

Seeing is Believing:
Content Analysis of Sexual Content in Korean Music Videos

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Abstract

Sexuality in music has become more intense and more frequent in South Korea. Based on Cultivation Theory, which argues that there is a correlation between the amounts of media a person consumes and their perceptions of the world (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1994), the self-sexualization of females, especially adolescent girls, by media is a significant danger today. The purpose of this study was to examine and compare the amounts of sexual content in Korean music videos between now and 10 years ago. The total number of sample is 352, including 184 music videos from 2004 and 2005 and 168 music videos from 2014 and 2015 (N=352). Finding indicated that the music videos of female singers are more sexualized than the music videos of male singers both in terms of provocative clothing and depictions of sexual suggestiveness. Moreover, the gap of sexualization between the men and women has been deepening for 10 years.

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Content Analysis of Sexual Content on Korean Music Videos

Sexuality in music has become more intense and more frequent in South Korea.

According to Chang Nam Kim (1998), a critic of popular culture and a professor at Sungkonghoe University, the fall of the authoritarian political system at the end of 1980s brought out changes in the perception of Koreans. While the main values of the Korean society were based on asceticism in the past, “the new culture of self-expression” where the new generation expresses themselves via sex and body grew explosively since 1990s (Kim, 1998, p. 218). From the analysis of sexuality in music programs of three main broadcasting companies from 2006 to 2010, Kim and Yoon (2011) found that there is a growing tendency of being lascivious among the television programs. The movements and clothing of the singers in 2010 were more sensual and provocative, and female singers emphasized sexual aspects more than male singers (Kim & Yoon, 2011).

Sexuality of popular music has been expanded and intensified with development of visual media, such as music video (Jung, 2002). Since MTV debuted in 1981, music videos have become a staple of the recording industry. MTV continues to expand its brand on-air and online through spin-off channels and proprietary online portals like MTV Overdrive that serve up music videos on demand (Ouellette, 2005; Umstead, 2005). MTV also entered the Korean music industry in 1995 making a contract with M.Net, a music channel, and then began running its own channel since 2000. Now, there are about 8 music channels in South Korea including MTV, M.net, KMTV, Channel V Korea, M.Net nonstop, Crezio music, Sky channel V Korea, and Me TV. From the appearance of various channels, music videos that combined erotic images and sensual lyrics emerged as a main cause of expansion of sexual tendency in popular music (Jung, 2002).

In addition, based on the development of the Internet, virtually all major record labels are actively pursuing alternate means of content delivery such as video on demand via popular online music portals. For example, Yahoo Music reported that 3 billion music videos were streamed online in 2005. As a result, the recording industry is producing more videos than ever before (Bruno, 2005b). Finally, consumer electronics has also allowed fans to download music videos to their cellular telephones or other handheld devices such as Apple's video iPod, providing other potential avenues for music video distribution (Bruno, 2005a; McCarthy, 2005). Thus, people, especially adolescents and children, can watch any music video on the Internet regardless of the rating system of media materials, which restricts broadcasting of sexual music videos on television.

One of the key reasons for concern over the use of sex is because the target audience for music videos is primarily teens and adolescents (Cummins, 2007), and a wealth of research has demonstrated the potentially harmful effects that such sexual content can have (Andsager & Roe, 2003, Hansen & Hansen, 2000). According to the American Psychological Association (2007), media is a significant influencer of sexual socialization, which is "the socialization of individuals for sexual and gender roles, identities, values, and behavior" (Spanier, 1977, p.87). Bleakley, Hennessy, Fishbein, and Jordan (2008) identified a nonrecursive relationship between exposure to sexual content in television, music, magazines, and video games and sexual behavior. In their study of 501 adolescents, Bleakley et al. found that the more adolescents were exposed to sexual content in media, the greater the likelihood that they were engaging in sexual activity. Chandra, Martino, Collins, Elliott, Berry, Kanouse, and Miu (2008) investigated viewing sex on television as a predictor of teen pregnancy and found an association between exposure to sex in media and sexual activity. In the study, adolescents who were exposed to high levels of sexual content on

television were twice as likely to experience a teen pregnancy when compared to those with low levels of exposure.

In addition, APA (2007) pointed out that one of the sources that lead females to self-sexualization is the degrading and sexualized display of women in media. Self-sexualization refers to a type of self-imposed sexual objectification, in which a woman sexually objectifies herself by willingly presenting the body as a sexual object for others' use (APA, 2007). From the exposure to the sexualized depiction of women, females internalize such messages and engage in self-sexualized behaviors. In their recent study examining the impact of objectifying media content on women's attitudes and behaviors, Nowatski and Morry (2009) found that consumption of media portraying highly sexually objectified content positively correlated with female self-sexualizing behaviors. Furthermore, exposure to sexual objectification can lead to a host of health related issues including poor body image (McKinley, 1998), depression (Muehlenkamp & Saris-Baglana, 2002; Szymanski & Henning, 2007), disordered eating (Tiggemann & Kuring, 2004), and substance abuse (Car & Szymanski, 2011).

Therefore, the sexual elements on music videos, which are rampant currently, should be studied in junction with self-sexualization of females, especially girls. The purpose of this study is to determine and compare the amount of sexualization on music videos of South Korea. Based on Cultivation Theory, which argues there is a correlation between the amounts of media a person consumes and their perceptions of the world (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1994), content analysis was conducted regarding the popular songs. The songs were selected from 2004, 2005, 2014, and 2015 because there was a different legal regulation system on music videos before early 2000. The results show significant differences and common trends between the past and now when it comes to the amount of sexual content and gender. From the result, this

study suggests the main problem of the use of sex on the current Korean music videos, limitations, and the possibilities for the future studies.

Literature Review

The literature review provides where the research came from and the theoretical foundation of the study. The first part addresses the sexualized descriptions of women in media as one of the sources that lead females to self-sexualization. Especially, the importance of popular music as a source of sexualization is stated. From this background, the next part articulates Cultivation Theory as a theoretical foundation, including the primary concepts, the assumptions, and the main explanations. Then, the last section identifies the previous studies on sexualization in music videos and the change of Korean music videos when it comes to the achievements and the limitations.

Self-sexualization of woman by media

Spanier (1977) defined the concept of “sexualization” as sexual socialization in the study. Sexual socialization is defined as a process involving several interrelated social-psychological components which collectively, not independently, determine our sexual self-concept, values, attitudes, and behaviors. Sexual socialization is comprised of five components, which are development of sex-object preference, development of gender roles, development of a gender identity, development of sexual attitudes, and acquisition of sexual skills, knowledge, and values (Spanier, 1977).

On the other hand, “self-sexualization” refers to a type of self-imposed sexual objectification, in which a woman sexually objectifies herself by willingly presenting the body as a sexual object for others’ use (APA, 2007). Self-sexualization is generally distinguished from healthy sexual expression and empowerment as the woman largely neglects her own desires and

pleasures for that of another. According to APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls, a female can self-sexualize in three main ways: (1) assuming that her individual value comes primarily from her sexual appeal and behavior; (2) assuming that her sexiness is equivalent to a narrowly defined level of attractiveness; and (3) thinking of herself in objectified terms, that is, as an object for others' sexual use (2007).

One of the sources that lead females to self-sexualization is the degrading and sexualized display of women in media. Degrading music, which is characterized by depictions where one person has a large sexual appetite, the other person is sexually objectified, and sexual value is placed solely on physical characteristics may have deleterious effects (APA, 2007). Music, for example, describing a sex-driven male emotively pursuing an objectified female whose sole value is derived from her sexual behavior, hypersexuality, or sexual attractiveness reinforces and perpetuates harmful stereotypes related to gender and sexuality (Cougar Hall, West, & Hill, 2012). Similarly, a music video that commodifies a woman's body, rendering it the property of others and assigning value equal to its sexiness, may reinforce sexist gender roles and scripts related to the subordination of women in society. As a result, degrading and sexualized music can teach both adolescent males and females that women are sexual objects that exist for the pleasure of others (Papadaki, 2001).

Consumption of media portraying highly sexually objectified content is positively correlated with female self-sexualizing behaviors (Nowatski and Morry, 2009). Car and Szymanski (2011) indicated that sexual objectification experiences and self-objectification were both positively correlated with alcohol abuse. Sexual objectification was also positively correlated with nicotine abuse and other drug abuse. Furthermore, the findings provided support for a theorized mediated model in which sexual objectification was linked to women's substance

abuse both directly and indirectly via self-objectification, body shame, and depression.

Moreover, Szymanski and Henning (2007) revealed that self-objectification increased with age and led to habitual body monitoring, which led to greater body shame, higher appearance anxiety, and depression finally. Muehlenkamp and Saris-Baglama (2002) also argued that the objectification of women by our society results in negative psychological outcomes, including restrictive eating, bulimic, and depressive symptoms.

In addition, in the study by Tiggemann and Kuring (2004), a sample of 115 men and 171 women completed questionnaire that measures self-objectification, depressed mood, disordered eating, as well as the mediating variables of body shame, appearance anxiety, flow and awareness of internal states. As a result, for women, it was found that depressed mood and disordered eating were both predicted by self-objectification and its corollary of habitual self-surveillance.

Lastly, McKinley (1998) focused on examining the usefulness of Objectified Body Consciousness (OBC) to understand gender differences in undergraduate students' body esteem. In the study, 327 undergraduates, mostly European American women and men, were surveyed, and it was found that relationships between body surveillance, body shame, and body esteem are stronger for women than for men. Women had higher surveillance, body shame, and actual/ideal weight discrepancy, and lower body esteem than did men.

Theoretical foundation

Cultivation Theory, which was applied to the study primarily, focuses on long-term and ideological effect that is caused by watching television, while most communication theories before the 1960s focused on short-term effect (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999). George Gerbner, who developed Cultivation Theory, established the cultural indicators research project to study

whether and how watching television may influence viewers' ideas of what the everyday world is like (Morgan, 2012). From the 1970s until today, Cultivation Theory has been attracting the attention of scholars interested in media effects. "As of 2010, over 500 studies directly relevant to cultivation have been published—and more than 125 since 2000" (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010, p. 337). Also, several content analyses of the published literature in communication have identified cultivation as one of the most visible media effects theories (Bryant & Miron, 2004; Potter & Riddle, 2007).

In Cultivation Theory, there are five basic assumptions. The first assumption is that television is more influential than other forms of mass media because television content is produced in a massive quantity and occupies a central role in American culture. Second, television does not cause or encourage violent behavior. Instead, it shapes people's attitudes and beliefs about society and other people. Third, television cultivates values and attitudes already present in the culture. It serves to reinforce the status quo, not challenge it. Fourth, viewing more than four hours of television a day can lead to Mean World Syndrome, which is a phenomenon whereby violence-related content of mass media makes viewers believe that the world is more dangerous than it actually is. Lastly, television does not reflect reality; rather, it creates an alternate reality (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1994).

Based on the assumptions, Gerbner used several key concepts in exploring the theory. First, Gerbner distinguished the television viewers into two categories depending on the time of watching television; light viewer who watches television less than 2 hours per day and heavy viewer who watches television over 4 hours per day. Also, Gerbner explained that heavy watching of television affects viewers via mainstreaming and resonance. Mainstreaming is the process by which heavy viewing of television results in a similarity of perspective among

viewers who varied in education and economic class. With regard to mainstreaming, Gerbner argued that unlike radio which focused on very narrow slices of the audience, television sought a broader audience which it homogenized so that heavy viewers had similar views which they self-identified as “mainstream.” Resonance is the process by which heavy viewing of television affects viewers who have first-hand experience of violence. Gerbner argued that the portrayal of violence causes viewers to relive the experience over and over again. According to Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli, “The congruence of the television world and real-life circumstances may resonate and lead to markedly amplified cultivation patterns” (1980, p.15).

In early studies of Gerbner, Cultivation Theory focused on violence on television, but it has been extended to a variety of different situations and mediums. Basically, Gerbner wanted to know how our mass-produced cultural stories animate our thoughts about many diverse aspects of life and society. Gerbner observed that the “hidden messages” of popular culture are reflected in an ideological undertow expressed often through patterns of selection, omission, juxtaposition, through just the way things are looked at. They affect our assumptions about heroes and villains, love and sex, classe and professions, youth and old age, cooperation and conflict, past and future, ends and means. From these assumptions spring more mass-produced images of man, life, and the world (1959, pp. 274-275).

With regard to this paragraph by Gerbner, Morgan says the passage hints at the wide range of areas Gerbner believed should be studied (2012). As the Violence Profiles grew in prominence and complexity, the yearly coding of prime-time programs continued and the basic methodology of cultivation analysis was cemented. From there, Gerbner extended the Cultural Indicators frame work to a broad range of other vital topics, such as gender, sexuality, race, science, disability, and marriage. The Violence Profiles routinely included a statement noting that

“Although violence-related findings and indicators have been published most widely, the approach was broadly based from the beginning to collect observations on the role and symbolic functions of many aspects of life presented in television drama.” (Morgan, 2012, p.99). In the period from the late 1970s through the mid-1980s, the violence research continued but it was complemented by large-scale studies in many of the specific areas mentioned above.

From *Women and Minorities in Television Drama*, released by Gerbner and Signorielli in 1979, to the updated study of the 1993 report, *Women and Minorities in Television: A study in Casting and Fate*, the study about gender and sex roles was continued and extended (Morgan, 2012). The studies identified that television depicts ideal women as submissive, dependent, young, and attractive female, while men are described older, working at prestigious jobs, with confidence and leadership. After looking at over 30 years of data on the portrayal of women, Gerbner concluded that the world of television remains “frozen in a time-warp of obsolete and damaging representations” (1998, p.11). Gerbner and Signorielli (1979) also looked at the relationship between amount of television viewing and acceptance of various sex-role stereotypes. From the result, they found that heavy viewers were more likely to agree with the sexist views. Shanahan and Morgan (1999) saw that even with many “liberating” tendencies in public attitudes, heavy viewers remained more sexist than light, and heavy viewers showed a slower and more modest pace of change over the years.

Today, the sexist representations exist in music videos, which are rampant on television in South Korea. Furthermore, due to the Internet, social media, youtube a global video-sharing website, and the handheld devices, such as ipad or smartphones, the accessibility to music videos has been greatly enhanced. According to the research by Korean Statistical Information Service (KOSIS) (2015), 99.9% of South Korean ranging from 12 to 59 years of age use smartphones,

and the 92.5% of people utilize mobile Internet devices many times a day. In addition, in a survey of adolescents from elementary school to high school period, Kim (2014) found that 78.5% of the subjects use computer and smartphone mostly to consume popular culture, such as music video, drama, or webtoon. On the other hand, 19.7% of the participants said they mainly use television for consuming popular culture. In other words, television lost a position as the strongest distributor of popular culture, and the internet got the position allowing broad audience to watch whatever they want anytime and anywhere. As an example, the music video of “*Bang Bang Bang*” by Big Bang, the song ranked the first place in 2015, have gotten 158,845,228 views on YouTube (BIGBANG, 2016, July 25). Therefore, the research area of Cultivation Theory should be expanded to the gender and sex in music videos via not only television, but also another various medium, such as mobile devices and computer.

Sex in music videos

Music videos originated as a mean of promoting the recordings and artists by creating public recognition of their faces and images (Berger, 2012). However, music videos became a media force with the debut of MTV in 1981, starting with the prophetic song “*Video Killed the Radio Star*” by the Buggles (Segal, 2001). Increasingly as music videos became a pervasive feature of modern popular culture (Jones, 1989), critics and stars argued that video imagery began to supercede the music (Aufderheide, 1986).

In doing so, music video evolved in a kind of social Darwinism, slowly making “survival of the sexiest” the standard of commercial success in the music industry (Andsager & Roe, 2003, p.79). This survival system required the music videos to be more shocking to be noticed, often using sex. Also, “in a capitalistic society, all possible objects, from human labor to every part of social activity, are commercialized for concentration and centralization of capital” (Kim, 1997, p.

192). From the perspective that sees sexual desire of human as inexhaustible demand, the commercialization of sex is a natural result of capitalism for expanded reproduction of capital. As a result, sex has become one of the main sources of music videos as a mean for effective marketing.

Regarding sex in music, Coyne and Padilla-Walker (2015) examined longitudinal associations between listening to aggression, sex, and prosocial behavior in music on a number of behavioral outcomes across a one-year period during adolescence. The results revealed that listening to sexual content in music was associated with earlier initiation of sexual intercourse and a trend for a higher number of sexual partners. In addition, Carpentier (2014) evaluated the effects that popular music with sexual themes might have on the first impressions we make about an unfamiliar person. After exposure to the sexual music, respondents evaluated unknown targets-job applicants represented by their resumés. Sexual conveyance elevated ratings of sexual qualities attributed to the targets, suggesting sexual objectification of the targets. Sexual quality ratings then predicted evaluations of the targets' merit, including knowledge and integrity. Although the association between sexual quality and overall merit ratings were positive for both men and women, men exhibited a significantly stronger association than women did. Findings support a post-conscious automatic processing interpretation of media priming effects and corroborate prior observations that sexual media primes yield sexualized evaluations. Collectively, these results suggest that listening to certain types of content in music can have a longitudinal effect on behavior during adolescence.

With regard to music video, Andsager and Roe (2003) summarized the findings of two decades' worth of research on music videos, most of which focuses on sexual and violent content in the videos. The researchers suggested a typology of how sexuality is indicated and used by

artists, especially female artists, to define their images and attract audiences. The researchers concluded that music videos tend to be presented from a male point of view, with female characters often featured as sexual objects. Female artists, on the other hand, have taken on a variety of ways of displaying their sexuality in videos. Regardless of the use of sexuality, however, it is fairly clear that the most popular artists tend to incorporate sexual imagery into their videos. The images that performers wish to establish seemed to define who their target audiences are and how these performers wish to be regarded by their peers and fans. Artists use sex to denote their shift away from innocence; to fulfill audience fantasies; and to illustrate the power they hold as successful performers. However, a comprehensive analysis of sexual content across time was beyond the scope of the essay in accordance with Andsager and Roe (2003).

Baxter, Riemer, Landini, Leslie, and Singletary (1985) analyzed a sample of 62 MTV music videos in 23 content categories. Of the content categories studied, frequent occurrences were found in visual abstraction, sex, dance, violence, and crime. MTV sexual and violent content is characterized by innuendo and suggestiveness, perhaps reflecting MTV's adolescent audience appeal. As a result, 59.7% of the songs included sexual content, portrayal of sexual feelings or impulses. 31% of the music videos showed provocative clothing and physical contact, and 27% contained sexually suggestive dance movements. 11% showed kissing, and 2% showed sexual bondage. Like this, the paper examined the amount of use of sex in music video but did not determine the differences with regard to gender.

Zhang, Dixon, Conrad (2010) conducted a content analysis of rap music videos taken from the end of year countdowns aired on U.S. cable outlets, such as BET, MTV, and VH1. The analysis examined the body images of 258 female characters (87.6% Black, 5.8% White, 6.6% other) as a function of the thematic content in the videos, including violence and sex. It was

found that, overall, “thin” females were overrepresented in the videos. More interestingly, the body sizes of the female characters varied by three of the four video themes. When the music videos were high in sex, or high in materialism, women were more likely to have smaller body sizes. In contrast, when the videos were high in political awareness, women were more likely to have larger body sizes. The study focused only on the body sizes of female, not on gender differences and overall sexual contents.

Turner (2011) examined sexual behaviors and sex role portrayals in music videos televised in the United States. The first study included 120 videos recorded from MTV, MTV2, VH-1, BET, and CMT and revealed African American videos were significantly more likely to portray sexual content and female characters in provocative clothing than White videos. The second study analyzed 20 videos from BET’s late-night program, Un:Cut. Results revealed Un:Cut videos depicted seven times as many sexual acts and featured significantly more discouraged sexual behaviors than videos from the five major music video channels. Findings from these studies clarified that race is an important factor when gender roles and sexual content are examined in music videos.

Roberts (1990) is a representative researcher who used a feminist perspective to examine the messages in music. Roberts discussed the ways in which the music video can be appropriated for explicitly feminist concerns. When it comes to the right of women to determine their own sexuality, Roberts regarded popular culture as a source of only the objectification and subordination of women and found the ways in which music videos are a potent form of social construction for women and minorities. Seidman (1992) also investigated sex-role stereotyping of occupational roles and the behaviors of music-video characters in a random sample of 182 MTV music videos. It was found that both male and female characters were shown in sex-typed

occupations. Male characters were more adventuresome, domineering, aggressive, violent, and victimized than female characters, while females were more affectionate, dependent, nurturing, and fearful than males. It was also found that a large percentage of female characters wore revealing clothing and that they initiated and received sexual advances more often than males.

Cummins (2007) examined the presence of sexual content in music videos as well as the relationship between sexual content and enjoyment. The paper challenged scholars from communication, advertising, and marketing to establish links among their disciplines to develop a thorough understanding of how sex in music videos may increase liking of a video and subsequent purchase intention.

Zhang, Miller, and Harrison (2008) determined the relationship between exposure to sexual music videos and young people's sexual attitudes (i.e., premarital sexual permissiveness and endorsement of the sexual double standard). Items gauging exposure to 75 music videos ranging in sexual explicitness were used to measure sexual video viewing among a sample of 266 undergraduate students. As expected, exposure to more sexually explicit music videos was associated with more permissive attitudes toward premarital sex and stronger endorsement of the sexual double standard, regardless of gender, overall television viewing, and previous sexual experience.

There have been some studies about sexualization in music in other countries. Van Oosten, Peter, and Valkenburg (2015) researched on the affective processes that underlie the effects of sexual music videos. Using data from a nationally representative three-wave panel survey among 1,204 Dutch adolescents, the result showed that viewing sexual music videos by male artists increased the acceptance of female token resistance, which is the notion that women say "no" to sex when they actually mean "yes", among adolescent girls, but not adolescent boys.

The findings suggest that effects of sexual music videos on stereotypical sexual beliefs depend on the specific type of music video and viewers' gender, and can be partly explained by viewers' affective engagement. As another study in Europe, Briggs (2012) discusses the role of sexuality in the music and careers of young female singers, sometimes known as *copines*, in France during the 1960s. Particular focus was given to performers Sylvie Vartan, Sheila, and Françoise Hardy. It is suggested that while popular music served as a vehicle for young men to challenge sexual norms, the music performed by young women and its reception often reinforced these norms. According to the author, the sexual revolution of the 1960s did not signal the end of the objectification of women or challenge notions of girlhood and young womanhood.

Studies on Korean music video

According to Korean Education & Research Information Service (KERIS), there are almost 180 articles when it comes to music video. Among those, the papers that analyze music videos in junction with sex and gender are even more rare.

One of the studies is "Gender Display in Music Videos: Gender Image and Sexuality by Genre and Gender" (Joe, 2014). Joe examined stereotype of gender role in music video, comparing of gender image, sexuality (body exposure and sexual expression) by genre and gender difference (2014). A content analysis of 300 songs and 517 characters was conducted between 2004 and 2013. While women engaged in classic image, man engaged in naive image. R&B and Ballad demonstrated more classic image of women, and Ballad, R&B, and Rock demonstrated naiver image of men than other genre. Sexuality was more prominent in dance and hip-hop genre. Compared to male character, female character was more sexually objectified via exposing herself and sexually alluring behavior. Joe (2015) performed the other study that examines violence in music video in terms of gender stereo types and occupational roles. The

researcher selected the sample in top 30 music videos from 2004 to 2013 and analyzed the types of violence, genre, and occupational role of characters. Moreover, the subject and object of four types of violence were analyzed. The results revealed that significant gender differences emerged in subject and object role of violence. The paper argued that exposure to such music videos might teach adolescent gender stereotype with regard to violence. However, the visual differences in sexualization according to gender were not examined.

On the other hand, Kim and Choi (2014) saw sexuality as not only an essential mechanism by which individual identities are constructed on the level of sensibility, but a medium through which social and cultural relationships and even class locations are revealed. The researchers asked the question, “Is it a sign of human liberation in terms of the emotional reorganization of social lives through sexual liberation?” In order to answer the question, the authors examined the precedent theories on sexuality first, and then analyzed the sexuality represented in Psy’s music video “*Gangnam Style*” released in July 2012. In this study, Kim and Choi suggested the refreshing questions about the nature of sexuality in this days, but did not perform a practical investigation on sexualized content in music videos. Also, the sample of the study was only one music video so the conclusion from the results is hard to be generalized.

Lastly, Kim and Yoon (2011) investigated the degree of sexuality in music programs of three network television channels in Korea that are typically watched by adolescents. The results of the study indicated that the degree of sexuality on the television music programs has continuously risen for the five years from 2006 to 2011. Particularly in 2010, the wardrobes and choreography of musicians were very provocative. There was a significant difference in the degree of sexuality depicted in terms of the musicians' gender and their music genres. Specifically, sexuality was more highlighted for female singers than for male and in dance music

than other genres in terms of choreography, facial expressions, and wardrobes. Additionally, female musicians received different camera angles from male musicians, e.g. more close-up shots, and the camera work used for dance music was different from that for other music genres. Although all three channels frequently adopted camera angles highlighting musicians' sexuality, there was no difference in level of sexuality among them. Even though the object of this study was not music videos, this study showed how visually sexualized the singers are. Yet, the study focused on presenting actual condition of Korean music industry and did not discuss about how the current state of sexualization can be connected with the perceptions and behaviors of adolescents. Furthermore, the study analyzed music programs broadcasted on television so it does not tell the correct information about sexualization in music videos.

Rationale and Research Questions

Adolescence is the period in which people establish the perceptions about the nature, meaning, and functions when it comes to sex (Lee, 2005). In this period, teenagers relieve their stress consuming popular culture, long for celebrities, and try to take after the stars' fashion style, appearance, and even life (Lee, 2013). However, sexual contents in Korean music interrupt development of proper sexual attitudes and behaviors (Back & Kim, 2008). In particular, music videos of female idol groups skew the perception about the body of women and repeat androcentrism and materialism (Lee, 2013).

Nevertheless, the adequate studies were not performed on sexual contents in Korean music videos. In the USA, various studies have been conducted on music videos qualitatively and quantitatively. However, the results and discussions from the American studies cannot be completely generalized to Korean music videos because of the significant differences between the two countries. For example, the two countries have different legal restriction systems on the

content of music videos, and the social norms about what the sexuality is are also different.

In case of South Korea, first, the studies on music videos are not adequate. Also, the focus of the study is usually not the sexual content on music videos. As mentioned above, Joe (2015) determined the stereotypical gender role in characters and violence. Kim and Choi (2014) studied the nature of sexuality, and Jang and Kim (2015) analyzed the effect of sexuality of K-Pop on the enhancement of popularity and sales. However, the visual differences in sexualization according to gender were not examined.

Kim and Yoon (2011) showed how visually sexualized the singers are in music programs of three network television channels in Korea that are typically watched by adolescents. Yet, the study focused on presenting actual condition of Korean music industry and did not discuss about how the current state of sexualization can be connected with the perceptions and behaviors of adolescents. Furthermore, the study analyzed music programs broadcasted on television so it does not tell the correct information about sexualization in music videos, which are more ubiquitous on the computers and smart phone using the Internet.

Consequently, considering the increase of sexual issues of adolescents and the impact of music video to sexual socialization, now is the time to study sexual content in Korean music videos between the past and present. Also, the relationship with gender and self sexualization of female should be discussed. Thus, this study will analyze the sexual content in Korean popular music videos from 2004 to 2005 compared to the past music videos from 2004 to 2005 from the various perspectives. The research questions posed for this study are as follows:

RQ 1: How different are the music videos from 2004 to 2005 and from 2014 to 2015 when it comes to the amount of physical affection?

RQ2: How different are the music videos from 2004 to 2005 and from 2014 to 2015 when it comes to the amount of suggestiveness?

RQ3: How different are the music videos from 2004 to 2005 and from 2014 to 2015 when it comes to the amount of provocative clothes?

RQ4: How are the differences between the sexualization of men and women in music videos?

Method

This research was basically designed to know how much the Korean popular music videos include sexual contents, so a content analysis was performed in this study. The music videos for the analysis were selected from the songs ranked among the top 100 as defined by MelOn. On November 16th 2004, SK Telecom Co., Ltd. launched “MelOn”, a ubiquitous music service, in South Korea, and it was a great success in the domestic music industry. The MelOn Hot 100, which is similar to billboard hot 100, has been the standard in the music industry for measuring the popularity and influence of songs in South Korea (Yoo, Lee, and Kim, 2006). The chart of MelOn Hot 100 provides not only the songs and lyrics, but also corresponding music videos. This study analyzed the music videos, which are officially registered on the charts, in order to avoid confusions with the other music videos that exist on the web, which are personally edited or produced.

The other goal of the study was to determine differences and trends between the past and present music videos. For the purpose, the sample of the music videos are chosen from the MelOn Hot 100 in 2004, 2005, 2014, and 2015. Until 1996, the government of South Korea ran a prior review system on the records and music videos. The system censored various issues in music, such as sex, violence, ethics, or political opinions. In accordance with the result of

ensorship, the problematic albums and music videos were legally restricted when it comes to sales and distribution. After the revocation of the prior review system on June 7th 1996, music industry extensively changed in many ways, especially in the use of sex (Kim, 2014). From 2000, the current system in music industry has been established. Also, since 2004, the second generation of idol culture, in which adolescents worship the singers, has risen with increase of the use of sex, while the first generation of idol groups highlighted pure images (Lee, 2011). Lastly, the other reason for choosing samples from the years was accessibility to music videos. Before 2000, record companies considered music video secondary and frequently released a song without a music video. Furthermore, the image quality of music videos was significantly low until early 2000s so it was difficult to analyze the contents precisely. Consequently, to gather enough music videos, which share similar legal system and culture with proper image quality for objective comparison, 2004, 2005, 2014, and 2015 were chosen as the years for samples.

The MelOn Hot 100 charts sometimes provide a video clip of a program where the music came from when the song does not have an official music video. For example, the music video registered on the 2015 chart for “*Fear*” sang by Min Ho Song is a part of the hip-hop audition program, “*Show Me The Money*.” The actual show programs broadcast on television are under stricter legal restrictions in South Korea, it was considered that analyzing the clips with the other official music videos would distort the results. Thus, in this study, the clips were excluded from the music videos for analysis. Moreover, the MelOn Hot 100 charts often contain an edited clip of a drama when the music is used as an original sound track. On the contrary to the television shows, dramas are generally allowed to include sexual content and physical affection in Korea. The style of the edited videos is also similar to the dramatized music videos, which has clear story line and professional actors in the video (Jung, 2003). Hence, the videos that came from

dramas were analyzed with the other music videos. Consequently, the total number of sample is 352, including 184 music videos from 2004 and 2005 and 168 music videos from 2014 and 2015 (N=352).

According to Andasager and Roe (2003), sexual messages can be conveyed in the music video via alluring clothing or lack of clothing worn by artists or characters, sexual innuendo, such as the crotch grab made famous by Michael Jackson, and simulated sexual acts. Hence, this study had two units of analysis, which were (a) the video, related with sexual innuendo and sexual acts, and (b) the characters, related with provocative clothing.

The video

Modified Sexual Content Silverman's (1979) sexuality scale was used to code sexual content in each video. Prior research in music videos has not measured sexual content in a consistent way. However, the Silverman sexuality scale has been used in multiple content analyses of music videos (Gow 1990; Jones 1997; Sherman & Dominick, 1986) and displayed strong intercoder reliability therein (Gow 1990; Sherman & Dominick 1986). The scale consists of 18 continuous variables that allow coders to count the number of instances of those sexual behaviors in each video. Specifically, the scale has two main parts. The first part focuses on 7 possible behaviors including: (a) kiss, (b) hug, (c) interpersonal touching, (d) suggestiveness and sexual innuendo, (e) heterosexual intercourse, (f) nonsexual aggressive bodily contact, and (g) physical contact with children. The second part of the Silverman sexuality scale deals with socially discouraged sexual practices. Eleven behaviors are included: (a) homosexuality, (b) incest, (c) pedophilia, (d) prostitution, (e) aggressive sexual contact, (f) exhibitionism, (g) fetishism, (h) masturbation, (i) transvestism, (j) voyeurism, and (k) other unnatural sexual behavior including group sex.

Turner (2011) created a Sexual Behavior subscale from the Silverman sexuality scale. The subscale collapsed a number of variables into one. The Sexual Behavior subscale was used in data analysis to assess the frequency of instances of sexual behavior by combining all the Silverman behaviors from both the first part and second part of the scale, except those that were decidedly nonsexual, including nonsexual contact with children and nonsexual aggressive contact. In this test, some behaviors were excluded from the coding categories based on the results of pilot tests. Almost all of the Korean music videos did not include transvestism, voyeurism, and sexual touch with child. Regarding group sex, only one music video, “*Bae Bae*” by BingBang in 2015, included implicit group sex. Consequently, for a more practical examination of the frequency of a variety of sexual behaviors, five behaviors among 16 behaviors were used for the analysis: (a) kiss, (b) hug, (c) affectionate touch, (d) suggestiveness, and (e) implicit intercourse.

Regarding the actions, kiss, hug, and affectionate touch was coded only between the characters who had sexual intention. For example, hug between the parents and children or friends was not counted. Suggestiveness embraced sexual innuendo and the movements of sexually suggestive nature, such as the crotch grab made famous by Michael Jackson. The representative example of suggestiveness is shown in the music video, “*Bae Bae*”, by Big Bang. In the video, the singer sprays white fluid to flowers using an injector, which implies male ejaculation.

The characters

The coding method of Turner (2011) was used to code sexual content in character level with some modification for adjustment to the characteristics of Korean music videos. Turner (2011) divided the characters of music videos into two groups, regular characters and

background characters. While regular characters subsume major and supporting characters, background characters are defined as the group of people who make up the moving and living atmospheric backdrop of a music video (Turner, 2011). In most Korean music videos, a singer appears as a main character, and the gender and sexualization of the singer are important in this study. Thus, the characters were divided into two groups: (a) singer and (b) background character that includes all characters except the singer in music videos.

The first variable used to code the singers was gender that has three options, which are male, female, and both when the group is a mixed gender group. Unlike Turner's study, which distinguished singers from African American to Asian, the ethnicity variable was not collected because South Korea is a racially homogeneous nation and all of the singers had same ethnicity, Asian.

Then, the amount of provocative clothing of singers was coded. Turner (2011) used an ordinal variable that measured provocative clothing on a 4-point scale: (a) nonprovocative clothing, (b) somewhat provocative clothing, (c) very provocative clothing, and (d) nudity. However, in this study, to collect more detailed and comparable data, coders counted each provocative clothing in units of 10 seconds. When the unit was longer than 10 seconds, the results were sometimes skewed. For instance, one song, contains many provocative clothing in 30 seconds, was coded same with the other song that has only one provocative clothing in the same time period. On the other hand, when the unit is shorter than 10 seconds, it brought out confusions and difficulties in coding process with lower intercoder reliability.

In case of background character, similar coding variables were applied. First, the gender of the background character was coded as male, female, or both. Then, the provocative clothing

of background characters was counted per 10 seconds. As an example, Appendix A shows the first and the last pages of the coding sheets for 2015.

Provocative clothes of men included barring the upper body or lower body, underwear or swimming suit. Provocative clothes of women subsum exposure of abs or cleavage, body tights or see-through clothes that show breast or hip. Swimming suit, underwear, hot pants, and miniskirt that is shorter than two third of thigh from knee were also considered provocative.

Coding procedures

The researcher in this study was also the first coder. 352 sampled music videos were also independently coded by the other coder at the same time to provide information for intercoder reliability analysis. Before coding began, the second coder received extensive instruction on how to use all elements of the recording instrument and participated in several pilot tests. A codebook, which consists of a set of instructions and a protocol for analyzing the content in question, was provided to the coder before coding. The codebook can be found in Appendix B.

After training and coding were completed, intercoder reliability was estimated using Krippendorff's alpha. The range of Krippendorff's alpha of the coded variables was from .96 to .99. For the coding of a variable to be considered reliable it was required that Krippendorff's alpha be .70 or higher for items (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002). In detail, the Krippendorff's alpha of physical affection, which includes kiss, hug, and affectionate touch, was .96 and the alpha for suggestiveness was also .96. The Krippendorff's alpha of physical clothing was highest, .99.

With regard to the ethical issues, even though this study is a necessary process to find answers regarding sexualization and music videos, there are risks that the coders who analyze the lyrics can be negatively affected by sexual content in music videos. The researcher got informed

consents from the coders, which explained the purpose of the study and possible risks that could be resulted from the exposure to sexual content in the videos. The informed consent can be found in Appendix C.

Results

The analysis of music videos of four years derived various results. In this section, the results related with the four research questions will be stated: change of physical affection, change of suggestiveness, change of provocative clothes, and difference between gender.

Change of physical affection

For the first research question, “How different are the music videos from 2004 to 2005 and from 2014 to 2015 when it comes to the amount of physical affection?”, the amount of kiss, hug, affectionate touch, and implicit intercourse were examined.

Table 1

The Amount of Physical Affection and Year

Year of The Song	Kiss (\bar{x})	Hug (\bar{x})	Affectionate Touch (\bar{x})	Total (\bar{x})
2004 & 2005	81 (0.44)	88 (0.48)	197 (1.07)	366 (1.99)
2014 & 2015	45 (0.27)	58 (0.35)	198 (1.18)	301 (1.79)
Total (\bar{x})	126 (0.36)	146 (0.41)	395 (1.12)	667 (1.12)
Mann-Whitney U		13835.50		
Sig.		0.06		

As it is shown in Table 1, in the music videos in 2004 and 2005, the amounts of kiss, hug, and affectionate touch were 81, 88, and 197, while the amounts are 45, 58, and 198 in 2014 and 2015. The total amounts of physical affection, which includes kiss, hug, and affectionate touch, were 366 in 2004 and 2005 and 301 in 2014 and 2015. Based on the result of Mann-Whitney U test, it was found that there is not a significant statistical difference in the amount of physical affection between the years.

In addition, the music videos of 2004 and 2005 contained 8 implicit intercourses, versus 17 in 2014 and 2015. The difference in quantity is quite small to tell there is a difference between the two periods considering the sample size, 352 music videos. The p-value of Mann-Whitney test was 0.320, so it was found that there is not a significant difference in the amount of implicit intercourse between the past and present.

Change of suggestiveness

Table 2 shows how different the music videos are when it comes to the amount of suggestiveness. Whereas in 2004 and 2005 the amount of suggestiveness was 34 in 184 music videos, in 2014 and 2015 the amount was 168 in 168 music videos. Thus, the average amounts of suggestiveness in a music video were 0.18 in 2004 and 2005 and 1.00 in 2014 and 2015 respectively. From the Mann-Whitney U test, it was found that there is a difference between the periods with 0.004 p-value, and the music videos in 2014 and 2015 had more suggestiveness.

This data does not mean that the fashion of sexual expression is changed to suggestive implication from blatant description and presentation. As shown in Table 1, the amount of direct sexual description via physical affection in 2014 and 2015 was maintained at about the same level as 2004 and 2005. Thus, it implies the latest increase of sexual suggestiveness instead of change of way in sexualization.

Table 2

Cross Tabulation of The Amount of Sexual Content and Year

Year of The Song	The Amount of Suggestiveness (\bar{x})	Mann -Whitney U
2004 & 2005	34 (0.18)	13823.00*
2014 & 2015	168 (1.00)	
Total	22 100.0 %	

Note. * $p < .01$, \bar{x} (mean) shows the average amount of suggestiveness in a music video.

Change of provocative clothes

With regard to the third research question, which asked the difference in the amount of provocative clothes between the years, Table 3 shows the relevant information. The number of provocative clothes in 2014 and 2015 was 685, while the music videos in 2004 and 2005 included 242 provocative clothes. In average, the amount of provocative clothing was increased from 1.32 to 4.08 in each music video in 10 years.

The tendency is shown similarly in the test result of total amount of provocative clothes of the singers and background characters. While the music videos in 2004 and 2005 had 493 provocative clothes, the amount of provocative clothes was greatly increased to 1068 in 2014 and 2015. The average amount of provocative clothes is changed from 2.68 to 6.36 in each music video. Both of the two results showed 0.00 as p-value in the Mann-Whitney U tests, and it was concluded that current music videos have more provocative clothes than 10 years ago.

Table 3

Cross Tabulation of Provocative Clothes and Year

Year of The Song	The Amount of Provocative Clothes	
	Singer	Singer & Background Characters
	(\bar{x})	(\bar{x})
2004 & 2005	242 (1.32)	493 (2.68)
2014 & 2015	685 (4.08)	1068 (6.36)
Mann-Whitney U	12048.00	11549.00
Sig.	0.00	0.00

Note. \bar{x} (mean) shows the average amount of provocative clothes in a music video.

Difference between gender

Lastly, Table 4 shows the results about the differences between the amount of provocative clothes of men and women in music videos. In 2004 and 2005, there were 123 male singers, 42 female singers, and 19 mixed groups. On the other hand, in 2014 and 2015 there were 85 male singers, 53 female singer, and 30 mixed groups. The 123 male singers in 2004 and 2005 showed 78 provocative clothes, which is 0.63 in each music video in average, while 45 female singers showed 145 provocative clothes, which is 3.45 in average.

The 85 male singers in 2014 and 2015 showed 68 provocative clothes, which is 0.8 in each music video in average, while 53 female singers showed 566 provocative clothes, which is 10.68 in average.

Table 4

The Amount of Provocative Clothes and Gender of the Singers

Gender	2004 & 2005			2014 & 2015			Total		
	N	x	\bar{x}	N	x	\bar{x}	N	x	\bar{x}
Men	123	78	0.63	85	68	0.8	208	146	0.70
Women	42	145	3.45	53	566	10.68	95	711	7.48
Both	19	19	1	30	51	1.7	49	70	1.43
Mann-Whitney U	749.50			2015.50			5253.00		
Sig.	0.00			0.00			0.00		

Note. N = Number of the singers, x = The amount of Provocative Clothes, \bar{x} (mean) = the average amount of provocative clothes of a singer.

In the result of entire singers in four years, the difference between gender was shown in same way. Even though the number of male singers, 208, was greater than number of female singers, 95, female artists accounted for 76.70% of entire provocative clothes, and male artist accounted for only 15.79%. Male singers wore 0.7 provocative clothes in each music video, but female singers wore 7.48 provocative clothes in average.

The difference is also found in the result of mixed group. According to Table 4, mixed group accounted for only 7.55% of entire provocative clothes. However, the percent of provocative clothes in mixed group music videos should be interpreted in the context of the small number of songs performed by such groups. Even though there were only 49 mixed gender groups, the average quantity of provocative clothes, 1.43, is relatively higher than the average amount of the male artist's provocative clothes, 0.70. This is because of the women who tend to

wear provocative clothes more often in the mixed gender groups. On the contrary, the average provocative clothes of mixed group, 1.43, was smaller than women artist's average amount of provocative clothes, 7.48. It is due to the men who are likely not to wear provocative clothes. The evidence is that the 70 provocative clothes observed from the mixed gender groups all belonged to female members except only 1. It is an evidence shows the difference in sexualization between genders even in a same group. Consequently, all of the results from 2004 and 2005, 2014 and 2015, and entire years had 0.00 as p-value, and it was found that there are differences between genders in provocative clothes.

Discussion

From the results, two important characteristics of current Korean music videos can be found. The first feature is a change of the function of sexuality and the acceptance level, and the second characteristic is intensification of difference in sexualization according to gender.

Change of the nature of sexual content

As shown in Table 1, the two periods did not show big difference in description of sexual behaviors, including kiss, hug, and affectionate touch. Before 1990s, the music videos showed artists singing in general, and then dramatic style music videos became prevalent, which is characterized by clear story line, professional actors in the video, and high budget (Jung, 2003). Such fashion in music video production was continued. As a result, many music videos in 2004 and 2005 turned the songs into some kind of a dramatic pieces. For example, the music video of "Mr. Flower" by Sung Mo Jo in 2005 showed a dramatic love story among a gang boss, his girl friend, and the killer for almost 11 minutes. In the video that costed 700 million won, which is about 0.6 million dollars, a lot of well known actors appeared, including Ji Seob So, Jeong Eun Kim, and Osawa Takao (沢たかお) (Hong, 2005). As the other example, the music videos of

“As I Live” and “Crime and Punishment” sang by SG wannabe showed stories which are connected to one another. Additionally, “Smile Again” by KCM in 2005 had a running time of 23 minutes being called as “music drama” (Back, 2005). In the dramatized music videos, physical affections between actors were presented naturally with elevation of emotion in the context.

On the contrary, the music videos in 2014 and 2015 sought more surrealistic qualities. surrealism is a visual style that is dreamlike and nonlinear, full of flash-forwards and flashbacks, surrealism makes use of fantastic images and distorted perspectives and is full of special effects (Berger, 2012). With the characteristics, the physical affections in the current music videos were occurred in unclear causal relationships and were more sensuous and extempore.

Even though there was not a significant difference in quantity between the past and now, the change in the nature of physical affections tells that the transformation of perception in Korean society regarding sex. While physical affection was means to help dramatise music in the videos 10 years ago, now music videos focusing on physical affection itself. Also, the viewers are accepting the physical affection without story or context.

In addition, sexual suggestive images were greatly increased in a decade as shown in Table 2. Whereas the suggestiveness in 2004 and 2005 was rare and 7 was the largest amount, the music videos lately have more suggestiveness. For instance, “Shower Later” by Gary in 2014 had 18 sexual implications, such as womens riding a seesaw for describing intercourse, licking a popsicle as a depiction of oral sex, and a female grasping a gear shift with an erotic pose. Also, such music videos are popular nowadays. In case of “*Up and Down*” by EXID, the music video contained 15 suggestive depictions and ranked in MelOn hot 100 in both 2014 and 2015. Moreover, “*Bae Bae*” by Big Bang, ranked 7th in the chart of 2015, had 10 suggestive images,

including a metaphore of group sex. The music video also got 69,448,340 views on YouTube (BIGBANG, July 28).

These changes show that the sexual content is growing in quantity in music videos, and the level of acceptance of sexuality is becoming higher in the Korean society. By comparison with the current situation, it is getting easier to watch sexual music videos using various methods. According to Jang and Kim (2015), the primary channel for the sexual contents of Korean music was the Internet. 83.5% of the research respondents, especially 76% of teenagers, were exposed to sexual content, which is restricted to people over 19 years old, through the Internet. In fact, the rating system of media materials is not a practical policy that protects the adolescents from the exposure to such contents, but rather a device that tempts teenagers because the mark of rank might be considered as a badge that guarantees the high level of sexuality. As long as the anachronistic system is maintained without a practical solution, adolescents will be exposed to the increasing sexual contents in music videos.

Intensification of sexualization of women

The other characteristic of today's music video is intensification of difference in sexualization according to gender. Table 4 shows that the amount of provocative clothes of the female singers was much greater than male singers, and the gap between men and women increased in a decade. Also, in case of mixed gender group, all provocative clothes were from female members except only one.

The difference in sexualization according to gender can be found in provocative clothes of background characters. In accordance with Table 5, there is no significant gap in provocativeness of clothes between past and now. However, when analyses were performed for men and women separately, the results were different.

Table 5

The Amount of Provocative Clothes of the Background Characters

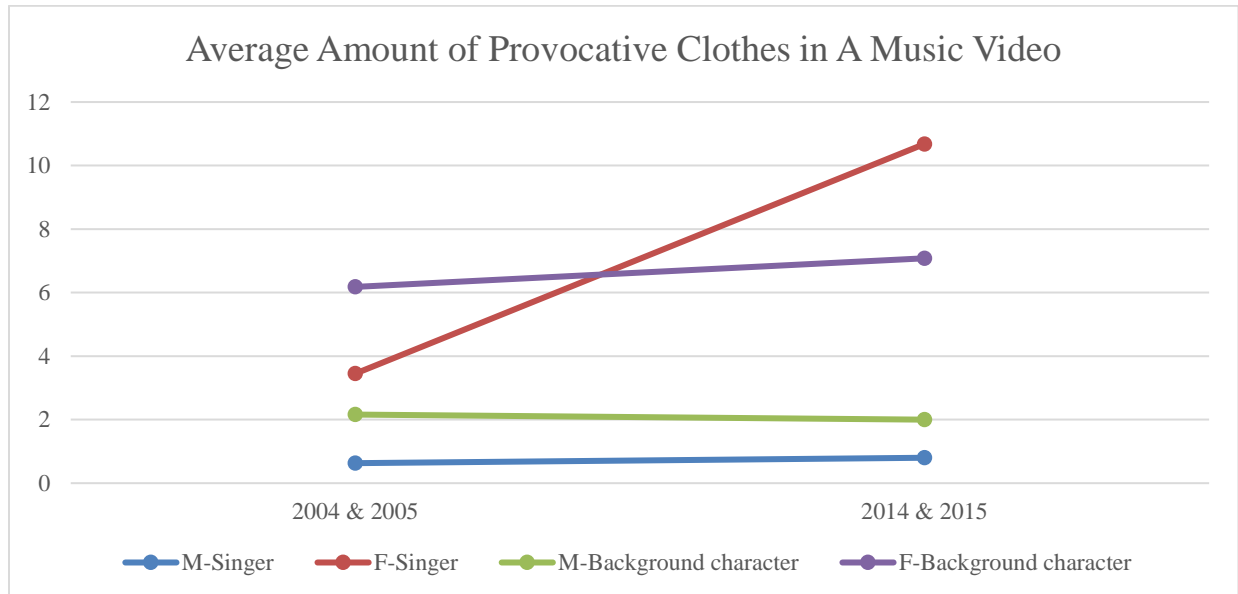
Year of the Song	Men			Women			Total		
	N	x	\bar{x}	N	x	\bar{x}	N	x	\bar{x}
2004 & 2005	19	41	2.16	34	210	6.18	45	251	5.58
2014 & 2015	11	22	2.00	51	361	7.08	55	383	6.96
Mann-Whitney U	14871.00			13545.00			14040.00		
Sig.	0.21			0.008			0.06		

Note. N=Number of the background characters, x=The amount of Provocative Clothes, \bar{x} (mean) shows the average amount of provocative clothes of a background character.

In case of male artists, there was no difference in the amount of provocative clothes in 10 years (p-value = .21). In each music video, male singers in 2004 and 2005 wore 2.16 provocative clothes in average and wore 2.00 in 2014 and 2015. On the contrary, the amount of provocative clothes of female artists was greatly increased for 10 years. The videos in 2004 and 2005 contains 6.18 provocative clothing in average, and it was changed to 7.08 in 2014 and 2015 (p-value = .008).

Figure 1 clearly shows the significant increase of average amount of the provocative clothes of women, especially female singers. The average amount of provocative clothes of females was higher than males in 2004 and 2005, and the gap was greater in 2014 and 2015.

Figure 1.



The difference according to gender was also shown regarding sexual content. Table 6 shows that the amount of implicit intercourse was presented by male singers more than by female artists, while there was not a significant difference in 2014 and 2015. Regarding sexual suggestiveness, the amount was similar in the past, now female artists' music videos have more sexual suggestiveness. Consequently, it means that the amount of sexual contents presented by women has been grown in a decade in terms of both suggestiveness and implicit intercourse.

The large part of sexual suggestiveness shown by women was dance or nondance movements of sexually suggestive nature, which was for temptation or seduction. This is a result of commercialization of sex. Commodification is the process in which a product is commodified for market. Commodification of sex is that promoting benefits using sex directly or indirectly and have been appeared in junction with every social phenomenon based on modern capitalism (Kim, 1997).

Table 6

Difference in Sexual Content between the Singer's Gender according to Year

Sexual Content	Year of The Song	
	P value in 2004 & 2005	P value in 2014 & 2015
Implicit Intercourse	0.004 (Male > Female)*	0.297 (Male = Female)
Suggestiveness	0.997 (Male = Female)	0.009 (Male < Female)
Physical Affection	0.661 (Male = Female)	0.236 (Male = Female)

Note. * "Male > Female" means that the amount of implicit intercourse of male singer was greater than the amount of female artist. Same interpretation is applied to another figures.

In the Korean music industry, a representative example of commodification of sex is the use of erotic images of the girl groups. Until 10 years ago, most of girl groups, such as SES or Pinkle, tried to form pure images of girls. However, since 2004, the second generation of girl groups, such as Wonder girls, 2NE1, Girls generation, 4minute, T-ARA, and f(x), emphasized erotic images with more body exposure and sexual movements in their performances. Most of the singers in the Korean girl groups are under age when they make their debut. Nevertheless, the label companies promote sexual images of the singers as a marketing strategy, and with advancing years, the erotic images are usually intensified more and more (Lee, 2011). In other words, objectifying and sexualizing women artists, even teenagers, are the common means for marketing in the music industry of South Korea.

Table 7

Singer gender and the Provocative clothes of Each Gender of Background Character

Year of the Music Video	Male Background Character		Female Background Character	
	Male Singer (\bar{x})	Female Singer (\bar{x})	Male Singer (\bar{x})	Female Singer (\bar{x})
2004 & 2005	19* (0.15)	13 (0.31)	145 (1.18)	45 (1.07)
2014 & 2015	14 (0.16)	8 (0.15)	224 (2.64)	114 (2.15)

Note. *19 is the number of provocative clothing of male background characters in male singer's music videos in 2004 and 2005. Same interpretation is applied to another figures.

In addition, the tendency, which sexualizes women more than men, is appeared in provocative clothes of background characters, too. First, the amount of the provocative clothes of female characters in male singers' music videos was greater than the amount of provocative clothes of male characters in women singers' music videos. In the music videos of female artists, the average amount of provocative clothes of male background characters was 0.31 in 2004 and 2005 and 0.15 in 2014 and 2015. On the contrary, the music videos by male artists contained 1.18 provocative clothes of female characters in the past and is doubled to 2.64 now.

Second, even when the genders of the singers and the background character were same, there was more provocative clothes of female background characters. When the singer was a man, the amount of provocative clothes of male characters was 0.15 in 2004 and 2005 and 0.16 in 2014 and 2015. When the artist was a woman, a music video had 1.07 in the past and 2.15 sensual clothing now.

From those, it was found that in the music videos, the object of sexualization was women regardless of gender of singer. This tendency in displaying women in music videos might solidify the message of sexualization of women in adolescents. According to Cultivation theory, as individuals are increasingly exposed to a particular media message or perspective, the greater the likelihood this message or perspective will be adopted or accepted as reality (Gerbner et al., 1994). In other words, exposure to specific message of media in a long term period forms the perception of people. As a result, a “mediated reality” where that which is seen or heard most becomes that which is most believed, and stories shape our lives and that corporations control the stories in today’s society (Morgan, 2012). In this vein, the repeated sexual display of women in music videos can form a mediated reality with regard to women’s body, behavior, and attitude in the adolescents’ minds and lead female teenagers to self-sexualization. As mentioned above, self-sexualization make a woman to sexually objectify herself by willingly presenting her body as a sexual object for others’ use. It results in health related issues including poor body image (McKinley, 1998), depression (Muehlenkamp & Saris-Baglana, 2002; Szymanski & Henning, 2007), disordered eating (Tiggemann & Kuring, 2004), and substance abuse (Car & Szymanski, 2011).

While it is noted that self-sexualized displays can be considered an empowering act for a female who has taken ownership of her body and is exercising sexual agency (Kipnis & Reeder 1997; Lerum & Dworkin, 2009), the dehumanizing act of presenting oneself as a sexual object, the primary focus on pleasuring others, along with the pressure to conform to narrow sociocultural definitions linking attractiveness and sexiness make self-sexualization a troubling phenomenon (APA, 2007).

Conclusion

Significance of findings

Sexual content in popular culture of South Korea has grown with the introduction of the western culture and change of the political system from dictatorship to democracy. Based on the changes, it has been acknowledged that the biggest problem regarding sexuality in music industry is the rampancy of sexual contents. However, from the detailed analysis of sexualization in music video, this study found the other fundamental problem that Korean music is facing, which is differentiated sexualization between women and men. The results of this study is clear. The music videos of female singers are more sexualized than the music videos of male singers both in terms of provocative eclothing and depiction of sexual suggestiveness. Moreover, the gap of sexualization between the men and women has been deepening for 10 years. Consequently, the study showed the real problem we need to focus on, which was hidden under the surface.

Limitations

One of the biggest limitations in the current study is the criteria about sexuality. The line between sexual and non-sexual content has not been clearly drawn. In particular, it is difficult to secure general criteria about physical affection and suggestiveness. In this study, the intercoder reliability on the category of provocative clothes was .99, and the intercoder reliability of physical affection and suggestiveness was 0.96. The reliabilities are quite high, but it required a lot of pilot tests and discussions between the coders to do so. In addition, the criteria could be easily subjective depending on person, and the norm when it comes to sexualization might be diverse in every culture. Therefore, it is necessary to develop more reliable criteria for coding, which can be accepted in general and objective, via further studies.

The other limitation of this study is that there is no distinction between degrading and non-degrading sexual references in music. Not all sexual content in music is equal or has been shown to have the same impact on listeners. Lyrical depictions of mutual respect between consenting partners fostering intimacy, bonding, and shared pleasure may be helpful in socializing adolescents toward a conception of healthy and responsible sexuality (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). By comparison, degrading music, where one person has a large sexual appetite, the other person is sexually objectified, and sexual value is placed solely on physical characteristics may have deleterious effects. Music, for example, depicting a sex-driven male emotively pursuing an objectified female whose sole value is derived from her sexual behavior, hypersexuality, or sexual attractiveness reinforces and perpetuates harmful stereotypes related to gender and sexuality. Similarly, music that commodifies a woman's body, rendering it the property of others and assigning value equal to its sexiness, may reinforce sexist gender roles and scripts related to the subordination of women in society. Thus, even though the music videos in the past and present have similar amount of sexual references, according to the nature of sexual references, the impact on adolescents could be different. Therefore, the studies that distinguish the degrading and non-degrading sexual contents would provide more correct information when it comes to the negative effects of sexualization in music video, including self-sexualization.

Future studies

As a basic study in this topic, the study focused on the relationship between the amount of sexual contents and gender. Some variables, such as ethnicity and genre, which were analyzed in American studies, were omitted. So far, South Korea is a racially homogeneous nation and all of the singers had same ethnicity, Asian. However, as world is becoming more globalized, the

ethnicities of population in South Korea is getting more diverse. Thus, in the future the studies on sexualization in junction with racial issues would be necessary. Also, the genres and styles of music videos, such as dramatization, are interesting topics, too.

Lastly, it is necessary to study more extensive samples of music videos. The results in this study show that there was a gap in the amount of sexualization between women and men 10 years ago. The difference has been grown, but it was there already in the past. To find out the background of appearance of the gap, it is necessary to study the music videos before 1990s.

Im Jin mo, a famous critic of popular culture in South Korea, said music passes through three phases regardless of country (2000). In case of South Korea, the era of “purity and ideal” was from 1940 to 1960 with Korean war, the music from 1970 to 1980 with military dictatorship was the age of “discord and tension”. Since appearance of democratic government after 1990, the current era is “desire and freedom” (Im, 2000, p.642).

However, the difference between men and women regarding sexualization drew a question, “Are the desire and freedom for whom?” The skewed and highly sexualized displays of female make women to self-sexualize themselves for other’s desire and sacrifice their freedom. Therefore, the studies on sexual content in music videos and the other mediums should be continued to find the true meaning of the era of desire and freedom.

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Appendix A

2015 CODING SHEET

1

Coding Sheet for 2015 Korean Music Hot 100

Rank	Artist	Title	Video - Level					Character - Level					
			Kiss	Hug	Affectionate touch	Suggestiveness	Implicit intercourse	Singer gender (M: 1 F: 2 Both: 3)	Provocative clothes		Back ground Character (M: 1 F: 2 Both: 3)	Provocative clothes	
									Male	Female		Male	Female
1	뽕뽕뽕 (BangBang Bang)	BigBang											
2	같은 시간속에 너	나얼											
3	꺼내먹어요	Zion.T											
4	이탈개면 그러지 말지 (Feat. Youg K)	백아연											
5	워워워워	혁오 (hyuk oh)											
6	LOSER	BigBang											

Initials of Coder:

2015 CODING SHEET

15

Rank	Artist	Title	Video - Level					Character - Level					
			Kiss	Hug	Affectionate touch	Suggestiveness	Implicit intercourse	Singer gender (M: 1 F: 2 Both: 3)	Provocative clothes		Back ground Character (M: 1 F: 2 Both: 3)	Provocative clothes	
									Male	Female		Male	Female
98	Apple (Feat. 박재범)	가민											
99	아프다	지코 (ZICO), 소진 (걸스데이)											
100	모르나봐	소유, 브라더스											

Last Name of Coder: [_____]

Initials of Coder:

Appendix B

SEXUALIZATION IN KOREAN MUSIC VIDEOS CODE BOOK

: INSTRUCTIONS FOR CODERS

This study will analyze the sexual content in music videos of Korean popular songs that were ranked among the top 100 as defined by MelOn from 2004 to 2005 and from 2014 to 2015. Each coder will have coding sheets, which include the titles and singers of the MelOn hot 100 year-end most popular songs across all genres in the assigned period. In this study, there are two units of analysis in this study, which are (a) the video, related with sexual innuendo and sexual acts, and (b) the characters, related with provocative clothing.

The video

Five behaviors among 16 behaviors were used for the analysis: (a) kiss, (b) hug, (c) affectionate touch, (d) suggestiveness, and (e) implicit intercourse. Regarding the actions, kiss, hug, and affectionate touch was coded only between the characters who have sexual intention. For example, hug between parents and children or friends was not counted. Suggestiveness embraced sexual innuendo and the movements of sexually suggestive nature, such as the crotch grab made famous by Michael Jackson. The representative example of suggestiveness is shown in the music video, Bae Bae, by Big Bang. In the video, the singer sprays white fluid using injector to flowers, which implies ejaculation of man.

The characters

The characters are divided into two groups: (a) singer and (b) background character that includes all characters except singers in music video. The first variable used to code singers is gender that has three options, which are male, female, and both when the group is a mixed gender group. Coders count each provocative clothing in units of 10 seconds. In case of background character, similar coding variables were applied. First, the gender of the background character was coded as male, female, or both. Then, the provocative clothing of background characters was counted per 10 seconds. Provocative clothes of men include barring the upper body or lower body, underwear or swimming suit. Provocative clothes of women subsume exposure of abs or cleavage, body tights or see-through clothes that show breast or hip. Also, swimming suit, underwear, hot pants, and miniskirt that is shorter than two third of thigh from knee.

The final tier at the bottom of the last coding sheet is for the last names of coders. Please write your last name in the corresponding space. Also, when you have finished each coding sheet, write your initials in the bottom right corner signaling that you have faithfully coded the story to the best of your ability.

If you have any questions, please contact Bohye Song, 435-327-0890. olegshine@naver.com

Appendix C

Sexualization in Korean Music

Informed Consent

This study involves thorough watching and analyzing sexual content in music videos of Korean popular songs. In the process, you can be frequently exposed to unexpected violent, sexual, or uncomfortable images. Those kind of sexual or violent images can cause negative effect on your personal life and perception regarding sexual issues. You can reject to participate in this study as a coder without any penalty. You may ask questions to the researcher at any time during the study. Any further questions can be answered through email to the researcher (olegshine@naver.com). If you aware of the risks of the study and agree with proceeding your participation, please write your name and sign on this paper.

I, _____, aware of the risks of this study.

Signature of coder:

Date:

Provided by the researcher of the study, Bohye Song

olegshine@naver.com