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“One More Drinkin’ Song”: A Longitudinal Content Analysis of Country Music Lyrics Between the Years 1994 and 2013

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“One More Drinkin’ Song”: A Longitudinal Content Analysis of Country
Music Lyrics Between the Years 1994 and 2013

Keith McKay Evans

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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Abstract

“One More Drinkin’ Song”: A Longitudinal Content Analysis of Country Music Lyrics Between the Years 1994 and 2013

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The lyrical content of pop music has rarely been studied, particularly for country music. The lyrics of the top 50 country songs for each year between 1994 and 2013 were coded for violent, sexual and substance use-related content. Violence had increased, as had sexual references, substance use, and substance use associated with sexual activity. Of particular note is the frequency of references to alcohol; 21% of the 1,000-song sampling frame contained alcoholic references, and the average for the final five-year period (2009-2013) was 1.01 references per song. This research should serve as a springboard into further studies about the lyrical content of pop songs as well as longitudinal changes.

Keywords: music, song lyrics, alcohol, sex, violence, content analysis

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Introduction

Despite the much-publicized recent financial dip in the American music industry, many indicators of the industry's health exhibit a positive climb: *Forbes* magazine recently stated that "more music is being produced . . . and consumers are spending more money on music than ever" (Forbes, 2012). Independent record labels, live concerts and online radio sites have posted increases in recent years.

The diffusion of innovations theory helps explain how music distribution continues its viral spread and keeps the music industry thriving. Although originally conceived through studying the dissemination of new technology in agriculture, diffusion of innovations applies well to mass communication. Unlike a normal pattern of distribution such as a predictable S-curve, pop songs are distributed at an incredible rate from their release, being spread out rapidly over many stations simultaneously (Rossman, 2012). In other words, the diffusion of a hit song on the radio is even more rampant than most cultural phenomena. Further, the current digitization of music has allowed for a wider distribution. Many sites such as Pandora and Spotify are growing in popularity and are even turning a profit (Renkema, 2011; Lardinois, 2012; Fiegerman, 2012).

This only serves to prove that music is as viable a topic of communications analysis as ever. Technological developments are spreading pop music to an ever-wider audience and accruing more and more hours of leisure time. A report by the Kaiser Family Foundation (Rideout, Foehr & Roberts, 2010) reveals that listening to music is the second most common media activity behind watching television; that the amount of music youth listen to increases as they move into their teenage years; and that the total amount of music listened to by 12-to-18-year-olds climbed by 47 minutes a day between 1999 and 2009 (Rideout, Foehr & Roberts,

2010). This is potentially due to the increase in media mobility through cell phones and mp3 players.

In the midst of this continuing march of pop music's ever-expanding presence, Country music continues to play a crucial role in the success of the music industry. Country music constituted fully 11% of all digital record sales for 2011. Garth Brooks has sold more albums in the last 20 years than Mariah Carey or The Beatles (Nielson, 2012). Country continues to appeal to listeners who want to listen to music associated with comfort values such as home and family. Indeed, country is generally considered a "safe" genre compared to others such as pop, R&B, and rap; the relative lack of offensive or mature content in country music causes it to stand out (Primack, Gold, Schwarz, & Dalton, 2008).

Yet the assertion that country is "clean" while other music is not seems a hasty generalization: long-held "truths," when placed under academic scrutiny, may reveal a different result than had previously been assumed. While other genres such as pop and rap have certainly increased in the amount of lyrics containing sexual content, substance use references and violent acts, the question of whether this has also occurred within the country music genre remains unexplored. No major lyrical content analyses exist strictly for country music, though Primack, Gold, Schwarz, & Dalton (2008) have indicated with their pop lyric analysis that country songs are less likely than other major genres to contain degrading sexual references. Indeed, the standard "whipping boy" genre for pop music analysis is almost always either rap/hip hop or heavy metal, as evidenced by a slew of studies. (Hansen & Hansen, 1991; Walser, 1993; McLeod, Eveland & Nathanson, 1997; Rafalovich & Schneider, 2013).

Further, the APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls (2007) hints that public perception of the "cleanness" of country music is inaccurate, given that a substantial (and

increasing) proportion of country music videos feature women who are provocatively dressed (Andsager & Roe, 1999; 2003). Other studies have hinted at the connection between country music and other risky behaviors: a study by Stack & Gundlach (1992) found a correlation between increased radio time for country music and increased suicide rates among whites (the authors attribute this to the depressing nature of many themes in country music, such as failed relationships and poverty). Country's connection to substance use has also been hinted at, though in a limited way: a study by Primack, Dalton, Carroll, Agarwal and Fine (2008) found that within a small sampling of country songs, 36% contained at least one explicit reference to substance use, and that 92% of these were alcohol-related. It seems apparent from this research that such content as is commonly studied and quantified in other genres is present to some degree in country music, but we remain ignorant as to how much, and whether discernable longitudinal trends exist.

A longitudinal study of country music may reveal that the country genre may not be as clean as is commonly assumed. This study will focus primarily on whether or not there has been an increase of sex, violence, and substance use in country music lyrics in the last 20 years. It will also try to answer the question of whether the depicted consequences of such behavior are dominantly positive or negative: as will be discussed later, social cognitive theory asserts that questionable behaviors in media are more likely to be mimicked if positive consequences (or a lack of negative consequences) follow. Therefore, the question of how the consequences of risky behaviors like sex, violence and substance use are portrayed will also be examined. The nature of the sexual content in country songs is of particular concern given the fact that popular music contains "dramatically more sexual content than any other medium" (Pardun, L'Engle & Brown, 2005).

Literature Review

Pop Song Analysis

Pop song lyrical analysis is a somewhat sparse field, though informative works exist. Lyrical analyses such as the study done by Primack, Dalton, Carroll, and Agarwal (2008) are broad in scope and cover a variety of topics. Others take more concentrated, thematic approaches, such as Dukes, Bisel, Borega, Lobato & Owens (2003). In that study, the lyrics of popular songs were contextualized based upon whether a man or woman was the lead singer in order to determine trends in references to love and sex. The authors found sexual references peaking among female artists in the 1970s and early 1980s, coinciding with the feminist movement. Other common themes include drug use within various genres—rap featuring the largest percentage of such references—and references to violence within rap music (Primack et al., “Degrading,” 2008; Armstrong, 2001).

Another common trend in lyrical content analysis is longitudinal study. An analysis by Markert (2001) followed drug references in pop songs over a 40-year period and made the somewhat surprising discovery that younger artists increasingly decry the effects of harmful drugs such as marijuana and cocaine. An opposing result of longitudinal study is found in the research of Herd (2005), who tracked the use of alcohol references in rap songs between 1979 and 1997 and finding that such references increased approximately five times during that period.

Yet lyrical analyses extend beyond mere content. Lyrics are often analyzed from a conceptual or theoretical standpoint. Nicholls (2007) uses the narrative paradigm theory to examine the story elements of popular songs from the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Machin’s monograph *Analyzing Popular Music* (2010) concerns the symbols and signs found within all aspects of contemporary music production: from the image on an album cover to the kinds of

instrumentation used. Largely, Machin concentrates on the lyrics and lyrical structure of songs, pointing out the cultural norms and values reflected therein. Spicer and Covach (2010) approach pop lyrics in a similar yet distinct way, using the format of compiled essays by various scholars who delve into specifics to illustrate broader cultural and social trends involving race, music genre, and gender.

To be fair, lyrical analysis has its detractors. Rein and Springer (1986) have asserted that the lyrical analysis of pop music is insufficient to understand the meanings and messages of songs: that the music itself must be considered as well. This is an excellent point, but one whose impact fades in light of cultivation and social cognitive theories (which will be discussed in greater detail later): in the case of minors' early sexualization and drug use and the attendant health risks associated with these deviant behaviors, one could argue that the presence of questionable content lyrics is worrisome enough to take lyrics seriously on their own.

Scholars are, of course, aware of the effects pop music can have on listeners, and such content analyses as those listed above are only as useful as can be demonstrated that listening to such messages actually has an impact on listeners. Teenagers are now spending significantly more time with media than they are with their families, leading some to say that the media is replacing the family in socializing teenagers in these vital years (Arnett, 1995). The report by The Kaiser Family Foundation (2010) is an especially fruitful source of information on the impact of media on the social development of youth. It reports that only 26% of 8- to 18-year-olds have rules about what music they can and cannot listen to. And as adolescents age, the regulation decreases to only 12% for 15- to 18-year-olds, corresponding with an increase in the amount of music listened to. Adolescents are left largely unsupervised in the amount and type of music that they consume (Bleich, Zillmann & Weaver, 1991; Hall, West & Hill, 2012), and this,

coupled with the overall increase in amount of music consumed may lead to developmental effects. Although significantly more research has been dedicated to studying the effects that visual media have on society, music has also been shown to affect its listeners—especially with regard to adolescents.

Following is a breakdown of the extant literature concerning sex, violence and substance use in music, both in terms of content and observed effects on listeners.

Sex in Music: Content

Conceptual definitions for sex are easier to implement when not restricted to text or spoken words. Scholars who concentrate on visual media content use any number of indicators and lump them into the broader category of “sex,” such as revealing and alluring clothing, dance moves that double as simulated sex acts, and of course, sexual activity itself, ranging from kissing to intercourse. Conceptual definitions of sex in textual studies must rely only on descriptions of such clothing, dancing, or physical activity. Still, at the core of any study examining sexual content is the representation of anything related to romantic physical interaction between individuals. However, as will be shown later, this study will operationalize “sex” much more narrowly.

Missing from the message in the media regarding sex is both a healthy discussion of sex and avoiding high risk behaviors (Strausburger, 2005). Most of the relevant literature has focused on the effects of visual media, such as television and video games. The amount of literature on the effect of sexuality in music, though less abundant, is also extant. Most content analyses examining the topics of sex, violence and drugs in popular music focus on the music videos which accompany hit songs. Such studies stretch back to the early days of MTV, when

music videos were a new form of media and the amount of sexual and violent imagery contained therein were catching scholars' attention (Baxter et al., 1985).

Among the angles taken in such examinations are the amount of objectification and sexual imagery utilized in music videos (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011; Zhang, Dixon & Conrad, 2010), the relationship between genders portrayed therein (Wallis, 2011), and the relationship between race and sexuality (Turner, 2011; Frisby & Aubrey, 2012; Robilliard, 2012). In this latter category lie some of the most uniform findings concerning African-American portrayals and the over-sexualization of black women.

However, relatively little research has been undertaken concerning the lyrics of pop songs, possibly given the assumed saliency of images over spoken or sung words. Christenson & Roberts (1998) note a general and steady increase in the explicitness of sexual lyrics in pop songs since the 1950s. Hall, West and Hill led a study focusing on the sexual content of music lyrics over the final years of six decades (1959, 1969, etc), finding that increasingly unhealthy messages about sexuality are being conveyed in pop music (sex associated with violence, objectification, degradation, etc). They also discovered an especially sharp increase in such content in songs by non-white artists (2012). An analysis of rap lyrics by Weitzer & Kubrin (2009) found that within the sampling of rap songs, 67% of the songs contained lyrics sexually objectifying women, 49% contained demonstrations of distrust of women, and 47% featured "naming and shaming" (status degradation of women).

Sex in Music: Effects

Generally speaking, young people may turn to the media to act as a source of information about sex that they cannot acquire from normal interactions with their peer group (Brown,

Halpern, & L'Engle, 2005). Their interactions with media, including music, may serve to purvey false or skewed depictions or descriptions of sex which in turn alter consumers' expectations.

Sprinkle, End & Bretz (2012) conducted an experiment wherein subjects were shown music videos and asked to mark on separate Likert-type scales the degree to which they felt the video content and the lyrics were sexually degrading. They found a correlation between sexually degrading content in song lyrics and increased male aggression, endorsement of rape myths and sexual stereotypes. An experiment exposing young men to gangsta rap with and without lyrics demonstrated that those who listened to the music with the lyrics combined reported higher levels of adversarial sexual beliefs, including higher likelihoods of sex role stereotyping and negative attitudes towards women (Wester, Crown, Quatman & Heesacker, 1997). And Martino et al (2006) conducted a longitudinal survey of nearly 1500 adolescents, linking those who listened to music with more sexually degrading lyrics to even greater risk of earlier sexual initiation than those who listened to more non-degrading ones. This comprises a rare study linking song lyrics to actual effects.

Primack, Gold, Schwartz & Dalton (2008) conclude that up to two thirds of all sexual references in pop music lyrics are degrading in nature, meaning that the sexual activity is based solely on physical attributes, or where there is an objectification or power differential between partners. Another study led by Primack (2009) analyzed whether music with degrading sexual references (as opposed to those with non-degrading sexual references) increased the likelihood of urban adolescents engaging in sexual activity over time, and found a positive correlation. This suggests that degrading sexual references may result in even stronger effects on young listeners than non-degrading ones.

In light of both Primack's and Martino's findings about degrading sexual content, and using Primack's dichotomy of degrading versus non-degrading sexual references, it is relevant to the present study to determine how often both or either kind of reference is found in country music, as well as whether and how much they may be increasing in frequency. Thus, the frequency of more benign sexual content compared to degrading content will be compared. This results in the first two sets of research questions:

Q1a: What is the number of country songs containing sexual references in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013?

Q1b: Is there a longitudinal pattern of statistical increase of songs featuring this content between the established clusters of years?

Q2a: What is the number of country songs containing degrading (as opposed to non-degrading) sexual references in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013?

Q2b: Is there a longitudinal pattern of statistical increase of songs featuring this content between the established clusters of years?

Violence in Music: Content

Violence is generally defined in scholarship as actions by an individual or group which harm others (or the person or people performing the action, such as self-mutilation).

Conceptually, violence can be defined to include such categories as verbal or emotional abuse, property destruction, or high levels of aggression, such as shouting. For our purposes violence will be conceptually defined as physical actions that can harm people or their possessions.

Literature on lyrical content analysis in relation to violence provides unsettling findings. A content analysis by Armstrong reveals that 22% of gangsta rap songs between 1987 and 1993 contain violent and misogynistic lyrics, including assault, rape, murder and necrophilia (2001).

Self-harm has also been catalogued in music lyrics: Stack (2001) analyzed the lyrics of heavy metal songs, pointing out a trend of hopelessness and loneliness, and found a positive correlation between heavy metal fandom and suicide acceptability among survey subjects. Rafalovich & Schneider (2013) analyzed the lyrics of American and European metal bands and discovered consistent messages of violence and aggression.

Again, however, these studies concentrate on the relatively low-hanging fruit, so to speak, of the rap, hip-hop and heavy metal genres. The content of these genres has been studied in great length, leading to the general academic acceptance that they contain a higher percentage of violent content than other genres. Herein lies further justification for the proposed study: there is no academic consensus concerning what one may expect to find in a country song, because its lyrics have never been systematically examined for violence.

Violence in Music: Effects

What effects are expected when people listen to music with violent lyrics? Young people are especially prone to violent media effects, as indicated by an overwhelmingly large body of scholarship covering various media, including television, movies and video games (Berkowitz, Corwin & Heironimus, 1963; Baker & Ball-Rokeach, 1969; Dominick, 1984; Anderson & Bushman, 2001; Gentile, Lynch, Linder & Walsh, 2004; Christensen & Wood, 2007; Paik & Comstock, 1994). Along these lines, Bushman and Huesmann (2006) found that while short-term effects of violent content were more prevalent in adults, children experienced more pronounced long-term effects.

Admittedly, studies examining the effect of violent lyrics are few. However, Brummert Lennings & Warburton (2011) conducted one of the rare studies which have done so. Acknowledging that most studies of the effects of violent content focus on visual stimuli,

Brummert Lennings and Warburton demonstrated through an experimental design that listening to aggressive music with its lyrics contributes to higher levels of aggression than merely listening to similarly toned music without them. In other words, violent lyrical content potentially influences listeners to act violently themselves.

Another excellent demonstration of the effect of aggressive lyrics on listeners is the research by Anderson, Carnagey and Eubanks (2003), conducted five separate experiments testing whether listening to pop songs containing violent lyrics correlated with increased hostile feelings and aggression levels. Using different measures for each experiment (such as word-pairing and word-completion tests), they discovered a clear connection between songs with violent content and aggressive feelings.

Fischer & Greitemeyer (2006), meanwhile, discovered a correlation between song lyrics which demonize or attack a gender and responses from listeners of the opposite gender. For example, “male participants who heard misogynous song lyrics recalled more negative attributes of women and reported more feelings of vengeance than when they heard neutral song lyrics (1165).” This literature hints at the importance of ascertaining how much violent content exists in country song lyrics.

Q3a: What is the number of country songs containing violent references in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013?

Q3b: Is there a longitudinal pattern of statistical increase of songs featuring this content between the established clusters of years?

Substance Use in Music: Content

Literature concerning substance use has a more narrow conceptual definition than those generally used for sex or violence. Substance use is generally described as the consumption or

application of anything other than food in order to experience a “high.” This includes drinking, snorting or inhaling, smoking or otherwise ingesting anything to alter one’s physical, mental and/or emotional state.

Drug and alcohol use has also been shown to be on the rise over the past few decades. Studies that analyze depictions of drinking, smoking and substance use in music videos (see, for example, Gruber et al., 2005) are beyond the scope of this study; again, lyrical analyses are much more rare. Hall, West & Neeley (2012) coded the top 600 pop songs over the final years of six decades (1959, 1969, etc) in a massive content analysis to determine trends in references to substance use. They found higher likelihoods for such references in songs by male artists, non-white artists, and songs featuring lyrics about partying and sexual activity. Herd (2005) found, through a content analysis of two decades of rap music lyrics, a fivefold increase from 8% to 44% of references to alcohol.

An analysis of substance use in pop music by Primack and his colleagues (2008) revealed that fully one third of the most popular songs in 2005 contained references to either alcohol, smoking, marijuana, or hard drug use. Further, of those songs with explicit references to substance use, almost half (48%) depicted positive consequences for the activity, while less than ten percent displayed negative consequences.

In pop music, not all substances are created equal: while the majority of references cited in the above studies were of alcohol, the music industry has been found to be negative in its depiction of hard drugs, such as heroin and cocaine. Markert’s 2001 study showing that approval of hard drugs is decreasing is one such example. During the period of study, the attitude toward heroin and cocaine in pop music lyrics remained negative throughout, with 0% and 24% positive, respectively, in the 1970s, to 0% and 11% positive, respectively, in the 1990s. This negative

depiction of hard drugs would hold to the overall negative perception they hold in society in general.

This study also found that the depiction of marijuana and hallucinogens went from 82% and 71% positive, respectively, in the 1970s, to 48% and 4% positive, respectively, in the 1990s. It would be unsurprising given the recent legalizations of medicinal marijuana in some states that this trend continues presently. As another example, a study by Diamond, Bermudez & Schensul (2006) focusing on references to ecstasy use in rap songs in the early 2000s found that rap lyrics during this period often eschewed or warned against the use of the rave drug. On the whole, the use of drugs being depicted in a positive light has been decreasing in recent years.

The way substance use mixes with other risky behaviors is also suggested in extant literature. Roberts, Henriksen & Christenson (1999) analyzed the amount and frequency of substance use, as well as several other risky behaviors, in a large sampling of films and pop songs. Sexual activity was associated with drug use in only 6% of films in the sample, but the two categories were linked together in 30% of the sample's songs. Further, substance use was also tied to violence and crime in 20% of the songs in the sample.

Given that in this same study "movies were almost four times as likely as music lyrics" to depict substance use (98% v. 27%), it seems that those (relatively rare) times when substance use is referenced in a song, it is often attached to other risky behaviors. The seemingly unique way in which song lyrics tend to tie together violent, sexual and substance use activity leads to another series of unanswered inquiries about how often substance use is associated with sexual activity or violence in country music.

Substance Use in Music: Effects

Another of Herd's (2005) findings was an increase in the positive attitude toward alcohol from 43% to 73%. This glorification of alcohol use reflects both the increased advertising in society, but also an increased acceptance of its prevalence.

A strengthening empirical link between alcohol advertising and adolescent positive association with alcohol consumption (Columbia, 2002) suggests that references to alcohol in pop music may have the same effect on listeners. With an increase in the messages teens are seeing, and the positive view in which they see alcohol consumption, it follows that they would want to mimic what they are presented in their music regarding alcohol consumption.

Brown & Witherspoon (2002) assemble a meta-analysis of scholarly results in order to argue that media portray an alarming number of messages featuring alcohol and tobacco use; that these messages do indeed have a "moderate direct effect" (p. 160) on teens' early initiation with such substances; and that these messages almost always convey the assumed positive consequences of such behavior over the negative ones.

Unsettlingly, Kelly & Donohew (1999) assert that while exposure to pro-drug messages in the media may increase the risk of drug use, antidrug messages may not have the mitigating effect hoped for: evidence suggests that antidrug messages merely serve to reinforce habits and behaviors that are already in place. Scull, Kupersmidt & Erausquin (2013) demonstrated through a study on elementary school-aged children that a tendency to find alcohol and tobacco ads as realistic and relatable correlated with a higher percentage of children who reported intentions to use alcohol and tobacco in the future. All this suggests the need to determine how frequently consumers of country songs are being exposed to references of substance use. Further, as per the findings concerning substance use connected with other risky behaviors, it would be important to

determine the frequency of references to substance use *as it is connected to sexual or violent behavior*. Consequently, the next two sets of research questions are as follows:

Q4a: What is the number of country songs containing references to substance use in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013?

Q4b: What kinds of substances (alcohol, tobacco, other) are being referenced?

Q4c: Is there a longitudinal pattern of statistical increase of songs featuring this content between the established clusters of years?

Q5a: What is the number of country songs containing substance use associated with sex or violence in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013?

Q5b: Is there a longitudinal pattern of statistical increase of songs featuring this content between the established clusters of years?

Pertinent Theories: Cultivation

Cultivation theory (Gerbner, 1973) explains why such a distribution of increasingly homogeneous messages within a genre's music lyrics might be of concern. Cultivation studies demonstrate that long-term exposure to monolithic messages can foster an altered perception of the real world. Though such studies traditionally focus on television images and messages, the general concept applies to popular music as well. Individuals listening to the same kinds of messages repeatedly may develop a subconscious belief that the cultures portrayed in those songs espouse the behaviors featured in the lyrics more often than they actually do. Studies focusing on pop song lyrics have used cultivation as a theoretical basis before: Hall, West & Neeley (2012) conducted a lyrical analysis of pop songs for substance use references, citing the potential for cultivation effect to take place among listeners. Another study by Hall, West & Hill (2012) concerning the sexual content in song lyrics makes the point that cultivation theory may

imply significant social danger: songs which objectify women may “lead to acceptance of these displays as accurate and normal” (113).

This, combined with social cognitive theory, present a potential point of social concern if the lyrics in songs portray taboo behaviors such as violence, sexual activity and substance use, especially for young listening audiences. Cultivation theory focuses especially on television, a medium which features a content rating system. The concerns about questionable content in pop songs (which have a much simpler rating system, merely bifurcating between songs that require a parental advisory note and those that do not), may be even more valid. Research on young adult literature has demonstrated the implications in excessive profanity in young adult literature (Coyne et al, 2012) as well as portrayals of sexual activity in such reading (Callister et al, 2012), and notes the lack of content rating systems for such media. It may be the case that the present dichotomous rating system for pop songs is likewise deficient.

Pertinent Theories: Disinhibition

In concert with cultivation theory, which helps explain why media can have such a powerful effect on its consumers, is one that concerns the inhibitions of media viewers, appropriately named disinhibition theory. Huesmann (2007) theorizes that when people are presented with especially exciting media presentations, such as media containing excessive violence, the viewers’ arousal levels can climb to the point that “inhibition of inappropriate responses is diminished” (p. 58), and viewers become more at ease with mimicking the behavior seen. This phenomenon has been observed in viewers of media with sexual content as well. Escobar-Chaves et al. (2005) performed a meta-analysis on scholarship between 1983 and 2004 concerning the effect of sexual content on television and noted that continued exposure to such

arousing material can gradually make the viewers more accepting of whatever behavior is being presented.

Pertinent Theories: Social Cognitive

Social Cognitive theory helps explain how media content can affect the behaviors and viewpoints of consumers. Developed by Albert Bandura, social cognitive theory focuses on the idea that people recognize the inefficiency of learning and experiencing strictly through personal involvement; people often learn and receive implicit cues as to what behavior is acceptable by instead observing the behaviors of others (Bandura, 1977). This line of research and theory originated in Bandura's well-known "bobo-doll experiment," wherein young children were exposed to adults acting aggressively towards a stand-up bobo doll and then observed to see how the children treated the doll after the adults left (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961).

A follow-up study included the factor of consequence, providing children with a video showing positive, negative, or neutral consequences for attacking the bobo doll before being allowed to play with it (Bandura, 1963). These studies showed that the children who were exposed to aggressive behavior, either in person or via film cues, were much more likely to aggressively engage the doll when left alone than a group of children who were not.

Bandura later writes that this concept of consequence relates to what he calls "motivational processes": "People are more likely to exhibit modeled behavior if it results in valued outcomes than if it has unrewarding or punishing effects" (2002, p. 127). While self-censuring and self-approving methods of regulating behavior are also in play, watching others succeed who are similar to oneself can be a strong motivating factor for mimicking behavior in an effort to achieve similar success. Thus, motivation via observing the positive effects of certain

behaviors can sometimes act to override self-censure, causing individuals to engage in behaviors they consume in their media which they would not otherwise do if left to themselves.

Besides motivational processes, Bandura also suggests an attentional process which can influence observational learning. Models presented to a consumer are more likely to acquire and hold their attention if they are presented as especially attractive or salient. The increasing attention a person pays to a particular demonstrated behavior leads to increased retention, and thus a greater likelihood of recall and a stronger chance of being influenced by observed behaviors. Repetition of a message or behavior can facilitate the development of mental constructs, further increasing attention and retention. The repeating-chorus format of a pop song is a good example of a demonstrated behavior being repeated for the consumer.

Conversely, when an observed behavior distorts or downplays the consequences of a particular action, an observer's *inattention* may increase, resulting in "cognitive distortion" or consequences (Bandura, 2002, p. 131). This means that a demonstrated behavior can doubly influence an observer by both increasing the appeal of the activity and diminishing or skewing the results of such behavior, and this in turn throws attention (and retention) more toward the behavior than on the consequence. Because of the potential power of displayed (or hidden) consequences for developing motivational processes, any displayed consequences or effects from sexual, substance use or violent activity – positive or negative – will also be coded.

Bandura connects his theories to the realm of media effects to explain why violent media content can influence the behavior of media consumers. He states, "children and adults acquire attitudes, emotional responses and new styles of conduct through filmed and televised modeling" (Bandura, 1977, p. 39). This is because vicarious experience can be just as powerful and lasting as firsthand experience. (Griffin, 2003). In consequence, media can have as much or more of a

say in an adolescent's sexual, aggression or substance use behaviors than other factors. In fact, Brown, Halpern, and L'Engle (2005) argue that media has been shown to act as a kind of "superpeer" for teens.

Ultimately, this is not a trivial or even purely academic matter. Santelli et al. (2004) indicate that peer influence can strongly sway adolescents' psychosocial factors, including norms about sexuality. These psychosocial factors can then have an effect on middle schoolers' initiation of sexual activity. This reinforces that adolescents' perceptions of their friends' sexual activity (which, as previously stated, can be heavily influenced by perceptions about what media is considered popular) holds tremendous sway over their own future sexual behavior. And Martino, Collins, Kanouse, Elliot & Berry (2005) found that increased exposure to sexual content on television leads to earlier sexual activity among adolescents.

In the aftermath of this study, the authors argue that early sexual initiation, with its attendant risk for unplanned pregnancy and sexually-transmitted disease, constitutes a legitimate health issue, to say nothing of the obvious health risks inherent in substance abuse. Connecting the concept of healthy behaviors with psychological cues and processes, the Health Belief Model (Rosenstock, Strecher & Becker, 1988) argues that people choose to engage in health-promoting or health-degrading practices depending on whether they perceive risks or benefits from the action (or inaction) in question. In other words, the model states that people may be less likely to follow good health practices (such as responsible sexuality or drug abstinence) if they do not perceive a threat to their health inherent in disregarding the practice; and increased exposure to consequence-less behaviors that in reality carry significant health risks can lead to adolescents ignoring those health practices which would be best for them.

The socialization of youth then becomes a matter of concern. Leming (1987) and Arnett (1995) have both written that youth increasingly rely on media for socialization as they enter adolescence, with familial socialization diminishing as they leave childhood and adult socialization not yet in place. As adolescents increasingly rely on media and their friends for socialization (rather than, church, family, or community socializers, for instance), the impact of media messages grows substantially when youth enter adolescence (Samsom, 2012).

Bearing this in mind, it is safe to argue that listeners may ingest lyrics featuring questionable activity and implement it in their socialization. There can be an especially disconcerting effect when the stated consequences in a song's lyrics seem to encourage questionable activity (or, at least, fail to *discourage* it). A slew of relatively recent research suggests that media which portray risky behaviors in a positive light "play a role in explaining individuals' risk-taking inclinations and behaviors" (Fischer et al, 2011; p. 369). Studies which approach this topic have examined the way that media portraying alcohol consumption in a positive light may lead to individuals' holding more "positive outcome expectancies" about drinking than those not exposed to such media (Kulick & Rosenberg, 2001). Other behaviors such as smoking and street racing have been studied in this context (Hines et al, 2000; Fischer, Guter & Frey, 2008). One study which focused on music videos' glamorous portrayal of risky behaviors even suggests that the lyrics in pop songs may contribute to listeners' likelihood of mimicking the behavior exhibited in their media (Ashby & Rich, 2005).

According to social cognitive theory, people watch the actions portrayed and then watch whether there are positive or negative consequences for the actions (Bandura, 1977). In other words, social cognitive theory expands beyond the precepts of cultivation theory, dictating both what people think about their environment and *what they plan to do about it: the effects of media*

spill into the realm of *affect*, altering not only the thoughts, feelings, and perceptions of consumers, but also their behaviors and actions. In light of social cognition, a popular song wherein the consequences of sex, violence, or substance use are portrayed as neutral or positive may have potentially harmful effects on the listener. Because of this, the presented messages of consequences for sex, violence or substance use within each song will also be analyzed by a sixth cluster of questions:

Q6a: What is the number of country songs containing messages about the positive or negative consequences of violence, sex or substance use in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013?

Q6b: Is there a longitudinal pattern of statistical increase of these messages between the established clusters of years?

Considering the assertions of the diffusion of innovation theory, it may be reasonable to suspect that country music has followed the other popular genres in an increase of lyrics pertaining to sexual content, violence, and drugs and alcohol use. Bearing in mind the arguments of cultivation, disinhibition and social cognitive theories and the studies mentioned, an increase in such content may constitute a legitimate health risk to listeners in general and adolescents in particular, especially considering the potential mentality that country music is more devoid of such content and thus, “safe.”

Because there may be an insufficient number of country songs with references to violence, sex, and substance use to yield advanced statistical analysis, this study’s research questions will be broken into six “clusters.” The first cluster (Q1a and Q1b) concerns itself with how many country songs between 1994 and 2013 contain at least some sexual reference, as well as whether there is an observable pattern of their increase over time. The second cluster (Q2a and Q2b) concerns how many country songs during this period contain sexually degrading

references. The third cluster (Q3a and Q3b) concerns the number of songs with references to substance use; the fourth (Q4a and Q4b) focuses on the number of songs with violent messages; the fifth (Q5a and Q5b) asks about any “cross-pollination” of these broad categories, looking for any stated references to substance use associated with sex or violence. The sixth and final cluster (Q6a and Q6b) examines the stated consequences – positive or negative – of any of these actions. In order to ensure large enough sample sizes to enable Chi Square analyses, the songs will be ordinarily grouped into 5-year clusters (1994-1998, 1999-2003, etc). The collective research questions under consideration are listed below:

Q1a: What is the number of country songs containing sexual references in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013?

Q1b: Is there a longitudinal pattern of statistical increase of songs featuring this content between the established clusters of years?

Q2a: What is the number of country songs containing degrading (as opposed to non-degrading) sexual references in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013?

Q2b: Is there a longitudinal pattern of statistical increase of songs featuring this content between the established clusters of years?

Q3a: What is the number of country songs containing violent references in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013?

Q3b: Is there a longitudinal pattern of statistical increase of songs featuring this content between the established clusters of years?

Q4a: What is the number of country songs containing references to substance use in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013?

Q4b: Is there a longitudinal pattern of statistical increase of songs featuring this content between the established clusters of years?

Q5a: What is the number of country songs containing substance use associated with sex or violence in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013?

Q5b: Is there a longitudinal pattern of statistical increase of songs featuring this content between the established clusters of years?

Q6a: What is the number of country songs containing messages about the positive or negative consequences of violence or sex in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013?

Q6b: Is there a longitudinal pattern of statistical increase of these messages between the established clusters of years?

Methods

Sampling Frame

The results of this study are generalizable to the specific universe of *top* country songs, because it does not take as its universe *all* country music: obtaining a sampling frame of *every* country song written between 1994 and 2013 is logistically infeasible. Instead, this study purports to describe the content of the *top* country songs of the last twenty years; in this sense, the analysis is a census of all top songs rather than a sampling. Surely a great number of country songs which were not considered in this study are written, recorded and distributed every year. However, the limited radio play or popularity of such songs speaks to their minimal cultural impact, and so for the question at hand, they are of limited concern. Instead, *Billboard* magazine's top 50 country songs for the years 1994 - 2013 were selected in order for the author to examine those songs with the most radio airtime and the largest audiences.

Unit of Measurement

The research design for the study was a content analysis. Technically, it may also be considered a textual analysis, as only the lyrics of the songs (rather than the musical notes, instrumentation, and expression) were analyzed. It has been demonstrated that the best means of undertaking a lyrical content analysis is to treat each separate song as the unit of analysis. The various cited analyses by Primack, as well as the Roberts, Henriksen & Christenson study (1999), are clear that this method is ideal: by examining the lyric of the entire song, it is easier to acquire crucial context in order to properly code the lyrics. Thus, the unit of analysis in this study was each song on the list of 1,000, specifically the collective lyrics of each of the top 50 country songs for each year between 1994 and 2013, inclusively.

The variables to be analyzed in each unit were the presence or absence of references to violence, sex, degrading sex, and substance use within the lyrics of the songs, including presented consequences attached to these behaviors. In the case of violence and sex, an ordinal array allowing for *kinds* of references (absent, incidental or prominent) was used, and both the quality and number of violent or sexual references will determine which categorization each song receives.

Coding Measures

The coding sheet employed in this study – adapted from that used by Primack and incorporating elements of that used by Coyne et al (2012) – uses multiple levels of measurement. This includes nominal (*does the song include degrading sexual references? Is there substance use associated with sex or violence?*), ordinal (*are violent references absent, incidental or prominent?*) and scale (*how many references to smoking or alcohol use in total are found in the song?*).

The proposed steps in this content analysis were straight-forward: two coders were trained to prepare for testing intercoder reliability. They received instruction to read the definitions contained in the coding sheet which describe the parameters and required content for each category given, as well as provided with some illustrative examples of each. They were shown how to fill in the coding sheet for each of the songs they were assigned to code.

Following are operationalized definitions of the major content categories, as well as illustrative lyrical examples from songs within the sampling frame.

Sex definition.

As per these coding parameters, sex is defined as “references to a sexual act or strongly implied reference to sexual act.” It should be noted that, as per the coding sheet used by Primack

et al., “references to sex” means sexual acts, including “vaginal, oral, or anal sex and masturbation, but does not include flirting, winking, kissing, making out, etc.” (Primack et al., 2008).

- “*Don’t you wanna fall asleep with me tonight?*” – This qualifies as an example of sex, because sexual activity is strongly implied. It would also be coded as an “prominent” rather than an “incidental” reference, because this line is repeated 3 or more times in the whole lyric of the song.
- “*Why drive when you can stay with me? ... Baby if you're in the mood you can settle for a one night rodeo*” – This would be coded as a single incidental sexual reference: the lyric, though several lines long, refers to a single implied sexual act.

Violence definition.

Violence is operationally defined as “threats or actions that could or did cause harm or loss of life.” “Violence” is further separated into two sub-categories: incidental (defined as a threat or an action that could or did cause harm but not loss of life) and prominent (defined as a threat or an action that could cause loss of life, or multiple very harmful actions or threats). Thus, every such threat or action that occurs in the lyrics of a given song will qualify as a “reference” to violence.

- “*She reaches for the pistol kept in the dresser drawer...tonight will be the last time she’ll wonder where he’s been*” – This qualifies as a prominent (rather than incidental) reference to violence, because a prominent reference is defined as a “threat or an action that could cause loss of life.”

Substance use definition.

Substance use is defined as “actual or implied substance use referenced in the song and not limited to the singer, including if there is dealing, since there would be implied use.”

- “*I go down to that same old cafe, where I try to wash my troubles away*” --This qualifies as an example of implied substance use.

- “*Pour me some moonshine*” – This line appears in the song lyric twice total, contributing to the total number of alcohol references in the song.

Substance use associated with sex and violence definition.

This category is operationally defined as any references to substance use that are linked with (resulting from, leading to, in connection with) either sexual activity or violence (as defined previously) within the song lyrics.

- “*I’m ready to roll if you wanna rock again*” – This line confirms the song’s previous lyrical implication that the singer slept with someone after the two drank together, and is anxious to engage in further sexual activity the next morning.

Consequences of sex and violence definition.

This category is defined as any references to the violent or sexual activity (as defined previously) directly resulting in short or long-term consequences, such as getting pregnant, being arrested, acquiring social acceptance for “scoring,” or the loss of someone’s life.

- “*Everybody’s saying, he’s not coming home now*” – This lyric references the singer’s fiancé, killed in military action; the result of the violent action (namely war) is that he is not present for the intended wedding, resulting in the singer’s remorse.

As has been stated, repetitive phrases in a song may increase retention levels (and thus increase the impact on a listener). Thus, references to violence, sex or substance use that are repeated in a refrain (such as in a chorus) will be coded as many times as they are listed.

The issue of mutual exclusivity must be addressed. Possibly the lyrics of some songs within the sampling frame may simultaneously qualify for multiple categories (as an example, something along the lines of “pour me some moonshine before I break your spine”). This would constitute a reference to both substance use and violence. The coding scheme considers lyrics as *not* mutually exclusive: in other words, a lyric with the potential to qualify for multiple

categories in the coding manual was coded for each category under which it may fall. Because the unit of measurement in this study is the song, and not an arbitrary breakdown of lines or phrases, any reference to the content under scrutiny will be coded regardless of how closely placed the references are – even right on top of each other.

Statistical Analysis

The data were inputted to the SPSS software for statistical analysis. Each major content category was run in a chi-square against the years in which the songs were released, with the exception of the specific substances referenced, in which case an ANOVA was run. A pilot study demonstrated that many top country songs within the last twenty years lacked references to many of these categories; therefore, 5-year groupings of years (1994-1998, 1999-2003, etc.) were combined in order to generate enough references to run statistical analysis. It is thought that the data from these tests was sufficient to demonstrate whether there is a statistical difference in the number of references to sex, violence and substance use in country songs between 1994 and 2013. Though the ordinalization of the sampling years meant that specific year-by-year analysis was impossible, the longitudinal essence of the Research Questions 2, 4 and 6 remained intact, and changing trends over time could still be observed.

Reporting Intercoder Reliability

Coders were given 10% of the sampling frame to code using empty electronic copies of the adapted coding sheet. Both were given the lyrics of 10% of the songs in the sampling frame from the same lyrics website (azlyrics.com); they also performed the coding independently. Those 10%, randomly selected, were then coded for the number or type of references in the written lyrics which fall into the following categories, as defined by Primack et al, 2008 (see Appendix for coding manual with full definitions):

Violence – absent, incidental or prominent?
 Consequences of violence – negative, absent or positive?
 Sex – absent, incidental or prominent?
 Consequences of sex – negative, absent or positive?
 Degrading references to sex – present or absent?
 Substance use – present or absent?
 Alcohol – number of references?
 Tobacco – number of references?
 Other illicit substances – number of references?
 Substance use associated with violence – present or absent?
 Substance use associated with Sex – present or absent?

Intercoder reliability was measured by Cohen's *kappa*; though somewhat more simplistic than other complex methods such as that by Krippendorff (Krippendorff, 2004), Cohen's *kappa* can be used for measurements wherein much of the inputted data is a "zero." As a method of reliability using multiple coders it is effective (Fleiss, 1971). Coders were given definitions and examples, following which they made a preliminary attempt at coding a sample of similar songs outside the sampling frame in question. Any problematic lyrics encountered resulted in tweaking and adjusting the definitions in the coding manual to account for unforeseen complications or vagueness. This process was repeated until a comprehensive coding manual and very high intercoder reliability were achieved.

The coding manual and data sheets were tested on two coders who were trained before coding a similar but separate data set of 120 country songs (Numbers 51-60 on Billboard's year-end list for the years 2002-2013). The two coders' results were compared, and Cohen's *kappa* was calculated for each of the eleven categories analyzed. A satisfactory *kappa* ($\kappa \geq .7$) was acquired for each of the categories, as seen in Table 1.

Table 1

<i>Reliability Scores for Coding Categories</i>	
Category	Cohen's <i>kappa</i>

Violence:	$\kappa = .896$
Consequences of Violence:	$\kappa = 1.00$
Sex:	$\kappa = .933$
Consequences of Sex	$\kappa = .878$
Degrading Sex	$\kappa = 1.00$
Substance Use:	$\kappa = 1.00$
Instances of Tobacco Use:	$\kappa = .853$
Instances of Alcohol Use:	$\kappa = .824$
Instances of Other Substance Use:	$\kappa = .747$
Substance Use Associated with Violence:	$\kappa = 1.00$
Substance Use Associated with Sex:	$\kappa = .961$

Using this test for intercoder reliability, the data derived from this content analysis is both valid and reliable; the instruments used for measuring have been determined to be valid, and those documenting the measurements in this particular case have been proven sufficiently reliable.

Results

Sex

Q1 concerned the number of country songs containing sexual references (either incidental or prominent) in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013, and any longitudinal change in their distribution. A cross-tabulation reported that while only 17% (n = 42) of the top 250 songs between 1994-1998 featured at least some sexual content, and only 14% (n = 36) between 1999-2003, the number of songs featuring at least some sexuality jumped to 28 % (n = 70) and 33% (n = 82) between 2004-2008 and 2009-2013, respectively. A chi-square analysis across the four time periods resulted in a strong statistical significance ($\chi^2 [6] = 38.625, p < .001$), indicating a significant change over time in the number of songs featuring sexual lyrics. As indicated in Table 2, the computed standardized residuals show that the most significant shift longitudinally lies between 2009-2013: the number of songs featuring prominent sexual content jumps to a statistically significant degree between 2004-2008 and 2009-2013. Further, the table indicates a statistically significant increase overall moving into the third set.

Table 2

Song Count and Standardized Residuals for Intensities of Sexual References by Year Period

No Sex					
Statistic	1994-1998	1999-2003	2004-2008	2009-2013	Total
Count	208	214	180	168	770
Expected Count	192.5	192.5	192.5	192.5	770
Std. Residual	1.1	1.5	-.9	-1.8	-
Incidental Sex					
Statistic	1994-1998	1999-2003	2004-2008	2009-2013	Total
Count	34	27	52	52	165
Expected Count	41.25	41.25	41.25	41.25	165

Std. Residual	-1.1	-2.2	1.7	1.7	-
Prominent Sex					
Statistic	1994-1998	1999-2003	2004-2008	2009-2013	Total
Count	8	9	18	30	65
Expected Count	16.25	16.25	16.25	16.25	65
Std. Residual	-2.0	-1.8	.4	3.4	-

Degrading Sex

Q2a asked about the number of country songs containing degrading (as opposed to non-degrading) sexual references, including longitudinal trends. Because of the small number of instances wherein such references occurred, violation of the 20/80 rule was a concern. To avoid this, five-year periods were combined together (1994-2003 and 2004-2013), so as to create enough instances to properly fill the data cells. Table 3 shows that only 2% of songs featured any degrading references at all. Though there is an increase, it merely nears statistical significance ($\chi^2 [1] = 3.265, p = .071$). The report seems to imply that degrading sexual references in country music are not changing over time.

Table 3

Song Count and Standardized Residuals for Degrading Sexual References by Condensed Year Period

No Degrading			
Statistic	1994-2003	2004-2013	Total
Count	494	486	980
Expected Count	490	490	980
Std. Residual	.2	-.2	-
Degrading			
Statistic	1994-2003	2004-2013	Total
Count	6	14	20

Expected Count	10	10	20
Std. Residual	-1.3	1.3	-

Violence

Q3 asks about the number of country songs containing violent references in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013, and longitudinal changes. For this question, similar to the test on degrading sexual references, chi-square tabulations produced practically invalid results due to violations of the 20/80 rule. Consequently, both incidental and prominent violent references were collapsed together in order to create a binary rather than ordinal categorization of violence: present or absent.

Overall, the number of songs containing violent content is much smaller than those containing sexual content. Table 4 shows that between 1994 and 2013, the number of songs with at least some violent content increased going into the second five-year period, then stabilized. Roughly 5% of the top country songs ($n = 49$) feature violence in their lyrics. The chi-square test indicated statistical significance ($\chi^2 [3] = 8.477, p = .037$) in the difference between 1994 and 2013 as to how many songs contain violent lyrics. The location of this change in significance (between 1994-1998 and 1999-2003) is provided by the standard residuals shown in Table 4. This indicates that the number of violent references within 1994-1998 was smaller than would be expected, and that in 1999-2003, a statistically significant increase occurred. Thus the number normalized to expected levels. It seems the amount of violence since then has remained stable.

Table 4

Song Count and Standardized Residuals for Violent References by Year Period

Statistic	No Violence				Total
	1994-1998	1999-2003	2004-2008	2009-2013	

Count	246	237	233	235	951
Expected Count	237.8	237.8	237.8	237.8	951
Std. Residual	.5	0	-.3	-.2	-

Statistic	Violence				Total
	1994-1998	1999-2003	2004-2008	2009-2013	
Count	4	13	17	15	49
Expected Count	12.3	12.3	12.3	12.3	49
Std. Residual	-2.4	.2	1.4	.8	-

Substance Use

Q4 concerned the number of country songs containing references to substance use in their lyrics. Along with an analysis of the number of songs featuring at least some substance use, a breakdown of what kinds of substances are referenced (along with their frequencies and statistical significances) follows.

As seen in Table 5, the number of songs featuring substance use of some kind increased between 1994-2003 and 2004-2013 (from 12% (n = 62) to 31% (n = 157)). This category features the strongest standard residual differences in the study. This increase resulted in a statistically significant p -value ($\chi^2 [1] = 52.766, p < .001$), and thus a change over time in the amount of songs featuring this kind of reference.

Table 5

Song Count and Standardized Residuals for Substance References by Condensed Year Period

Statistic	No Use		Total
	1994-2003	2004-2013	
Count	438	343	781
Expected Count	390.5	390.5	781
Std. Residual	2.4	-2.4	-

Statistic	Use		Total
	1994-2003	2004-2013	
Count	62	157	219
Expected Count	109.5	109.5	219
Std. Residual	-4.5	4.5	-

However, these tests only indicate that substance use of some kind is occurring more frequently. The question of what kinds of substance uses constitute these references is addressed in the following.

Frequencies and change over time for alcohol.

In total, 21% (n = 209) of the songs from the 1,000 song sampling frame included references to alcohol. Breaking down these songs by the number of references contained in each, 582 total references are counted, amounting to 2.78 references to alcohol in each song that referenced it at all. The chi-square test indicated a significant change over time ($\chi^2 [39] = 88.530$, $p < .001$).

Frequencies and change over time for tobacco.

Collectively, 3% (n=31) of songs containing substance use references included tobacco. With a total number of tobacco references at 61, this means that every song containing references to tobacco referenced it twice on average. Comparing the number of songs with tobacco references by decade, the increase in tobacco use from one decade to the next was significant ($\chi^2 [6] = 19.013$, $p = .004$).

Table 6

*Standardized Residuals by Condensed Year Period for Presence
or Absence of Tobacco References*

Tobacco Absent

Statistic	1994-2003	2004-2013	Total
Count	496	473	969
Expected Count	484.5	484.5	969
Std. Residual	.5	-.5	-

Tobacco Present			
Statistic	1994-2003	2004-2013	Total
Count	4	27	31
Expected Count	15.5	15.5	31
Std. Residual	-2.9	2.9	-

Frequencies and change over time for other substances.

References to other substances were extremely rare in the sampling frame. Fewer than .1% of songs (n= 7) featured such references at all, and the total number of references within those songs was 10.

Substance significance levels.

While the chi square tests above compare the incidences of various substance use versus those incidents without, running a one-way ANOVA of the occurrences for each kind of substance use within each time period resulted in a myriad of descriptive statistics, including the means and standard deviations between time periods for each substance. Of particular note here is the mean for alcohol references in the final time period, 2009-2013. At a Mean of 1.01, this means that during this five-year period alcohol is referenced an average of once in every country song, almost twice the average number of references to alcohol per song from the entire twenty-year span of study (Mean = .58).

Table 7

Means and Post Hoc Significance of Frequencies of Substances by Year Period

Substance	Year Period				<i>F</i>
	1994-1998	1999-2003	2004-2008	2009-2013	
Tobacco	.02 ^a (.261)	.02 ^a (.200)	.08 ^b (.403)	.13 ^b (.750)	3.428
Alcohol	.34 ^a (1.090)	.25 ^a (1.318)	.74 ^b (1.780)	1.01 ^b (2.142)	11.776
Other Drugs	.00 ^a (.063)	.01 ^a (.089)	.02 ^a (.261)	.01 ^a (.089)	.547

Note: Values in parentheses are standard deviations. Means in the same row with differing superscript letters are significant at $p < .05$ by post hoc test.

A breakdown of statistical significance for the increase (or decrease) of these substances' references in the song lyrics is shown in the superscripts of Table 7. The ANOVA found a statistically significant difference between the amount of tobacco use ($F [3] = 3.428, p = .017$) between five-year periods, as well as alcohol use ($F [3] = 11.776, p < .001$), but not for other miscellaneous drug use ($F [3] = .547, p = .650$). A post-hoc Tukey test indicates where between the year periods lie the greatest increases for each substance. For tobacco, the greatest increase lies between 1994-1998 and 1999-2003 compared to 2009-2013 (this last period alone contained 32 of the 61 total references). For alcohol, the only comparisons between five-year periods that do *not* result in statistically significant changes are between the first and second and between the third and fourth.

Substance Use Associated with Violence and Sex

Q5 asked how many country songs contain substance use associated with sex or violence in their lyrics between the years 1994-2013, as well as discernable changes over time. The four periods of five years were collapsed into two decades to avoid violating the 20/80 rule. The results will be broken down into subcategories of violence and sex.

Substance use and violence.

Table 8 shows that the number of songs containing instances of substance use linked to violent behavior was very small; in total, only 13 songs in the entire sampling frame featured such references. The increase between the first and second decade was not significant ($\chi^2 [1] = 1.948, p = .163$).

Table 8

Standardized Residuals by Condensed Year Period for Presence or Absence of Substance Use Associated with Violence

Statistic	Reference Absent		Total
	1994-2003	2004-2013	
Count	496	491	987
Expected Count	493.5	493.5	987
Std. Residual	.1	-.1	-

Statistic	Reference Present		Total
	1994-2003	2004-2013	
Count	4	9	13
Expected Count	6.5	6.5	13
Std. Residual	-1.0	1.0	-

Substance use and sex.

The number of songs featuring substance use linked to sex was much greater than the number featuring such a link between substance use and violence. In all, 5% ($n = 51$) of the songs in the sampling frame featured lyrics with this kind of connection (see Table 9). Examining the data by collapsing the periods (as was done in the preceding category), the standardized residual is strongly significant. This also leads to a statistically significant p-value ($\chi^2 [3] = 29.980, p < .001$).

Table 9

Standardized Residuals by Condensed Year Period for Presence or Absence of Substance Use Associated with Sex

Statistic	Reference Absent		Total
	1994-2003	2004-2013	
Count	493	456	949
Expected Count	474.5	474.5	949
Std. Residual	.8	-.8	-

Statistic	Reference Present		Total
	1994-2003	2004-2013	
Count	7	44	51
Expected Count	25.5	25.5	51
Std. Residual	-3.7	3.7	-

Consequences of Violence and Sex

Q6 asked how many country songs contain messages about the positive or negative consequences of violence or sex in their lyrics between 1994 and 2013, as well as whether there has been a statistical change over time. Once again, the data in this category were combined into two collapsed ten-year periods so as to give large enough figures to work with. The following results will be broken into subcategories: first, violence; second, sex.

Consequences of violence.

The number of songs featuring a statement of any kind about the consequences of violence were very rare to begin with, and were remarkably similar: As demonstrated in the breakdown in Table 10, in the first period (1994-2003), 3% of the songs in the first decade ($n = 15$) and 3% in the second ($n = 16$). While the ratio of negative-to-positive references changed, it was not significant. Overwhelmingly, country songs do not seem to discuss the consequences of

violence either way: no statistical significance was found for the change over time ($\chi^2 [2] = 1.808, p = .405$).

Table 10

Song Count and Standardized Residuals by Condensed Year Period for Negative, Positive, or no Consequences to Violence

Negative Consequences			
Statistic	1994-2003	2004-2013	Total
Count	11	8	19
Expected Count	9.5	9.5	19
Std. Residual	.5	-.5	-
No Consequences			
Statistic	1994-2003	2004-2013	Total
Count	485	484	969
Expected Count	484.5	484.5	969
Std. Residual	.0	.0	-
Positive Consequences			
Statistic	1994-2003	2004-2013	Total
Count	4	8	12
Expected Count	6.0	6.0	12
Std. Residual	-.8	.8	-

Consequences of sex.

The number of instances in this category overall was higher than the previous category, as seen in Table 11: in the first ten-year period, 5% ($n = 27$) of songs discuss consequences, with an even split between negative and positive consequences. In the second, 8% ($n = 40$) total songs address this topic, again with an even split between positive and negative consequences. Within this sampling frame, the number of songs that address this topic may have risen, but not to a

statistically significant degree; meanwhile, the ratio of positive to negative seems to be almost exactly the same over time. No significant difference was found over time for a change in the number of songs touching upon either positive or negative consequences of sexual activity ($\chi^2 [2] = 2.706, p = .258$).

Table 11

Song Count and Standardized Residuals by Condensed Year Period for Negative, Positive, or no Consequences to Sex

Negative Consequences			
Statistic	1994-2003	2004-2013	Total
Count	13	19	32
Expected Count	16	16	32
Std. Residual	-.8	.8	-
No Consequences			
Statistic	1994-2003	2004-2013	Total
Count	473	460	933
Expected Count	466.5	466.5	933
Std. Residual	.3	-.3	-
Positive Consequences			
Statistic	1994-2003	2004-2013	Total
Count	14	21	35
Expected Count	17.5	17.5	35
Std. Residual	-.8	.8	-

Discussion

This data set constitutes the first longitudinal analysis of country lyric content as concerning subjects like sex, violence and substance use. Other genres of music have been analyzed for lyrical content (though this is of itself much less common than analyses of music video imagery); however, analyses focusing on a specific genre have heretofore never considered the content in the country genre. These results indicate that, indeed, country music is more consistent with other genres in terms of the presence of mature content than may often be assumed.

Sex

The number of country songs that include sex is increasing as of the third period (2004-2008), and those songs that heavily feature it are increasing more recently within the fourth (2009-2013). 23% of the songs in the sampling frame featured at least some sexual activity. It is important to reiterate that these references constitute more than just flirting or kissing: these data indicate that nearly one fourth of country songs either talk about having sex or strongly imply it. The increase in songs with sexual content in them between 1999-2003 and 2004-2008 is noteworthy: the number of songs with incidental sexual references doubled in a five-year period, as did the number of songs with prominent references. What's more, though the increase in sexual content overall did not continue to the same degree into the fourth period, the number of songs with prominent sexual messages increased 60% moving into 2009-2013.

Degrading sex, however, is not statistically increasing. Objectification of women's bodies was informally observed during the data collection process ("look at all them pretty little things," "she got them long tan legs," etc), but not often in the context of sexual activity. This upswing in sexual content is, perhaps, to be expected: as country music continues to work to stay relevant in

an increasingly open sexual culture, the increase in the instances of sexual activity stated should not be surprising.

Still, it must be noted that country music generally features much less degrading sexuality than other genres. For example, Weitzer & Kubrin (2009) determined that 67% of rap songs featured the sexual objectification of women, while only 5% of the songs in this study featured such references. When country songs do discuss sexual activity, instances of aggressive or degrading sex are relatively rare.

Violence

Violence in country music is even rarer. Overall, compared to other genres, violence occurs less frequently than in other genres of music, and especially compared to rap and hip-hop, where violence is neatly ubiquitous. However, references to violence in country are on the rise: between 1994-1998 and 1999-2003, the number of occurrences jumped to higher levels. It seems to have plateaued in recent years, perhaps as references to violent actions become increasingly distasteful in public opinion. That violence which is depicted is rarely glorified, and instead usually accompanies more downbeat songs about loss and failed relationships. The results concerning violent content are among the most interesting. The total amount of violent references is far fewer than that found within genres like rap and hip hop (Anderson, Carnagey & Eubanks, 2003). However, violent content, while almost nonexistent in the first few years under study, has increased to a statistically significant degree. This constitutes new data (in an already small area of scholarship) concerning the amount of violence in country songs: though the study by Stack & Gundlach (1992) suggests a connection between country lyrics and suicide, none of the violent references tabulated in this study had to do with self-inflicted injury – all acts of violence were directed at others.

Substance Use

Substance use overall has increased, particularly between 1999-2003 and 2004-2008. Such references, however, are almost exclusively tobacco and alcohol. Illicit substances are almost non-existent in country lyrics, even more so than in other genres (where they are already rare to begin with). Alcohol especially is gaining popularity as a staple in country lyrics, as fully 21% of country songs in the sampling frame referenced it. Further, songs that mention alcohol will tend to do it nearly three times. Between 1994 and 2013, the number of references to alcohol in country music lyrics roughly tripled. This increase is lesser than that change found within other genres: for example, Herd (2005) calculated that within a twenty year period, the number of alcohol references in rap songs had increased five times. Still, this seems to reflect a cultural stance, as alcohol appeared much more consistently than any other kind of substance. Indeed, it was not uncommon to find a song within any given five-year period whose title and entire theme centered around drinking (“I Like Girls that Drink Beer,” “Red Solo Cup,” “Beer Goggles,” “Drink in My Hand,” “Drink on It,” “Beers Ago,” “One More Drinkin’ Song,” “You and Tequila,” “Two Piña Coladas,” etc).

The results of this study coincide with some findings by other scholars; for example, they support those of Primack, Dalton, Carroll, Agarwal and Fine (2008), who found that within those country songs which referenced substance use, 92% of the references were alcohol-related. In this study, 89% of the total substance use references had to do with alcohol. Further, Markert’s 2001 study is also supported: in that longitudinal research, it was determined that younger singers across all genres oppose the use of drugs such as cocaine and marijuana – drugs that would have appeared in the “other” category of the present study. In other words, perhaps it is to be expected that the number of references to substances other than tobacco and alcohol are

incredibly low. Further, the predominance of beer among those substances referenced in country lyrics suggest the near-ubiquity of beer as a sort of staple in country culture.

Roberts, Henriksen and Christensen (1999) suggest from their content analysis of movies, television and music that in non-rap genres, about 13% of songs will contain alcohol references, and “almost no references to tobacco” will be present (p. 5). The present research indicates otherwise, as 21% of the songs herein sampled featured at least one alcohol reference. While tobacco references were few (3%), this certainly constitutes a greater amount than that suggested by Roberts, Henriksen and Christensen. In other words, this research suggests that there may actually be more alcohol references in country songs than in other non-rap or hip hop genres, as well as more references to tobacco. And given the statistical trajectory, the degree to which these substances are being referenced is on the rise.

Substance use associated with violence rarely occurs at all in this data set. Substance use in connection with sex, however, has increased at a great rate, particularly between the 1999-2003 and 2004-2008. One informal observation during the coding process was that references to alcohol consumption in a romantic context seemed to increase, while references to consumption in a social setting (such as at a bar or a party) seemed to decrease.

Consequences of Sex and Violence

It seems clear that one category which country lyrics generally do not address is the portrayed consequences of actions such as sex and violence. Neither category resulted in anything close to statistically significant change over time. Only 3% of the songs in the sampling frame addressed consequences (either positive or negative) for violent behavior, and 7% of songs discussed the consequences – again, good or bad – of sexual behavior. Within this latter sub-category, the ratio of positive references to negative ones stayed remarkably similar from one

decade to the next. Evidently country songs do not discuss consequences of risky behaviors nearly to the degree other genres do, according to Primack et al (2008) and Brown & Witherspoon (2002); both of these studies suggest that positive consequences are much more likely to be portrayed than negative ones. The few such references occurred in the present sampling frame were much more evenly balanced than the extant scholarship would have led one to expect.

Theories

Given these collective results, social learning and cultivation theories would suggest that the increasing ubiquity of these demonstrated behaviors will have an impact on listeners. Specifically, cultivation argues that as listeners absorb these songs, the increasing amounts of violent, sexual and substance references will be perceived as normal. For young listeners, this can be especially impactful, as youth are still in the process of developing attitudes and ideologies about potentially risky behaviors such as sex and substance use. Furthermore, the popularity of country music among teenagers makes this line of theoretical posturing all the more relevant: among teenage internet users in 2012, 15.3% responded with “country” when asked what genre they would select if they could only listen to one genre for the rest of their lives. This figure was second only to generic pop music (18.4%) (Statista.com, 2012).

Meanwhile, social learning theory would argue that the general lack of stated consequences for the risky behaviors found in country lyrics may cause young consumers to misapprehend what the consequences of such actions might be. According to Bandura, vicarious experience can generate unrealistic expectations if adverse consequences are omitted (Bandura, *Self-Efficacy*, 1977). Bandura’s model and the closely-linked Health Belief Model (Rosenstock, Strecher & Becker, 1988) assert that media messages which fail to realistically portray

expectancies (or “beliefs about how events are connected- about what leads to what” (p. 176)) can generate false (or incomplete) incentives to motivate potentially dangerous behavior. In other words, without conveying the truthful outcomes which can be inherent in potentially dangerous behavior such as violence, sex or drinking, media consumers can be lead to believe that negative consequences for such actions do not exist, or at least do not apply to them. Songs are especially prone to this kind of insufficiency in relaying the consequences of behaviors, as popular songs are generally brief, contained packages of mediated messages that rarely take enough time to flesh out a narrative (if indeed there is a narrative to be found in the song at all).

The unique nature of song structure further amplifies the qualities of a message that, according to Bandura, can lead to greater attention and retention (two crucial mechanisms in the process of learning via media). As Bandura himself states, “People cannot be much influenced by observed events if they do not remember them” (Bandura, 2001, p. 272). Music, and formulaic pop music in particular, lends itself to facilitating easy recall by being repetitive (again, the messages in repeated choruses can be especially potent), and by linking lyrics with musical notes and melodic lines that make both the music and the lyrics all the more memorable. Also, the behavioral production process – the process of translating cognitively held conceptions into actions – can be affected by the unique nature of music: while a spoken statement may not have much appeal to a consumer, and may not have much likelihood of entering the process of translating into mimicked behavior, the same phrase, when sung to a pleasing melody, may be more liable to successfully navigate the behavioral production process and translate into actions on the part of the consumer (see Davison, 2006, who links the unique models found within music theory with the processes of behavioral modeling, resulting in unique contributions of music to the development of self-efficacy).

A 2011 statistical research project indicates that 42% of the U.S. population are country music fans, amounting to just under 100 million country fans in America. Further, a significant portion of country fans are young (and thus particularly likely to be influenced by their media choices and the messages contained therein): 16% of country listeners are under the age of 18. However, it must be noted that some mitigating factors within the country music fan base exist: 90% of country fans spend time with their family, and 81% eat dinner regularly with their family, while the overall national average is only 43% (Hackett, 2011). Because country listeners generally spend more time with family, the socializing impact of media is mitigated in the face of the family acting as a more influential socializer than among non-country fans. Having a greater variety of socializers in adolescents' lives facilitates healthier social and psychological development, as compared to those youths who lean more heavily on media for their primary socialization (Arnett, 1995).

Future Research

Perhaps a valuable future study could focus on discovering if there is a correlation between the changing nature of country music content and changing patterns in family or community socialization. Such research would contribute much to the already-established fields of research linking family variables such as inconsistent parental discipline (Kandel & Andrews, 1987), lack of maternal involvement (Baumrind, 1983), or high levels of parent-child conflict (Wills, Sandy, Yaeger & Shinar, 2001) to higher likelihood of adolescent drug abuse.

Linking this study's findings on violent content with other scholarship also produces interesting follow-up questions to explore. Though the general lack of violent references (self-inflicted or directed at others) would suggest the link between country listening and violence is tenuous, the findings of the present study imply that country music can increasingly correlate

with suicidal acts in the future, given country music's increase in suicidal factors such as alcohol use. Research by Stack & Gundlach (1992) suggests that the disproportionately white country music fan base may be increasingly susceptible to suicide (whites have a greater suicide rate than other ethnicities (Blum et al., 2000)). Newer research on the effects of listening to country music may be timely, including an updated study on the impact of listening on suicide rates, or any other potentially harmful effects (substance use, etc).

Overall, it would seem a significant cultural shift has occurred in country music somewhere during the first decade of the 2000s: references to sex, references to substance use (and particularly alcohol consumption) and – not coincidentally – references to drinking in connection to sex all experienced a jump between the years 1999-2003 and 2004-2008. The influence of whatever led to this spike is still being felt, as sex and alcohol references continue to climb into 2009-2013, and possibly beyond. These changes may be emblematic of a larger shift occurring in country music, as country acts fight to maintain their relevance and expand into the mainstream pop/rock market. Increasingly, country stars such as Lady Antebellum, Taylor Swift and The Band Perry conform both musically and visually to a more generic pop template. Today country stars frequently collaborate with non-country singers: The band Florida-Georgia Line recently released a remix of their hit single, "Cruise," to feature a new hip-hop-inspired rhythm and a rap section featuring Flo Rida. Perhaps this cultural shift into mainstream pop is linked to the increase in sex, alcohol and substance use-related sexual activity found in country music.

Given the relative dearth of scholarship concentrating on country songs as a form of media, future research should examine a variety of aspects of country music. Subsequent content analyses of lyrics could further illuminate the kinds of messages, and their frequency, found in country songs. Perhaps other factors, such as profanity, could be studied along with sexual,

violent or substance use content. Analyses of the imagery in country music videos would help determine whether the visuals presented help to mitigate or reinforce the content of the songs' lyrics; further, the degree to which various visual stimuli appear in country music videos could be compared to those of other genres to determine the categorical differences (if any) to be found between them. Lastly, surveys or experimental designs could be employed to determine the effects of listening to or reading country music lyrics; whether and how such activity alters aggression, prosocial behaviors (Greitemeyer, 2009), and other key behavioral indicators could reveal much about the power and effect country music may have on its listeners.

Limitations

This study suffered from several key limitations, most principally the use of an imperfect coding sheet. In retrospect, the coding parameters borrowed from Primack et al (2008) were originally intended for studies across all genres of popular music, and thus in retrospect some categories may have been superfluous. For example, the near-absence of any drug references other than tobacco and alcohol in country songs made the search for references to hallucinogens, inhalants, cocaine, methamphetamines and marijuana all but pointless. As another example, substance use associated with violence is probably a much more suitable category for classification in rap or hip-hop music than country. Barely 1% of the present sampling frame featured any such references, while both substance use and violent acts are known to be much more present in these other, “harder” genres (again, see Anderson, Carnagey & Eubanks, 2003). Ultimately, of course, the coding sheet - though perhaps not ideally suited for every study in this arena - allows for objective comparisons with other studies.

Another limitation lies within the sampling frame itself. Only the top 50 songs from each of the last 20 years were included. While this certainly constitutes a substantial majority of what is commonly listened to within the genre, the longitudinal nature of the study and its attendant findings suggest that earlier, more “classical” country music would feature less of the risky behavior studied herein. In other words, perhaps this study indicates more about where country music is trending toward the future than about country music as a whole.

One category that was excluded from Primack’s coding sheet (and thus this study) is the portrayed consequences of substance use. However, collecting data on this topic may prove problematic for this genre: very few instances of portrayed consequences occurred in the songs within this sampling frame (regarding either violence or sex), and perhaps it would be difficult to

obtain sufficient data concerning the way that consequences of substance use is presented in country songs.

Finally, it must be noted that despite the great care taken to acquire intercoder reliability and ensure the effectiveness and objectivity of measuring tools, minimal individual judgment was required in the coding process. In some instances, whether a lyric qualified as implied sexual activity or a negative consequence of violence required that context be taken into account; the lyrics preceding or following the line in question were examined to gain contextual clarity regarding the nature of the reference in question. For example, “Anything I thought would get the job done” is not in itself a sexual reference; however, in context of the song, it is revealed this refers to the narrator lying about who he is in order to convince a woman to have sexual relations with him. This, this line qualifies as a sexual reference. This contextualizing process allowed the coders to determine the best course of action during the coding process.

Conclusion

In the midst of the research asking what messages pop music conveys to its listeners, lyrical analyses are already too rare. Yet even those that do examine the words stated or sung in popular songs invariably dismiss the country genre as inconsequential or harmless. The findings of this research suggest otherwise. Beyond comparing country music to other genres (wherein we actually find some risky behaviors referenced *more* frequently than in other kinds of music), we find a trend of escalation in the realms of sexual content, substance use, violence and drinking connected to sexual conduct over the last twenty years. Hopefully these findings will serve as a reminder that seemingly innocuous media can indeed convey risky or dangerous messages, as well as apprise interested scholars of what sorts of trends can be found within this specific, supposedly “clean” genre of pop music.

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Appendix A

Coding Sheet (adapted from Primack, et al., "Degrading," 2008)

VARIABLE	DATA RANGE	DATA
Song	text	
Artist (name)	text	
Year (#####)	200#	
Coder (initials)	text	
Entry (date)	date	
Country Hits (placement on Billboard Magazine year-end chart)	#	
Violence	0-2	
Consequences of Violence	-1, 0, 1	
Sex	0-2	
Consequences of Sex	-1, 0, 1	
Degrad (Degrading sexual references)	0-1	
Use (Explicit or implied substance use)	Yes/no	
Tob (Tobacco, including cigarettes, cigars, chewing tobacco, and hookah)	#	
Alc (Alcohol, including beer, wine, champagne, liquor, mixed drinks)	#	
Other (other illicit substances including marijuana, cocaine, heroin, hallucinogens, inhalants and prescription drugs)	#	
AssocViol (Substance use associated with violence)	Yes/no	
AssocSex (Substance use associated with sexual activity)	Yes/no	

Appendix B

Coding Manual (adapted from Primack, et al., “Degrading,” 2008; and Coyne et al, 2012)

Overall Violence

0=none

1=incidental (defined as a threat or an action that could or did cause harm but not loss of life)

2=prominent (defined as a threat or an action that could cause loss of life, or multiple very harmful actions or threats)

*Violent actions are defined as actions taken with the intent to hurt or harm another individual who does not wish to be harmed. This can include attacks with the body (Pushing, hitting/punching, kicking, slapping, pinching, biting, scratching, or pulling hair) or attacks with weapons, including firearms, blades, poisons, explosives, or any object thrown in order to cause harm.

Direct Overall Consequences of Violence (Is the Violence Glorified?)

-1 = negative consequences of violence (when the violent activity results in short or long term negative consequences to the user: getting arrested, getting injured, suffering a car accident, socially excluded, emotionally affected, losing family, being fired, etc.)

0 = no direct consequences of violence

1 = positive consequences of violence/ glorification (when the violent activity results in short or long term positive consequences to the user: getting the girl/boy, social acceptance, or pleasurable sensation).

Overall Sex

0=none

1=incidental (one or two references to a sexual act or strongly implied reference to sexual act)

2=prominent (more than three references to the sexual act)

* ‘Sex’ refers to an actual sexual act, including vaginal, oral, or anal sex and masturbation, but does not include flirting, winking, kissing, making out, etc.

* Terms such as ‘ho’, ‘whore’, ‘bitch’, ‘little dirty girl’ and ‘prostitute’ are coded 1 for sex and in most cases 1 for degrading.

Direct Overall Consequences of Sex

-1 = negative consequences of sex (when the sexual activity results in short or long term negative consequences to the user: getting arrested, unwanted pregnancy, sexually transmitted disease, getting hurt, socially excluded, emotionally affected, losing family, being fired, etc.)

0 = no direct consequences of sex

1 = positive consequences of sex (when the sexual activity results in short or long term positive consequences to the user: getting the girl/boy, social acceptance, etc).

Degrading Sex

If sex is 1 or 2, a degrading score is required.
 0 = non-degrading sexual reference, whereas
 1 = degrading sexual reference.

*A degrading sexual reference is defined as one in which one of the sexual partners is objectified and/or emphasis is placed solely on physical attributes and where there is a power differential between sex partners.

Substance Use

Actual or implied substance use is referenced in the song and is not limited to the singer. This would include holding, acquiring, consuming or offering any of the substances tracked for in this manual, *irrespective of purpose of use* (boosting courage, relaxing, celebrating, etc).

1 = yes

2 = no

Tobacco

- Number of references to use of this substance; includes cigarettes, cigars, smokeless tobacco, hookah

Alcohol

- Number of references to use of this substance; includes beer, wine/champagne, liquor, mixed drinks

Other Substance Use

- Number of references to use of other substances including marijuana, cocaine, heroin, hallucinogens, inhalants, and prescription drugs.

AssocViol

Substance use associated with (resulting from, leading to, in connection with) violence

1= yes

2= no

*There is a clear description narrative or text of the song of violent activity either resulting from, leading to, or otherwise connected with substance use of any kind.

AssocSex

Substance use associated with (resulting from, leading to, in connection with) sex

1=yes

2=no

*There is a clear description narrative or text of the song of sexual activity either resulting from, leading to, or otherwise connected with substance use of any kind.