at an average of \$45 apiece (Shuruers, 2000). Ultimately, because of this constant exposure to their images, artists of this music genre are influencing their audience in more than just their music.

Teen Pop: The Impact on its Audience

The distinction of teen pop music, as opposed to others genres, such as rock or hip-hop, is that the core listening audience is predominantly an adolescent one, and more specifically female (Griffith, 2000). And in the type of infiltration that this music genre has, in its production and distribution beyond the music, the artists of teen pop, in their notoriety wield a tremendous amount of power to influence their consumers. As David Gauntlett contended in *Media, Gender and Identity: An Introduction*, “pop music today is not only the sounds on the recordings we buy, or hear on the radio or played in shops, cafes, bars, and clubs, but is also the carefully packaged images we see through television and magazines” (2003, p. 216). Essentially, the powerful integrated images of these pop idols, in attributes and in representation, wield the power to communicate cultural ideals and particular attitudes to their audience.

In their study of contemporary teen pop music, Phillip Vannini and Scott Meyers (2002) concluded that teen pop music not only shapes existing attitudes, but also at the same time it helps to shape those attitudes. What is being derived from the music for the adolescent audience is more than just entertainment. As an audience, adolescents especially are swayed in their personal concepts by how they identify with their music.

According to Roy Shuker in *Understanding Popular Culture*, “youth subcultures appropriate and innovate musical forms and styles as a basis for their identity, and in so doing, assert a counter cultural politics” (2001, p. 206).

For adolescents, it can be argued that music plays a large role in negotiating social and cultural construction, such as providing interpretation of identity, like gender roles. In her research on identity construction and the media, Pamela Tracy (2004) illustrated that the girls in her study listened to a particular brand of music because it projected a particular way about being a woman. Music, through its presented topics, and the styles and themes of its songs, can aid in either the perpetuation of the stereotypical gender roles of society (such as the idea that women are weak or men are strong) or break new ground in the area of understanding and change. Through its infiltration to the masses, it could reinforce and channel attributes to popular culture. Music videos, within this context, can play an important role in adolescent development.

The Hybrid of Music and Television: Music Videos as a Cultivation Process

With the advent of new technologies, media are easier than ever to access. And at a time when the globalization of mass media has made popular culture homogenous, young people inhabit a world in which media have reached saturation levels. According to a New World Teen Study list of teen’s top activities cited by Chip Walker (1996), watching television tied with spending time with friends as teens’ most enjoyable way to spend their free time. And further statistics have shown that they will have spent more time in front of the television screen than in the classroom, roughly 16,000-20,000 hours by the time they have finished high school (Roberts, 2000).

Television is a centralized system of storytelling. And media have become the primary source of socialization and everyday information of otherwise heterogeneous populations (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, Signorielli, & Shanahan, 2002). According to statistics, the television set is used about seven hours a day in a typical American home, and the long-term exposure, frequent use of television, and the overall pattern of programming that is viewed on it, has long-term mainstreaming consequences to the viewer (Gerbner, et al., 2002).

According to the cultivation theory, the consequence of living with television enables the cultivation of shared perceptions of reality among otherwise diverse cultures. It is a contributing factor to the commonalities of otherwise different perspectives and behaviors that stem from outside influences. Moreover, those who spend more time watching television will more than likely view the images, values, portrayals, and ideologies that emerge from it as social reality (Gerbner, et al., 2002). Media shape the portrayals of reality.

Television and other mass media are vital forces in the construction or maintenance of interpersonal relations and for learning how to behave in the social world (Lull, 1980). As most youth of today have grown up with cable in their homes, music videos in this adolescent lifestyle become more prevalent. Music television is a significant force in popular culture because it is a hybrid of entertainment and commercial forms of media (Englis, Solomon, & Oloffson, 1993). It has proved to be particularly effective in evoking feelings, attitudes, and social values among adolescents. For adolescents, it can be argued that music plays a large role in negotiating social and

cultural construction. And research has shown that television manipulates the viewer's perception of reality. The combination of the two mediums, audio and visual, magnifies the potential effects. The music video, by combining sounds and visuals, produces an even more involving context of media use by the consumer, and is more active and persuasive than just the music audio alone (Armstrong, et al., 1986). Its visual style specifically speaks for the adolescent generation.

Images and Consumption: Female Pop Artists and Adolescent Girls

Before the members of Generation Y (those born between the years 1977-1994) have reached adulthood, businesses in almost every facet of consumer spending are vying for the attention of this market. The youth demographic has proved to be extremely lucrative. In the year 2000 alone, Generation Y teenagers, according to statistics determined by Teenage Research Unlimited, spent \$2 billion more than they did in 1999, spending roughly \$84 weekly (Walker, 2001). Adolescents of today have money to spend, and today's consumer culture bombards them with many messages. Music television, from the onset, has been successful in reaching the adolescent demographic. And the teen pop music genre has been extremely viable within this context.

MTV is not just a venue to advertise the latest sounds of musical artists. The network has become a name brand worldwide, promoting it and other products, becoming a proponent in dictating popular culture on a worldwide scale. In the globalization of popular culture, MTV has developed an integrated global market for not just consumer goods, but also an international youth culture to deliver to its advertisers. Specifically targeting adolescents, the network actively fosters a homogenous lifestyle among them,

encouraging them to embrace a consumerist lifestyle by transcending and rejecting alternative values and traits as part of their self-identity (Banks, 1996). The music it endorses is a key element in the culture it is perpetuating. And the success of the teen pop music genre today is a direct result of the infiltration MTV has on its key demographic. The network propelled artists such as Britney Spears and Christina Aguilera into worldwide superstardom through its mass appeal.

The teen pop music market has not just produced music celebrities, but idols for today's youth. The artists of this genre, more than any other, are not just selling their music. As these artists have become widely popular internationally, their images are sold for consumption to an overabundance of media outlets from television to the Internet to their willing fans at a constant rate of bombardment. Music television associates pop idols with various products and consumption activities, playing an important role in consumer socialization during adolescence (Englis, Solomon, & Oloffson, 1993). The consumption messages of music videos suggest, as noted by Englis, et al. (1993), that adolescent music can be segmented into different subcultures of which a powerful integrated image is presented to fans. Consequently, teen pop artists, and in particular successful female solo acts, are capable of influencing and managing impressions of the viewer. Music videos can play an important role in adolescent development. An adolescent's emerging sense of identity will compel them to make decisions on which kind of media they will select and interact with based on who they are or who they want to be.

Ideology in Music Videos: Messages to Female Adolescents

Music video is one of the most efficient visual aids of the music business. It not only sells the music, but also the performer. The images that are portrayed not only define the individual, but also how the individual defines others. Joe Saltzman, in a critique of the format, wrote music videos are “self-contained packages of sight and sound, all kids have to do is watch, listen, and stare straight ahead. No need to think, to embellish, to create, to imagine” (McConnell, cited in Fienman & Reiss, 2000, p. 21). Music videos in themselves are not just advertisements for the musicians whose music is visually created, but also a promotion for cultural products that are advertised within its context, and more so of the ideologies of society. Music videos, it can be argued, embrace the commodification of social roles and values, and can actively promote their ideals as standards.

The media influence the developing patterns of behavior and identity, especially among young people. Adolescents are strongly influenced by popular culture while they are developing their social identities. Music videos are a contributing factor to their social construction of reality. Television in itself is proponent to socialization, as is music. When integrated together, the potential for the ability to affect increases. For young people, television is a constant influence on learning behavior and in shaping attitudes. A study by Larson and Kubey (1983) demonstrated that music was successful in engaging youth in its world because it spoke to adolescent concerns, engaged them emotionally, and stimulated them around a set of impulses and values. The combination of music and television, as seen in music videos, the Academy of Pediatrics has

stipulated, contain significant behavioral impact, because of the illustration of music lyrics on television (Hogan, et al., 1996).

Music videos are influential as a popular form of mass media entertainment, and are potentially sending out multiple messages to their audience. The effects they pose are particularly significant in the socialization of young people. The process of imitation is the prevailing image of the effects of popular culture on an audience, and young people are particularly vulnerable, where their imitation of cultural materials is automatic and impulsive (Bennett & Ferrell, 1987). Adolescents often model and idolize themselves after popular music stars, and how these role models are portrayed in music videos is of great concern, especially as these images are encountered on a daily basis.

Media affects adolescents as they attend to and interpret it, either evaluating or incorporating what they are seeing into their own developing sense of sexuality (Brown, 2002). There is an idea that imitation and reinforcement of socially approved behavior observed in same-sex models occurs because as a society, there are social standards to be adhered to, and stereotypes for each gender are derived from these expectations. Women and men confirm gender stereotypes in large part because the different roles that they perform place different social demands upon them (Vogel, Wester, Heesacker, & Malon, 2003). Previous research has shown that gender is of critical importance as a determinant of affective reactions to popular music (Toney and Weaver, 1994). Struise, Buerkel-Rothfuss, and Long (1995), found that there was a stronger association between sexual attitudes and behavior with exposure to music videos among females than males. And Jane Brown (2002), in her research on media and sexuality, found that sexual

portrayals in media were more closely examined by adolescent girls (11-15 years old) when they were interested in learning about relationship norms, and how to become sexually attractive.

It has been found that adolescents who preferred light music, such as teen pop, in their development, would have conflicting values surrounding their expression of sexuality and exhibit difficulty in negotiating independence from and finding dependency on peers (Schwartz & Fouts, 2003). As the main consumers of teen pop, for adolescent girls, the relationship between mass media, images, music, sexuality, and socialization are a constant source of instability at reception (Lowe, 2003). Today's adolescent girls have their feminist consciousness colliding with a post-feminist culture (Lowe, 2003). For this demographic, music videos can effectively send particular messages about what it means to be a female in this society. How a female is portrayed in music videos will contribute to the ideologies that are being sent to young women, such as their own self-image and their gender identity, either perpetuating them or dissuading them.

Gender Identity Interpretation: Sex Role Socialization

Music videos send explicit messages to their audience. In social learning, it can provide a demonstration of particular roles and behaviors in equivalence to the standards of society. According to social cognitive theory, people gain understanding of relationships and expand their knowledge from the information they gain from personal and vicarious experiences, through operating symbolically (Bandura, 2002). For music videos, the ideas that are portrayed by the artist and the images contained within the television format, can be utilized as a model of behavior for its audience.

Television has the potential to influence ideology through social prompting effects. The social construction of reality and the shaping of public consciousness occur through electronic enculturation. Generative conceptions of styles of behavior from examples are constructed from observation (Bandura, 2002). And cognitive restructuring of behavior is justified in social cognitive theory, as argued by Albert Bandura (2002), most notably through the mass media, especially television, because it has the best access to the public. The actions as seen on television can serve as social prompts of learned behavior, as seen through models by observers (Bandura, 2002). Therefore, in accordance to this, music videos, in their portrayals, can serve as either originators of influence, or reinforcers of social behavior.

Television portrays women in contradictory roles. Images of gender are shown in conflicting messages, either contributing to the traditional gender definitions of females in society, or objectifying them in their sexuality. And the audience is constantly absorbing these images, despite the conflicting messages of their individual ideals.

A study on television and conceptions about sex roles among adults by Nancy Signorielli (1989), found that television overall contributed to the development of somewhat ambivalent views on women's roles in society, that they were quite traditional and supportive of the status quo. Like television, music videos are a source of televised gender portrayals. An analysis done on the 100 most popular videos featured on MTV in the early 1990s, found that men outnumbered women in lead roles by a 5-to-1 margin (Gow, 1996). In addition, women were shown in a narrower range of roles and shown to have less of an importance to the world (1996). Women in music videos were depicted

as less serious in society, characterized in occupations that were considered less prestigious, traditionally held by women (Seidman, 1999).

Music videos contain high levels of sex role stereotyping in their portrayals. They communicate to their viewers about how they should behave based on gender. Research on the subject has shown that the depictions of female characters found in music videos on MTV were consistent with the stereotypes that correlate with gender identity (Seidman, 1992). Music videos are consistent with traditional sex role stereotypes, such as the ideas that females are more passive and receptive than males (Sommers-Flannagan, Sommers-Flannagan, & Davis, 1993). And further, it has been found that music videos may be perpetuating and reinforcing false stereotypes of men and women (Rich, Woods, Goodman, Emanas, & DuRant, 1998).

Music videos not only reinforce traditional views of gender and power, but also exacerbate the continued exploitation of female sexuality (Kalof, 1993). The sexual displays of female musical artists are not at odds with historically constructed definitions of their femininity (Green, 1997). Women in music videos are frequently portrayed in a condescending manner. The trend for the depiction of females in music videos is that of the sex object (Seidman, 1999). And for female singers especially, their sexual attractiveness becomes a prominent part of their music's delineations (Green, 1997). Content analysis of rock videos by Sommers-Flanagan, Sommers-Flannagan, & Davis (1993) found that women are more likely to act in implicitly sexual ways in their portrayals. And in line with these findings, other studies on the portrayals of women on MTV suggested that women were portrayed in a manner that stressed their appearance

(Gow, 1996). Moreover, these portrayals were found across gender lines in music videos. Female artists were just as likely to utilize other females as decorative objects in music videos and have them dress seductively (Vincent, 1989).

Music videos are a particular elicitor of appearance concerns and social comparison among women. Societal standards for female beauty emphasize an unattainable level of thinness as an ideal shape (Tiggemann & Slater, 2003). Research done on the subject, as pointed out by Jane Brown (2000), suggested that adolescents probably learn that skinny is beautiful and that girls have to be beautiful to attract men. There is strong support that idealized body images portrayed in music videos have negative impacts on body images (Tiggeman & Slater, 2004). Studies have found that brief exposures to music videos that contained attractive and thin images of females led to increased body dissatisfaction among women (Tiggeman & Slater, 2004). A stereotyped image of beauty is emphasized in music television, and there is a strong relationship between the genre of music and the type of female beauty that is reflected (Englis, Solomon, & Ashmore, 1994).

Music videos also contribute to the socialization of gender identity in relationships. They depict social identity portrayals in which are embedded assumptions about sexuality and romantic relationships (Bennett & Ferrell, 1987). The exposure to music videos influences the possibility of adversarial sexual beliefs, and affects dependent measures such as gender role stereotyping (Kalof, 1999). In previous content analysis of feminine and masculine images found in music videos, Linda Kalof (1993) found that MTV texts interpreted to their viewers according to their gender identity and

their experiences as gendered individuals, but also constructed different meanings of femininity. Kalof (1993) argued that if women defined sexual attractiveness and male pursuit as a form of power in music videos, it was possible to have those characteristics define young women as desirable and powerful in the context of adolescent relationships.

Literature Overview: A Conclusion and a Framework for Theory

Adolescent girls are maturing in a sexualized and media saturated culture. Music videos are a mainstay in their lifestyle. In today's consumerist culture, one that is perpetuated by media such as music television, it is important to analyze its contents. Based on research, negotiations of the images that are reflected in music videos cannot only communicate ideals about behavior to adolescent females, but can also assist in constructing their social and personal identities.

For female fans, a genre such as teen pop, with its powerful integrated images, can alter the perception and social acceptability of what is considered feminine, in attributes and in representation. Social learning theory, according to Albert Bandura (2002), suggests that exposure to mass media cannot only influence societal stereotypes and ideologies, but the exposure can also aid in the development of behaviors and attitudes. It also predicts that imitations by the observer will more than likely occur when the model is similar and perceived as attractive (Bandura, 2002). The portrayal of women by attractive female artists of the same age can affect the presentation of femininity, especially among the images as seen in music videos, where gender identity is constantly constructed and deconstructed.

Constant viewing of a medium, such as music videos, will define and reinforce the ideas that are presented through it. In accordance with cultivation theory, as argued by Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli (2002), television, and the images that are portrayed on the medium have become a primary means of communication, and over time, with constant exposure it will promote a homogenous set of expectations and conceptions about social reality. Through its depictions of relationships, situations, and social identities, music videos can produce images that can be imitated by the audience. For the teen pop music genre, female artists foster the creation of adolescent girls' sense of self, and in accordance with cultivation theory, mainstreaming beliefs and values. Therefore the possible interpretations of the images that adolescent girls view through these music videos are important to understand as they can ultimately influence their gender identity and instruct them in their sex roles in society.

Research Questions

It is suggested by both cultivation theory and social learning theory, that music videos can reflect society and communicate ideals about behavior and personality characteristics. In accordance, teen pop music videos by female artists could communicate and confirm ideas about female appearance and sexuality to their core audience (12-19-year-old girls), as reflected by their styling (such as fashion) and the reflected outcomes of their behavior (such as flirtation). In their appeal to young girls, these pop music videos could help foster/reinforce sex role attitudes of females through the imagery they portray.

This thesis focused on the portrayals by female teen pop artists in their music videos and sexualized imagery. It analyzed the presence and usage of sexuality in the music videos of this genre, and consequently then what these portrayals could be advocating in adolescent female sex role behaviors. The following questions were addressed in this study:

- How prominent is sexuality and objectification as an element in these music videos?
- How much is implicit and explicit?
- If any, what are the behavioral reinforcements conveyed in the outcome of these videos?
- Do these artists promote a particular appearance styling?
- As a subset of this study, are there any differences between these artists?
- And finally, are there any similarities?

Chapter 3

Research Methods

Method: A Content Analysis

A content analysis was conducted as a means to examine the nature and prevalence of sex role behavior in teen pop among its female artists. The music video was selected as the unit of analysis for this thesis. A content analysis of music video imagery was deemed advantageous for this study, as it is suitable for comparative studies because of its unobtrusive nature (as it can be conducted at any time). This study looked at approximately 49 different music videos from 5 different North American female artists of the teen pop music genre in the years 1996-2006.

To gather data from the content found in these music videos, a coding method was utilized. Coding was used to change raw data gathered from the units of analysis into subsequent categories as defined by this study. The statistical computer software SPSS 14.0 was used to record the coding results. This was done to expedite research results.

This study began with the worldwide explosion of teen pop as a popular music genre among Generation Y adolescents in 1996, and carried through its continued popularity today (2006). In focusing on female pop artists, specifically the top female acts of the genre (as they are the most recognizable and their success is a determinant on the effect they have on their audience), the scope of study was narrowed. Further, the

pop artists selected for this study were those who were the most popular among the 12-19-year-old age group during this time frame, the target audience of the teen pop music genre (as signified by record and merchandising sales in the United States). North American artists of this genre were selected because of the dominance of Western music worldwide, as propelled by the America based network MTV (Music Television) worldwide.

The Data Analysis: Female Teen Pop Artists

It is generally accepted by the music industry that artists of teen pop are basically interchangeable in their musical context, as the appeal of the genre is that the music is short, straight, and to the point (Caffarelli, 2002). Britney Spears' single, *...Baby One More Time*, for example, like her contemporaries, is a record by a teenager intended for consumption by teenagers, and/or their juniors (McPadden, 2001). However, though these artists can be seen as identical in musical language, they are marketed to adolescent girls as a counter alternative in the same genre, mostly to broaden audience attraction. Record companies are aware that the target audience for teen entertainment has a large disposable income, and aim to ensure that they appeal to all facets of the teen-dollar.

Female pop artists have been marketed to appeal to different audience segments through attire or orientation of their music. For example, Avril Lavigne's brand of teen pop is considered more rock-oriented, while Britney Spears' music is considered more dance-oriented. Hilary Duff is advertised as a "good girl" and thus does not wear revealing clothing, while Christina Aguilera has since shed her "good girl" image to embrace a more sexualized one and does. But despite these marketing differences, these

female artists still have the same target demographic audience: the 12-19-year-old female market. Their small deviations from each other broaden the genre's ability to relate to a spectrum of girls. Therefore, in order to study the music in this kind of a fragmented audience appeal, five artists were selected who have not only been highly successful in their careers, but also differ in their brand of pop.

1. Britney Spears: who some would consider the driving force of teen pop in the 1990s. Dubbed by MTV as "one of the last teenage pop superstars of the 20th century," she found success in 1998 ("About Britney Spears: Biography," 2007). Since the age of 16 she has been a media fixture, and is often used as a comparison point to rate celebrity star power among other teen pop stars. She burst upon the music scene with the single ...*Baby One More Time*, a notable video which contained a twist on the Catholic school girl uniform, navel showing. She has sold more than 76 million albums worldwide ("Most Likely To Succeed," 2007), and according to the Recording Industry Association of America, is the eighth best-selling female artist of all-time in American music history, with 31 million albums sold in the United States ("Top Artists," 2007). Her first four albums debuted at number 1 in the United States, another first for a female artist.

16 music videos total:

"...Baby One More Time"

"Sometimes"

"You Drive Me Crazy (The Stop Remix)"

"From the Bottom of My Broken Heart"

"Oops I Did It Again"

"Lucky"

"Stronger"

“Don’t Let Me Be The Last To Know”
“I’m A Slave For You”
“I’m Not A Girl, Not Yet A Woman”
“Overprotected (The Dark Child Remix)”
“Boys (The Co-Ed Remix)”
“Me Against The Music”
“Toxic”
“Everytime”
“My Prerogative”

2. Christina Aguilera: who also emerged at the onslaught of 1990s teen pop. She came to prominence in the music genre in 1999. She is considered to be the closest rival to Britney Spears’ popularity, and is often cited as a better vocalist. While Britney moved toward a more dance-oriented sound as she progressed in her career, Christina has gone toward R&B, collaborating with Hip-Hop and Rap artists. In 2004, during the release of her second album *Stripped*, she was heavily critiqued because of her revamped sexualized image that coincided with her new material. She has released six albums, including one strictly in Spanish, selling over 30 million albums worldwide, and earned 5 Grammy Awards from 16 nominations (Lewis, 2007).

11 music videos total:

“Reflection”
“Genie in a Bottle”
“What A Girl Wants”
“I Turn To You”
“Come on Over Baby (All I Want Is You)”
“Dirrty”
“Beautiful”
“Fighter”
“Can’t Hold Us Down”
“The Voice Within”
“Ain’t No Other Man”

3. Jessica Simpson: who has sold over 17 million copies of her albums worldwide started in the Christian music circuit (“Jessica Simpson,” 2007). Jessica burst onto the teen-pop music scene in 1999 on the heels of Britney Spears and Christina Aguilera, and did not quite amass the same massive commercial success. By her second album, *Irresistible*, it was speculated that her record company, Columbia Records, insisted she lose weight and sing more radio-friendly tracks in order to stay competitive with her peers (“Irresistible,” 2007). However, it was not until 2003, propelled by the success of her MTV reality television show, *The Newlyweds*, that she was able to obtain the same height of popularity. Recently she has crossed over into acting, and has appeared in several motion pictures.

10 music videos total:

“I Wanna Love You Forever”

“Where You Are”

“I Think I’m In Love With You”

“Irresistible”

“Sweetest Sin”

“With You”

“Take My Breath Away”

“Angels”

“These Boots Are Made For Walkin’”

“A Public Affair”

4. Avril Lavigne: considered the punk version of Britney Spears, she was signed at 16-years-old, and found musical success in 2002. She has sold 26 million records worldwide with 2 albums, and is expected to release a third in 2007 (“Avril Lavigne,” 2007). Her integration of rock music into pop shifted teen pop music into an alternate direction from the dance/R&B format. Unlike her peers in the

same genre, she co-wrote all the songs found on her debut album. The success she found doing so spawned comparable peers, such as Ashlee Simpson and Lindsey Lohan, to focus their music onto the same pop-rock sound.

7 music videos total:

“Complicated”

“Sk8er Boi”

“I’m With You”

“Losing Grip”

“Don’t Tell Me”

“My Happy Ending”

“Nobody’s Home”

5. Hilary Duff: the most recent poster girl of teen pop. She is the youngest of the five, at just 18, and is considered a crossover star. Burgeoning on the success of her acting career with a television show and movies with Disney, she established one in music. To date she has sold more than 13 million albums worldwide (“Hilary Duff Returns With Love and Dignity,” 2007).

5 music videos total:

“Why Not”

“So Yesterday”

“Come Clean”

“Fly”

“Wake Up”

Female teen pop artists chosen for inclusion in the study were based on the following stipulations. It was a requirement for the selected musician to have had multi-platinum album sales in the United States, as established by the by The Recording Industry of America (RIAA). In the United States, *platinum* is a signifier of one million albums sold (Warner, 1996). Second, all the albums released by the artist had to have charted in the Top 10 of the *Billboard 200* Album Charts. Billboard, a trade magazine of the US

industry since 1894, has been the official American music chart since 1940, and is a gauge to the popularity of music (Warner, 1996, p. 275). Its charts are determined by record sales. Thirdly, all artists who were chosen had all the albums they released either debut or climb into the *Billboard 200* Top 10 listing. Its charts are determined by record sales, which are tabulated by Nielsen Soundscan. Nielsen Soundscan is the sales source for the Billboard music charts, and is an information system that tracks sales of music and music video products throughout the United States and Canada (“About Nielsen Soundscan,” 2007). Again, this ranking provided an indicator of popularity of a chosen musical artist, and consequently their chart impact is a reflection of their selling power.

Further, selected artists had to have established international fame, widespread promotions and publicity both in and outside the United States (for example: magazine covers, international awards, concert specials on television, and merchandising tie-ins such as dolls, lunch boxes, etc.). These aspects are a connotation of the success rate in the music genre, as not all pop artists are able to attain worldwide appeal. Last, the artists had to have released consecutive albums either in 1996 or later. This requirement was instituted in the sample because of the importance of examining artists who could be or have been affecting Generation Y at the resurgence of the industry’s realization of the adolescent market (which was in 1996).

Most importantly, the sample of artists had to have proved their staying power in the genre (as it is notorious for having artists with a short shelf life). Therefore, each of the artists selected had more than one album released that was deemed *multi-platinum* (selling more than one million records in the United States) as defined by the RIAA.

Also each music artist selected for this study had to be recording at the time of this study (either in the process of releasing new material or having recently released new material). This stipulation established that not only were the artists selected for this study considered popular, but also proved that they have had consistent success rate from year to year.

The videos selected for analysis from these performers coincide with those songs that were released for radio airplay as singles in the United States, and had an accompanying music video. *Singles* here is defined as one song released from an artist's album, used to sample the music of the artist, and as an industry way of trailing an album (Warner, 1996). The singles selected for this study were included only if they charted in the Billboard Charts. Any music videos tied to singles released by the music artist in the United States that did not chart into the Billboard Charts were not included in this study. Again, in the United States, the Billboard Chart is a signifier of not just sales, but also radio airplay. Thus, the songs chosen for this content analysis were the most well known by the artist, garnered national airplay on the radio, were heard by those who purchased music, and consequently the song's music videos were seen on MTV.

Also, it was imperative to the study that each of the female artists have had more than one (if not all) of their videos appear on MTV's *TRL (Total Request Live)*, the channel's daily music video countdown (of the top 10 music videos on the channel) show. Teen musical artists can credit their commercial success with the exposure they received on *TRL (Total Request Live)*, which boasts a viewership of 342 million households ("We Still," 2001). It has been cited, like in the case of pop princess Britney

Spears, that musical artists have had their careers started on this show. As Spears recounted to the magazine *Newsweek*, “I was really a nobody and they were playing my video like I was the most popular thing in the world” (“We Still,” 2001, p. 50). And it can be concluded that the music videos shown on *TRL*, infiltrated the public through heavy rotation on MTV, and were inversely the most influential in the ears and eyes of today’s youth.

Coding: Categories & Procedures

This assessment focused on the sex role portrayal of the artist in attire and behavior in her music video. The actual lyrical contents of the song were not analyzed, but rather how the music was interpreted through image in the music video. The music video was analyzed within the context of the presence and recurrence of visual (if it was shown or relevant in the music video) or the absence of imagery for the female artist only (based on the assumption that it is the role models who act as the socializing agent).

The image implications of these music videos were examined through content coding based on the following definitions:

Sexism. Sexism is defined for this study as the appearance of women engaged in implicitly sexual and subservient behavior, and/or women as the object of implicit and explicit sexual advances.

Sex Role Behaviors. Sex role behaviors, defined here as those behaviors frequently identifiable as female and associated with dating, flirtation, and other sexually oriented behaviors, which also included appearance factors such as fashion for the purpose of this study.

Scales were employed to focus on sex role behaviors. Based on a similar study by John Sommers-Flannagan, Rita Sommers-Flannagan, and Britta Davis (1993), who analyzed music videos across gender role content, these categories were defined as follows:

1. Objectification. Objectification is defined here as instances in which the camera focuses in on an isolated body part. Any portrayal of a person being primarily one body part of a set of body parts rather than a whole, complete human is considered objectification. Examples would be bare stomachs, cleavage, lips, genital areas, buttocks, thighs, etc. Camera shots of the top half of a person, or merely showing his/her whole face as a close-up is not considered objectification.
2. Implicit Sexuality. Implicit Sexuality is defined here as instances in which themes of sexual attraction are predominant or serve as a concurrent focus with another theme. Scenes that suggest or seem to elicit sexual arousal and/or appeals to the erotic such as pelvic thrusts, long lip licking, stroking, etc. Anything short of explicit sexual activity but suggestive of sexuality is considered implicit sexuality.
3. Explicit Sexuality. Explicit Sexuality is defined here as instances in which themes of sexual action are predominant. Scenes in which genitalia or breasts are being touched or bodies are touching and moving together in ways suggestive of intercourse.

In these instances, studies quantified the occurrence of the actions described in the

designated categories. Analysis was conducted to determine the frequency of each action in the music video. Categorical behaviors were coded every 30 seconds, as opposed to the actual occurrence, since each could potentially be very long or short in duration, and the total number (if present) tallied at the conclusion of each analysis. More than one category could be scored for each 30-second interval analyzed. And each category was judged solely on the basis of a presence or absence during each 30-second video segment.

Further, there was an added evaluation used to measure styling in its presence and reference to sex role behavior. This category was coded based on the definitions of prior research on product consumption imagery in music videos by Englis, Solomon, and Olofsson (1993). It was as follows:

1. Make-up: either worn and/or used. This included any make-up used on the face, (EX: eyes, lips), as well as on the fingernails.
2. Highly seductive/alluring clothing: either worn and/or used. This included swimwear, bras, panties, other lingerie as outerwear, short skirts, tight dresses, belly baring tops, and any other clothing that revealed an expanse of skin (defined here as covering less than half the body).
3. Jewelry: either worn and/or used. This included earrings, bracelets, necklaces, toe and finger rings.

Additionally, in a duplication of the prior study by Englis, Solomon, and Olofsson (1993), three codes were applied to the above products as a coding strategy. Thus, a video showing a repeated usage would not spuriously inflate a category frequency. The codes were as follows: (1) either it was absent (2) it was shown but not in the context of a

relevant activity (e.g., the presence of make-up, such as lipstick) and (3) a relevant activity (e.g., the artist is shown putting on make-up).

Accordingly, the consequences of the artist's actions in her videos were also measured. As based on the concept that teen pop music videos act as a socializing agent for adolescent girls, it should associate sex role imagery with relevant outcomes for its role models. Behavioral reinforcement presented by each artist was coded by what extent their actions led to pleasant or unpleasant outcomes by the conclusion of their video. Based on the definitions of prior research by Englis, Solomon, and Olofsson (1993), coding was as follows:

- (1) Rewarded (e.g., after pursuing a member of the opposite sex, the artist is able to gain that person's affection)
- (2) Punishment (e.g., after pursuing a member of the opposite sex, the artist is unable to gain that person's affection)
- (3) Mixed reinforcement (e.g., after pursuing a member of the opposite sex, the artist is able to gain that person's affection, but only briefly)
- (4) No contingent reinforcement (e.g. the artist pursues a member of the opposite sex but does not gain an outcome either way)

Two coders were employed to help with the coding process. This was done to minimize the problems of reliability and validity with only one coder. Both coders were familiar with the music artists and the genre of music. Raters were provided with rating guidelines during their training period. The ratings were recorded on coding sheets designed for scoring the occurrences.

In accordance with a previous content analysis on music videos and gender roles by Sommers-Flannagan, Sommers-Flannagan, and Davis (1993), a consensus model was used for this study. This model was utilized for this thesis not just to ensure rating accuracy issues, but also for efficiency purposes. After coding each music video, raters disclosed their ratings to each other until a group consensus was achieved in the music video's analysis. In cases of disagreement, the video in question was viewed again, at which time it was reassessed until a group consensus was reached. There were no situations where there were differing positions after a video was replayed for reanalysis.

Intercoder reliability was conducted via a pretest prior to the complete coding of the music videos. Three different videos were coded individually and a reliability test was conducted to ensure that there was consistency within measurements. Cohen's Kappa was used to determine the reliability of the coders. Cohen's Kappa:

$$K = \frac{\text{Relative Observed Agreement} - \text{Probability Agreement Due To Chance}}{1 - \text{Probability Agreement Due To Chance}}$$

Using this, an agreement equal to .85 (85%) between analysts was tallied to ensure consistency in the coding process.

As different coders may perceive different meanings in the same segment, coders were given the definitions and guidelines regarding video interpretation for consistency purposes. However, although definitions of sex role behavior and sexism were given, and there were guidelines instituted in the coding process, interpretation is an ongoing process. An individual's subjective view must be considered in his or her ability to factor data. Arguably then, subjectivity between coders played an important role in this study, as interpretation is culturally based, and this study analyzed society's dictations.

Chapter 4

Results and Findings

Sex Role Behaviors

A total of 83 occurrences were found in the 49 music videos analyzed in sex role behavior categories (either explicit sexuality, implicit sexuality, or objectification). Roughly 61 percent (30 out of the 49 studied) of the total music videos analyzed contained an occurrence of a categorized sex role behavior. All the artists in this study had videos that contained an occurrence of a categorized sex role behavior. In fact, each of the five artists studied had a frequency rate of more than 40% of their total music videos containing an occurrence of a categorized sex role behavior. The percentage of occurrences and instance rate of sex role behavior categories are included in Table 4.1 through 4.9.

As shown in Table 4.1, the most frequently observed category of camera focus and behavior in these music videos was objectification, followed by implicit sexuality, and then explicit sexuality. Britney Spears was the artist whose videos contained the most occurrences of implicit sexuality, followed by Jessica Simpson, Christina Aguilera, Avril Lavigne, and Hilary Duff. Jessica Simpson was the female artist with the most occurrences of objectification in her music videos, followed then by Britney Spears, Christina Aguilera and Hilary Duff, and lastly Avril Lavigne. Of the five artists studied, it was only Jessica Simpson who had any occurrences of explicit sexuality contained in

Table 4.1 Video Frequency - Music Video Sex Categorical Behavior

*In all cases there were a total of 49 videos available for rating.

	# of Videos	Frequency Percentage
Britney Spears (N=16)	11	68%
Christina Aguilera (N=11)	5	45%
Jessica Simpson (N=10)	6	60%
Avril Lavigne (N=7)	4	57%
Hilary Duff N=(N=5)	4	80%
Total Videos (N=49)	30	61%

Artist	Objectification	Implicit Sexuality	Explicit Sexuality
Britney Spears (N=16)			
Number of Videos	9	7	0
Percentage of Videos	56%	44%	0%
Christina Aguilera (N=11)			
Number of Videos	5	4	0
Percentage of Videos	45%	36%	0%
Jessica Simpson (N=10)			
Number of Videos	6	4	1
Percentage of Videos	60%	40%	10%
Avril Lavigne (N=7)			
Number of Videos	1	3	0
Percentage of Videos	14%	43%	0%
Hilary Duff (N=5)			
Number of Videos	2	2	0
Percentage of Videos	40%	40%	0%
Total Videos (N=44)			
Number of Videos	23	20	1
Percentage of Videos	53%	45%	2%

her music videos. None of the other artists had any instances recorded. She was also the only artist included in this study whose videos contained all three recorded categorical behaviors (objectification, implicit sexuality, and explicit sexuality).

As shown in Table 4.3, videos by Britney Spears contained the most recorded instances of categorical sex behaviors (31 total instances or 37 percent of the total 83 recorded), however it is interesting to note that it was Jessica Simpson who came in second to this. Her music videos contained 25 recorded instances (roughly 30 percent of the total occurrences). Jessica Simpson, who started out in the Christian music circuit, was heavily critiqued because she changed her image and musical style by her sophomore album to conform to that of the more sexualized stylings of Britney Spears and Christina Aguilera. It is interesting to note that her videos contained an increase in sex categorical behaviors from her first to second release. In comparison to Jessica Simpson, Christina Aguilera's videos contained only 14 recorded instances (or 17 percent of the total occurrences). A surprisingly lower rate, as she underwent heavy scrutiny in 2002 during the release of her sophomore album, and her consequent highly sexualized image that accompanied its theme.

As seen in Table 4.1, Christina Aguilera was the only artist who did not have more than a 50 percent frequency rate of sex categorical behavior in her total videos studied. Only 5 of her 11 studied videos contained any type of sex categorized behavior. By comparison her peers had more than a 50 percent rate of frequency in their total amount of videos studied. Behavioral instances were recorded in 11 of the 16 videos (68 percent)

Table 4.2 Total Occurrence Frequency Rates – Music Video Categorical Behavior

*In all cases there were a total of 49 videos available for rating.

Total Frequency Rate (N=83)			
ALL VIDEOS	Objectification	Implicit Sexuality	Explicit Sexuality
Number of Occurrences	49	32	2
Percentage	59%	39%	2%

Table 4.3 Total Individual Frequency Rates – Music Video Categorical Behavior

*In all cases there were a total of 49 videos available for rating.

Individual Video Frequency Rate Totals (N=83)		
ARTIST	Occurrences	Percentage
Britney Spears	31	37%
Christina Aguilera	14	17%
Jessica Simpson	25	30%
Avril Lavigne	7	84%
Hilary Duff	6	7%

Table 4.4 Total Artist Frequency Rates – Music Video Categorical Behavior

*In all cases there were a total of 49 videos available for rating.

Total Individual Rate of Occurrences (N=83)						
ARTIST	Objectification (N=32)	Objectification (%) (N=32)	Implicit Sexuality (N=49)	Implicit Sexuality (%) (N=49)	Explicit Sexuality (N=2)	Explicit Sexuality (%) (N=2)
Britney Spears	10	31%	21	43%	0	0%
Christina Aguilera	6	19%	8	16%	0	0%
Jessica Simpson	11	34%	12	24%	2	100%
Avril Lavigne	1	3%	6	12%	0	0%
Hilary Duff	4	13%	2	4%	0	0%

by Britney Spears, 6 of the 10 by Jessica Simpson (60 percent), 4 of the 7 by Avril Lavigne (57 percent), and 4 of the 5 (80%) by Hilary Duff.

As shown in Tables 4.5 through 4.9, on a specific categorical level, all but one of the artists (Avril Lavigne) had more than a 30 percent frequency of total objectification instances in their music videos. And everyone but Christina Aguilera and Jessica Simpson (who both had a 36 percent frequency rate) had more than a 40 percent frequency rate of instances of implicit sexuality contained in their music videos. Avril Lavigne, though not on par with her peers on instances of objectification, did garner the highest total of implicit sexuality in her videos, at 86 percent (6 recorded instances total) as shown in Table 4.6. The video with the most instances of categorized sex role behaviors was *Sweetest Sin*, by Jessica Simpson, which was also the only video to contain any explicit sexuality of all the videos studied.

While objectification accounted for 59 percent of the notated categorical behaviors found in these videos, the combination of implicit and explicit content accounted for 41 percent of the recorded instances. The recorded 32 instances of implicit sexuality alone accounted for 39 percent of the total of categorical behaviors found in the content of the music videos. The videos of all five of the artists studied contained more than at least one instance of objectification or implicit sexuality content. Hilary Duff, as shown in Table 4.5 had the highest percentage of recorded instances at 80 percent. Of her 5 videos, 4 contained some kind of recorded instances of sexual categorical behavior. But all the artists studied had more than a 45 percent total frequency rate of containing a

Table 4.5 Hilary Duff: Individual Frequency Table – Categorical Behaviors

*Number of Instances Recorded in 30-Second Intervals

Total Video Occurrences (N=5)	Objectification	Implicit Sexuality	Explicit Sexuality
Number of Videos	2	2	0
Percentage	40%	40%	0%
Total Behavior Instances (N=6)	Objectification	Implicit Sexuality	Explicit Sexuality
Number of Instances	4	2	0
Percentage	67%	33%	0%

Table 4.6 Avril Lavigne: Individual Frequency Table – Categorical Behaviors

*Number of Instances Recorded in 30-Second Intervals

Total Video Occurrences (N=7)	Objectification	Implicit Sexuality	Explicit Sexuality
Number of Videos	1	3	0
Percentage	14%	43%	0%
Total Behavior Instances (N=7)	Objectification	Implicit Sexuality	Explicit Sexuality
Number of Instances	1	6	0
Percentage	14%	86%	0%

Table 4.7 Jessica Simpson: Individual Frequency Table – Categorical Behaviors

*Number of Instances Recorded in 30-Second Intervals

Total Video Occurrences (N=11)	Objectification	Implicit Sexuality	Explicit Sexuality
Number of Videos	6	4	1
Percentage	55%	36%	9%
Total Behavior Instances (N=25)	Objectification	Implicit Sexuality	Explicit Sexuality
Number of Instances	11	12	2
Percentage	44%	48%	8%

Table 4.8 Christina Aguilera: Individual Frequency Table – Categorical Behaviors

*Number of Instances Recorded in 30-Second Intervals

Total Video Occurrences (N=11)	Objectification	Implicit Sexuality	Explicit Sexuality
Number of Videos	5	4	0
Percentage	45%	36%	0%
Total Behavior Instances (N=14)	Objectification	Implicit Sexuality	Explicit Sexuality
Total Instances	6	8	0
Percentage	43%	57%	0%

Table 4.9 Britney Spears: Individual Frequency Table – Categorical Behaviors

*Number of Instances Recorded in 30-Second Intervals

Total Video Occurrences (N=16)	Objectification	Implicit Sexuality	Explicit Sexuality
Number of Videos	9	7	0
Percentage	56%	44%	0%
Total Behavior Instances (N=31)	Objectification	Implicit Sexuality	Explicit Sexuality
Total Instances	10	21	0
Percentage	32%	37%	0%

Table 5.1 Total Frequency of Occurrence – Music Video Consumption Imagery

*In all cases there were a total of 49 videos available for rating.

N=49	Absent	Shown	Relevant
Makeup			
Occurrence	0	44	10
Percentage	0%	90%	10%
Highly Seductive Clothing			
Occurrence	20	18	11
Percentage	41%	37%	22%
Jewelry			
Occurrence	9	40	0
Percentage	18%	81%	0%

recorded instance of sexual categorical behavior in their videos (which amounted to about half of their total music videos).

Consumption Imagery

The frequencies of makeup, jewelry, and highly seductive clothing in these music videos are shown in Table 5.1. All the music videos analyzed contained at least one, if not all three of the styling categories in its content. As shown in this table, make-up, jewelry, and highly seductive clothing were all prominent fixtures in all of these music videos. Makeup appeared in some form or another in all 50 music videos (a 100% frequency). Ninety percent of the music videos contained the presence of makeup, with 10 percent of the music videos having makeup as a relevant part of the content. Jewelry was shown or relevant in 81 percent of the music videos analyzed, and only absent in 18 percent. And highly seductive clothing was absent only 41 percent of the time (roughly 20 of the 49 videos), less than half of the total music videos.

Of the artists, both Avril Lavigne and Jessica Simpson had jewelry present in all of their music videos. They both had a 100% frequency rate. But all the other artists still had more than a 60% frequency rate of having jewelry shown in their videos. After Avril Lavigne and Jessica Simpson, Hilary Duff had the most occurrences at 80% of her total, followed by Britney Spears and Christina Aguilera.

As shown in Table 5.1, highly seductive clothing was relevant in 22% percent of the videos and shown 37% percent of the time, roughly at a frequency of 59% percent of total music video content. It was a present in more than half of the music videos. Avril Lavigne was the only artist who had the least amount of frequency in the presence of

Table 5.2 Individual Frequency of Occurrence: Music Video Consumption Imagery

*In all cases there were a total of 49 videos available for rating.

	(N=16)	(N=11)	(N=10)	(N=7)	(N=5)
	B. Spears	C. Aguilera	J. Simpson	A. Lavigne	H. Duff
	Makeup	Makeup	Makeup	Makeup	Makeup
Absent	0	0	0	0	0
Total %	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Shown	13	11	9	7	4
Total %	82%	100%	90%	100%	80%
Relevant	3	0	1	0	1
Total %	19%	0%	10%	0%	20%
	Highly Seductive Clothing	Highly Seductive Clothing	Highly Seductive Clothing	Highly Seductive Clothing	Highly Seductive Clothing
Absent	2	4	3	6	4
Total %	13%	36%	30%	86%	80%
Shown	11	2	4	1	1
Total %	68%	18%	40%	14%	20%
Relevant	3	5	3	0	0
Total %	19%	45%	30%	0%	0%
	Jewelry	Jewelry	Jewelry	Jewelry	Jewelry
Absent	4	4	0	0	1
Total %	25%	36%	0%	0%	20%
Shown	12	7	10	7	4
Total %	75%	64%	100%	100%	80%
Relevant	0	0	0	0	0
Total %	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

highly seductive clothing in her music videos (as detailed in Table 5.2). In general, highly seductive clothing was missing in her video content, only present in 1 of her 7 videos that were analyzed (14% of the total).

Avril Lavigne and Hilary Duff were the only artists who did not have highly seductive clothing noted as relevant content imagery in their music videos. These two were the youngest music artists studied. It is also a notable occurrence, as both artists came into the teen-pop scene post 1999 (after the emergence and popularity of Britney Spears), and did not gain comparisons to her because of that. Both Jessica Simpson and Christina Aguilera came upon the scene in 1999, directly following Britney Spears.

The artist with the highest frequency rate of having highly seductive clothing present in her music videos was Britney Spears (at a total of 86 percent), followed by (in descending order), Jessica Simpson, Christina Aguilera, Hilary Duff, and Avril Lavigne. However, as noted by Table 5.2, Christina Aguilera had the highest rate for having highly seductive clothing deemed as relevant to the content in her music videos, at 45 percent of the time. Jessica Simpson and Britney Spears rounded out that number.

Consequences of Behavior

Under the assumption that music television acts as a consumer-socializing agent, the consequences of the performers in the video were analyzed. Like a previous study conducted by Englis, Solomon, and Olofsson (1993), it was reasoned that the presence of contingent outcomes would potentially impact viewer modeling of the context in which it was portrayed. Of the videos that were studied, 16 of the 49 contained a behavioral reinforcement for the artist at the conclusion of the music video.

Table 5.3 Frequency of Occurrence – Conclusion of Video

*In all cases there were a total of 49 videos available for rating.

	(N=16) B. Spears	(N=11) C. Aguilera	(N=10) J. Simpson	(N=7) A. Lavigne	(N=5) H. Duff	(N=49) Total Videos
Rewarded						
Total Occurrence	4	2	2	0	1	9
Percentage Rate	24%	18%	20%	0%	20%	18%
Punishment						
Total Occurrence	1	0	0	0	0	1
Percentage Rate	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Mixed Reinforcement						
Total Occurrence	4	0	0	1	1	6
Percentage Rate	24%	0%	0%	14%	20%	12%
No Contingent Reinforcement						
Total Occurrence	7	9	8	6	3	33
Percentage Rate	41%	82%	80%	86%	60%	67%

Of the videos, 67 percent contained no contingent behavioral reinforcement (where the conclusion of the music video gave no outcome in any case by an artist's actions). A total of 33 percent of the videos contained some form of outcome (rewarded, punishment, or mixed reinforcement) for the actions portrayed in the music video by the artist. Of these videos, 18 percent of these concluded with the actions of the artist being rewarded, versus only 2 percent with a punishment as a conclusion to the music video.

Although the majority of the videos provided no contingent reinforcement of behavior of the actions of the artist by the conclusion of their music video, as shown in Table 5.3, positive reactions had a higher frequency rate (18%) than punishment and mixed reinforcements combined (14% total). And though more than half the videos analyzed resulted in no contingent reinforcement, 33 percent of the 29 videos analyzed (16 total) provided some sort of behavioral reinforcement (rewarded, mixed, or punished). Britney Spears was the only artist of the five who had less than a 60% percent frequency rate of having no contingent reinforcement of her behavior in her videos. More than half of her videos contained a behavioral reinforcement.

On a categorical level, the artist with the most frequency of having her behavior rewarded at the conclusion of the music video was Britney Spears (24%), followed by Jessica Simpson and Hilary Duff (20%), and Christina Aguilera (18%). Avril Lavigne was the only artist of the five who did not have at least one video where the behavioral conclusion of the video resulted in a reward outcome. And though Britney Spears had the highest frequency level of having her behavior rewarded at the conclusion of her music videos, she was also the only artist who had a video that concluded in a negative

outcome based on her behavioral context (1 video in 16). Again, she was also the only artist who had a higher frequency rate of a behavioral reinforcement (rewarded, punished, or mixed) than no contingent reinforcement in her music videos.

In general, all the artists had at least one video that provided an outcome that rewarded their behavior by the conclusion of their music video (Avril Lavigne was the exception). And all the artists had at least one video that provided a behavioral reinforcement for their actions. In fact, Britney Spears had a behavioral reinforcement in more than half of her videos (53 percent), followed by Hilary Duff (40 percent), Jessica Simpson (20 percent), Christina Aguilera (18 percent), and Avril Lavigne (14 percent).

Chapter 5

Discussion

Although female teen idols cannot be the only factor that explains identity formation among their main core audience of adolescent girls, it can be argued that they can aid in the influence of these individuals through the content they expose them to. The global permeation of television, movies, and music on a popular culture level enables them to help define cultural values, ideas, and consequently gender roles. And as discussed in the literature review, women imitate and reinforce socially approved behavior that they observe in same-sex models, because as a society, there are social expectations that are meant to be adhered to. Consequently, for teen pop artists, music video imagery could derive stereotypes for each gender from these expectations, and it could also aid in the perpetuation of them.

In a recent *Newsweek* article about tween and teen idols Britney Spears, Lindsey Lohan, and Paris Hilton and their recent “oversexed and underdressed” antics, Kathleen Deveny and Rainy Kelley argued that “the greatest threat posed by these celebrity bad gals may be that they’re advertising avatars, dressed by stylists and designers, who seem to live only to consume: clothes, cell phones, dogs, and men” (2007, p. 47). And as is with these teen idols, girls are notably their biggest fans. Adored, envied, or hated, according to a poll cited in the same article, “seventy-seven percent of Americans believe that Britney, Paris, and Lindsey have too much influence on young girls...and it’s not just

teenagers” (2007, p. 43). In a global saturation of celebrity pop culture, this begs to question what are the effects on these girls, and subsequently the women that these kids will become based on the recurring idea that they are basing their appeal and identity on what they see and hear.

Based on the assumptions of the literature review, this thesis sought to answer research questions on the imagery displayed in teen pop music videos. It asked if sexuality and objectification are elements in these music videos. And if so, how much of the content was implicit and explicit. It also questioned if there were behavioral reinforcements that were conveyed in the outcome of these music videos. And as a whole, if the artists of teen pop promoted a similar appearance or styling. Lastly, it questioned if there were any differences and similarities between the artists analyzed.

Ultimately, sexuality and objectification were present in all the videos that were analyzed in this study. All the artists had at least one frequency of either objectification or implicit and explicit sexuality contained in their music video. The most frequent occurrences of categorical sexual behavior could be found in the videos of Britney Spears. However, of the five musical artists studied in this thesis, every single one had at least one instance of a categorical sexual behavior (as defined by this study as objectification, implicit, or explicit sexuality) in their music video content. Surprisingly though for this genre of music, there were more instances of objectification than total instances of explicit and implicit behaviors combined in these music videos as a whole. Moreover it is interesting to note that Christina Aguilera, who for a long period of time was considered only second to Britney Spears and was critiqued for her overtly sexual

behavior and styling for her second album, *Stripped*, did not have as many instances of objectification or implicit sexuality as Jessica Simpson (deemed early on as more “innocent” in her image) did in her music videos.

As was noted in the introduction of this thesis, although teen pop artists grow older, their core demographic marketing audience remains fairly the same. And it is revealing to note that although time progression album to album was not coded for in this specific study, stylistically, as videos progressed (album to album) music videos contained more instances of categorical sexual behavior as these teen pop artists grew older. This was also seen in the cases of an artist wearing highly seductive clothing in her music videos. All but Hilary Duff wore what was considered highly seductive clothing (as defined by this study) at a frequency rate of sixty percent or more (total music videos). And in the case of Hilary Duff, her lone instance of wearing highly seductive clothing was recorded for her video *Wake Up*, which is her latest. This would be consistent with the idea that as an artist grows older, her image changes into a more sexualized one.

These videos also promoted a similar style that was seen across the board with all the artists that were studied. Although they have their own different brand of teen pop music, the artists of this genre as a whole all had styling consistency in their music videos as far as consumption imagery. All the music videos in this study showed the artist wearing makeup, or had makeup as a relevant part of the video content. And no less than eighty percent of the music videos contained the artists wearing jewelry. Britney Spears, who made baring her stomach famous, had the most instances of wearing highly

seductive clothing in her videos, however all the other artists were similar with this. This included Avril Lavigne (considered the “anti-Britney”), who actually had more recorded instances than Jessica Simpson (who was the only artist in this study who had a video which contained explicit sexuality).

Overall, there were no recurring themes of contingent behavioral reinforcements at the conclusions of the music videos of this genre. Most did not have any reinforcements (mixed, punished, or rewarded) for the actions of the artist. However, each of the artists studied for this thesis had at least one video that rewarded her behavior by its conclusion. And there was only one instance of which the artist’s behavior was met with a punishment (as defined by this study). So it can be said that there were no real consequences for behavior in the context of music video content.

The imagery found in teen pop music videos, especially in its appeal to a core audience of adolescent girls, can most likely influence individuals’ perceptions of not just themselves but of others. As assumed in the literature review, the music videos contained in this study provided implications of sex role behaviors for females in their imagery content. And actually, despite the heralded differences of each of these female artists in their brand of teen pop, they were consistently similar in their gender imagery and portrayal than they were different. It can be concluded that in fact they all portray the same kind of appearance.

Directions for Future Research

This thesis studied teen pop music and its female artists. It would be interesting to see a similar study conducted on the male artists of the genre. Would there be any

similarities and differences between the two sexes as far as music video content and imagery implications? Or as seen in this study, despite the differences in the brand of teen pop, would there still be a consistency? What are the implications of the saturation of consumption imagery (name brands, styles, etc.) and pop culture perpetuations of not just a communication medium like MTV, but also its online contemporaries, like YouTube and MySpace, in their ability to broadcast music videos on a broader scale? Are there any implications? And in that perspective, perhaps a study just on the consumption imagery contained in these videos should be undertaken. On a similar level, studies could also be done on the lyrical content of teen pop, as opposed to just this visual study. Does lyrical content alter the perception of the music video imagery? Does the lyrical content affect the way the images are presented?

An analysis of music videos and the imagery implications of sex role behaviors can also be done not just on the genre of teen pop music, but also on other popular genres of music (such as rap and rock). Studies can be done to scale the differences and similarities on gender roles found within their contexts. Is there a difference within music video imagery and cross genres and their portrayals of women? Ultimately, further studies could elaborate on what the exposure to this kind of imagery does in increasing the likelihood of similar behavioral effect among its intended audience.

This thesis provided a basis for the idea that perhaps the imagery contained in music videos contained implications for the gender identity of adolescent girls. With that as basis, this study could be taken a step further if there was more time and less research-based constraints. Perhaps adolescent girls themselves could be interviewed and/or

surveyed in order to gauge how the imagery they see in music video content is reflected in their own self-image. What are the effects? Are there effects? And consequently it could provide more research on imagery exposure, sex role behaviors, and gender identity.

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Appendix A

List of Music Videos Analyzed

Britney Spears

“...Baby One More Time”
“Sometimes”
“You Drive Me Crazy (The Stop Remix)”
“From the Bottom of My Broken Heart”
“Oops I Did It Again”
“Lucky”
“Stronger”
“Don’t Let Me Be The Last To Know”
“I’m A Slave For You”
“I’m Not A Girl, Not Yet A Woman”
“Overprotected (The Dark Child Remix)”
“Boys (The Co-Ed Remix)”
“Me Against The Music”
“Toxic”
“Everytime”
“My Prerogative”

Christina Aguilera

“Reflection”
“Genie in a Bottle”
“What A Girl Wants”
“I Turn To You”
“Come on Over Baby (All I Want Is You)”
“Dirrty”
“Beautiful”
“Fighter”
“Can’t Hold Us Down”
“The Voice Within”
“Ain’t No Other Man”

Jessica Simpson

“I Wanna Love You Forever”
“Where You Are”
“I Think I’m In Love With You”
“Irresistible”
“Sweetest Sin”
“With You”
“Take My Breath Away”
“Angels”
“These Boots Are Made For Walkin’”
“A Public Affair”

Avril Lavigne

“Complicated”
“Sk8er Boi”
“I’m With You”
“Losing Grip”
“Don’t Tell Me”
“My Happy Ending”
“Nobody’s Home”

Hilary Duff

“Why Not”
“So Yesterday”
“Come Clean”
“Fly”
“Wake Up”

Appendix B

Coding Sheet: Categorical Behaviors

Mark "X" if Present			
<u>Categorical Behaviors:</u>	Objectification	Implicit	Explicit
30 Seconds			
1 Minute			
1 Minute, 30 Seconds			
2 minutes			
2 minutes, 30 seconds			
3 minutes			
3 minutes, 30 Seconds			
4 Minutes			
4 Minutes, 30 seconds			
5 minutes			
5 minutes, 30 seconds			
6 minutes			
6 minutes, 30 seconds			

Appendix C

Coding Sheet: Styling and Behavior Reinforcement

<u>Styling (Video):</u>			
Mark "X" in Applicable Box	Make-up	Clothing	Jewelry
Absent			
Shown			
Relevant			

<u>Outcome (Video):</u>	Conclusion
Mark "X" in Applicable Box	
Rewarded	
Punishment	
Mixed Reinforcement	
No Contingent Reinforcement	