2014-01-01

The Influence Of Protest Songs On The U.s. Public: A Vietnam War Perspective

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my loving wife, Peggy Ann. Your unwavering support and encouragement provided me the strength and determination to complete this journey. Lastly, to my parents, Consuelo and Gabriel Carrillo, for teaching me to meet life's challenges with courage, grace, and faith.

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by

JUAN RENE CARRILLO, Bachelor of Arts

THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at El Paso

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Communication

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO

May 2014

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Roberto Avant-Mier. Your guidance and profound knowledge of popular music challenged me to explore areas of music that I might have otherwise overlooked. Your generosity in sharing your experience and knowledge made this journey all the more enjoyable. I would also like to thank my other thesis committee members Dr. Eduardo Barrera and Dr. Lucía Durá. Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the important role other professors played in my education. They include Dr. Stacey Sowards, Dr. Kenneth Yang and Dr. Arvind Singhal.

Abstract

With the Vietnam War as the backdrop for various controversial and divisive issues that were the topics of protest songs during the mid- to late 1960s and early 1970s, this study employs historical criticism to explore the relationship between protest songs and radio, and their influence on the U.S. public, particularly youth. Historical criticism is further used in combination with textual analysis to gain an understanding of and provide the context for important songs from each of the main youth oriented music genres of the period--folk, rock, and soul. This research project also examines the communicative and sociological linkages between protest songs, the creation of a community, and the antiwar movement, which the author argues all ultimately led to a public opinion shift helping to bring the war to an end.

Keywords: popular music, protest music, antiwar movement, community, social movements.

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Chapter 1: An Introduction to Protest Songs and the 1960s

The 1960s was one of the most tumultuous periods in U.S. history for a variety of reasons--the Civil Rights Movement, the Sexual Revolution, the Vietnam War, the antiwar movement, etc. This period is particularly interesting due to the large number of songs that were politically-charged or protest songs that were produced during these years. This research project will focus specifically on protest songs associated with the Vietnam War and associated events/issues, and how they influenced the U.S. public. These protest songs were produced across the various genres of popular music of the time, but most notably the youth oriented genres--rock, soul and folk. The protest songs carried an overt or direct message, sometimes a subtle message of the antiwar sentiment of the time.

In order to understand the motivation for the production of a protest song, we must first look at the socio-political environment of the time. The Vietnam War was the first televised war, with stories and actual footage broadcast into U.S. homes on a daily basis. As the war raged on and the lives of U.S. soldiers being killed increased, it became clear to the U.S. public that victory was unattainable and the U.S war effort was called into question. There was also resistance or opposition to the draft as young men were required to enter the military (based on a lottery system), in order to sustain the war effort.

1.1   The U.S. Selective Service System

It was the young male adults who were mostly affected by this war as a result of their eligibility with the United States Selective Service System draft. The U.S. Selective Service System was and remains a governmental agency responsible for maintaining records of youth eligible for conscription into the U.S. military. Upon reaching the age of 18 and up to 25 years of age, males living in the U.S. were and are required to register within 30 days of their 18th birthday to the Selective Service ("Selective Service System," 2013). The registration cards were referred to as draft cards. These draft cards and what they represented were a point of contention and protest. The draft was reinstituted in December 1969, and it had not been implemented since

WWII ("Vietnam War Protests," 2013). Although the draft was discontinued in 1973, prior to this, large numbers of males were called into military service through this system as a means to support the U.S. war effort. The vast numbers of soldiers needed to maintain the war effort were only possible through the draft.

The draft was a controversial system for procuring military manpower. In theory, if you were able-bodied then you served. However, there were various deferments, such as a deferment for being a college student. This, in itself, seemed discriminatory since only the higher socioeconomic class were able to afford attending school. This was a time before widely available student financial aid. Thus, it was alleged that low-income, low-education, and those generally underprivileged individuals were mostly effected by the draft (Fisher, 1969). In a historical review of the Vietnam War and the Selective Service System, Modell and Haggerty (1991) argued that most people in the U.S. preferred to have a "representative" force [military].

> This American value is to a degree distinctive, resting as it does upon the particular senses of the liberal state and of mission that are part of a widely shared American belief system. The ideological implications of a conscript military, for the relationship of government to citizenry, who see it as unrepresentative, are sharp, as was recognized in Vietnam. (pp. 209-210)

There was also an inequity in the burden of fighting. Based on U.S. Army records, Shields (1981) showed that low income, poorly educated men were most likely to see combat. The records indicated that a high school dropout had a 70% probability of a Vietnam tour of duty, while a high school graduate had a 64% probability and a college graduate had a 42% probability.

A closer statistical review of the various factors that contributed to the antiwar sentiment is warranted. For example, by November 1967, the number of U.S. troops was approximately 500,000 with 15,058 killed and 109,527 wounded. There was also the economic factor with the Vietnam War costing $25 billion per year, which touched every U.S. taxpayer. The highly controversial draft system was calling as many as 40,000 young men into service per month

("Vietnam War Protests," 2013). It is around these types of divisionary issues that allowed the writers of protest songs to draw inspiration.

1.2   Vietnam War Timeline

It is also important to understand the timeline of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. This lengthy commitment allowed the U.S. public to draw opinions about the necessity and wisdom of having U.S troops in Vietnam. Interestingly, there is debate as to the exact date of the start of the Vietnam War. For example, Rotter (1999) began a timeline as early as 1954, when U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower dispatched military advisors to assist in creating a government in the newly born South Vietnam nation. Later in 1961, under President John F. Kennedy, Green Berets [Special Operations Forces] were sent to teach the South Vietnamese how to fight against the Communist guerillas. By the time Kennedy was assassinated in 1963, there were 16,000 military advisors in South Vietnam. However, it was under President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965 that the U.S. began combat operations by bombing North Vietnam with U.S. aircraft and dispatching 3,500 Marines to South Vietnam (Rotter, 1999). Thus, many view 1965 as the beginning of the war, but others also argue that the military advisors sent to Vietnam under President Kennedy were not just there to provide training. As the U.S. public began to voice their dissatisfaction with the growing war and the draft, musicians and songwriters found the protest song to be an effective vehicle to communicate their views. The ramifications of using songs as a form of protest were greater though, involving the creation of a community and a social movement.

1.3   The Protest Song and Radio

U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War continued into the early 1970s. As more U.S. soldiers' lives were lost to this armed conflict, opposition to the U.S. government's war effort increased, and eventually developed into an antiwar movement. Antiwar protestors used various methods to voice their dissatisfaction including sit-ins, demonstrations, marches, draft card burnings, etc. Although there were different forms of protest, arguably one of the most influential was the protest song. The protest song and its affiliation with radio created a powerful

tool by which the proponents of peace disseminated their messages for ending the war or ending U.S. involvement. With the proliferation and widespread popularity of AM radio and later FM radio, this powerful medium was able to disseminate the antiwar messages to an immeasurable number of listeners, most notably the young adults. In part, it was the intersection of protest songs and FM radio that contributed in creating a community of individuals with disparate socioeconomic, political, ethnic, and religious backgrounds to become an organizing force for the antiwar movement.

In 1970, the Vietnam War was still claiming numerous U.S. soldiers' lives. The three major television networks of the time CBS, NBC, and ABC (they were in fact the only U.S. television networks) carried stories and war footage on a daily basis. Visions of war, previously known only to combat personnel and veterans, became known to the common public. Images of U.S. soldiers being carried off in body bags and multiple flag-draped coffins being loaded off of air transport planes were not images that the U.S. public was accustomed to seeing. This war was indeed, the first televised war, and it was brought directly into U.S. living rooms. However, radio played just as an important, if not more important role by assisting in the creation of a community through protest songs that advanced the antiwar movement. This year [1970] saw a protest song become a number one hit, "War" by Edwin Starr (Bronson, 2003).

While protest songs in and of themselves have the capacity to influence the public there was another significant factor that played a decisive and essential role, and it had a profound effect on the delivery of the antiwar message. FM radio and the protest song intersected at this point in history producing a symbiotic relationship between an art form and technology, with the capacity to influence the public and ultimately, effect governmental policy.

Prior to this period in history, radio had been controlled and formatted according to the "tastes" of the cultural elite. According to Bourdieu (1984), it was the "tastes" of the cultural elite, given that they were the dominant power, that dictated what was being played and ultimately listened to by the radio audience. Their very existence should allow their level of excellence to be imposed on radio programming. The cultural guardians' tastes called for radio to

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be used as a tool for education and for airing classical music. However, this powerful medium was about to be become a galvanizing weapon for the "proletariat." According to Marx and Engels (1932), "the class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time of mental production" (p. 6). In other words, the ideas of the ruling class will prevail over the ideas of the working class. These paradigms were about to be shifted 180 degrees with the advent of the progressive radio format. Radio was about to become a tool in the struggle by which mass society [culture] informed, resisted, and advanced their views of dissatisfaction with those in government and the continuation of the war. This, in turn, caused a major fundamental shift in the way the public viewed the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

The protest songs that emerged during the Vietnam era were readily played on FM radio. This was a format expressly for the U.S youth. It was these youths that were being most affected by the Vietnam War because of the U.S. Selective Service draft and also the primary target audience for progressive stations. The use of radio and its influence on youth is essential in understanding its symbiotic relationship with protest songs.

One of the fundamental methods of studying communication is based on the Uses and Gratification Theory (U&G). The U&G theory has three main objectives 1) to explain how individuals use mass media or what people do with media, 2) to discover the underlying motives for individuals' media use, and 3) to identify the positive and negative consequences of individual media use. This theory places the emphasis on the listener as being actively engaged in choosing a specific medium to satisfy a need(s). The U&G theory is important in that one of its main premises is that a given listener is fully aware of his/her choice(s) in listening to radio (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1973-1974). Thus, this implies that listening to a protest song on the radio, for example, is a conscious choice. Not only is it a conscious choice, but it is satisfying a specific need in the listener. As director of the Office of Radio Research, Paul Lazarsfeld authored a study on radio and its role in communicating ideas. Lazarsfeld studied an individual's socio-economic status as an indicator of the type of radio programs a person listened to and the amount of time spent listening to the radio. A prominent finding was that those in the higher

social class listened to radio less than their counterparts, and they listened to more serious types of programming (Lazarsfeld, 1940). This is noteworthy in that the Vietnam era youth from the lower socio-economic groups were the group most impacted by the draft. It was these same youth that radio of the 1960s and 1970s was geared for. The youth oriented music genres of the time--rock, soul and folk--all had artists that were writing protest songs. Evidence suggested that the intersection of radio and protest music played a crucial role in the creation of a form of resistance against the war and the draft, in the creation of community, and ultimately, in the formation of a social movement, namely the antiwar movement.

1.4   Freedom Songs and the Civil Rights Movement

In the U.S. the sociological connection between protest music and social movements is not limited to the antiwar movement of the 1960s. During that same era, the civil rights movement and popular music created an interesting way of viewing the politics, human struggle, segregation, discrimination, and events surrounding equal rights in the U.S. Referred to as freedom songs, these protest songs served as a tool to rally, unite, and inspire protestors to continue the nonviolent struggle for equality.

The protest song, however, is not unique to the U.S. Throughout the world, protest songs have been associated with social change and with resistance. Domestically, the antiwar movement was not the first time that songs played a pivotal role in a social movement. The origins of the use of protest songs during the civil rights movement did not have its inception in the U.S youth and their intersection with technology, as was the case during the Vietnam era. Instead, it was the African-American churches that were the impetus behind the use of music/songs. While music/songs undeniably played an important role in the civil rights movement, some researchers contend that it was religion that played a more important role in the success of this collective action. The teachings of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (MLK) invoked a nonviolent approach to protest, in line with traditional Christian teachings of nonviolence. Williams (2002) indicated that the culture within the African-American churches was a "culture of hope" and it was "this culture of hope that provided boycotters with a range of meanings to

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find solace and empowerment in giving hope to succeeding generations that it was possible to abolish oppression" (p. 212).

In the struggle for racial equality, there was the need for an organizing institutional structure to serve as a focal point to bring together the social collective. In the case of the U.S. civil rights movement, the black churches served as the primary organizing body. Morris (1964) indicated that the black churches provided the organized base of followers, leadership composed of clergymen which were mostly independent of the white majority and experienced in managing people and economic resources, a system for financing the protest/movement, and a centralized meeting place for the protestors to strategize. Morris (1964) further argued that, "The black church supplied the civil rights movement with a collective enthusiasm generated through a rich culture consisting of songs, testimonies, oratory, and prayers that spoke directly to the needs of an oppressed group" (p. 4). Given the importance of the church as a formal organizing structure, it is logical that spirituals, hymns and other types of music associated with the church played a part in the social movement.

Freedom songs [protest songs] played an important role in the U.S. civil rights movement of the 1960s. According to numerous individuals and activists interviewed by Sanger (1997), song was more effective than speech in the expression of feelings. Moreover, the activists indicated that singing was essential to advancing the movement. Sanger (1997) commented on the importance of song, "It was also portrayed as a privileged and privileging form of communication—activists gave it a special place in their rhetorical storehouse because they perceived singing as providing them with rhetorical options less available through other forms of communication" (p. 185). Sanger pointed to activist's recurrent comments on their perception, "that singing gave them access to a level of emotion and spirituality that they considered essential to their success" (p. 185).

The Black civil rights leaders did not have the same access to electronic media as the white majority. As such, protest music was often heard in the churches, meetings, marches and other events/activities associated with the civil rights movement. Since the church played an

important role in the movement, freedom songs often evolved from traditional spirituals, gospel songs, and hymns. Hsiung (2005) indicated that protestors changed the lyrics to these songs to suit the moment.

On a more intimate and personal level, MLK found solace in music during his moments of downheartedness. In an interview conducted by the *Times-Picayune* to promote the PBS documentary *The March* [aired 2013], Clarence Jones, a close confidant of MLK, confided that when MLK felt depressed he called upon Mahalia Jackson [renowned gospel singer and activist] to sing to him over the telephone. Comforting him with songs such as "Jesus Met the Old Woman at the Well," "The Old Rugged Cross" and other favorites, King listened, and sometimes tears streamed down his face (Walker, 2013).

It is clear that the use of protests songs have played an influential role is U.S. social movements. However, the use of protest songs during the civil rights movement and the antiwar movement are in contrast. The songs of the civil rights movement were primarily pre-existing songs where the lyrics had been adapted specifically for the movement. In the case of the antiwar movement, the songs were newly composed to voice the dissatisfaction and sentiment of the time. Moreover, the activists of the antiwar movement were able to more readily access the radio airwaves as a result of the progressive radio format.

1.5 The Role of Other Media

The primary media during the 1960s were television, radio, and print [newspapers and magazines]. Each, in its own way, contributed to influence public opinion on the war in Vietnam. In the case of television and print, its capacity to influence public opinion was via the delivery of news. In the early 1960s, a survey conducted by the Roper Organization for the Television Information Office showed the importance of these two media in their ability to reach an audience. Hallin (1986) referring to this survey showed, "... newspapers and television running about even in the number of people saying they 'got most of their news' from each medium. With multiple responses permitted, 58% said television; 56%, newspapers; 26%, radio; and 8%, magazines" (p. 106). However, in just a few years, television became the primary source for

getting news by the U.S. public. That fundamental shift in news consumption coincided with 1972 being the last year that Vietnam was a major new story, and the Roper survey showing that "TV led newspapers by 64% to 50%" (p. 106).

Initially, coverage of the war was generally in support of the war. Research conducted by Entman (1989) relating to how people process news indicated that, "Americans exercise their idiosyncratic dispositions as they ponder the news, but the media's selection of data makes a significant contribution to the outcome of each person's thinking" (p. 361). With the news on the Vietnam War running on a daily basis, there is little doubt that television and print had an influence on public opinion. It was only after the public became exposed to the horrors of war that their views toward the conflict began to change.

While television and print sought to inform and influence public opinion through the delivery of news stories and pictures, radio uniquely did so through the airing of protest songs. It should be noted that the 1960s was a decade in which there were no music videos, MTV or dedicated concert/music channels. It is undisputed that music is a form of communication. The implication then is that if music is a method of communication, then it follows that this medium has the capacity to convey a message such as an antiwar sentiment and become an organizing tool. This established form of communication has the ability to reach beyond social boundaries created by nation, language, and time/space that create obstructions to communicate (Chaffee, 1985). Chaffee reinforces the view by many musicologists that music is a universal language.

1.6   Song and Politics

Various songwriters were motivated to compose protest songs as a result of the events and issues associated with the Vietnam War. Arguably, no other period in U.S. history has spurred the number of protest songs before or since. While songwriters may write a song with a specific intent, ultimately, Dunaway (1987) suggested it is the listener's own interpretation that makes it a protest song. Dunaway (1987) provides an interesting definition, "Music may be said to be political when its lyrics or melody evoke or reflect a political judgment by the listener" (p. 36). This definition serves to broaden the scope of what constitutes a protest song since the

listener's interpretation is the determining factor in making a specific musical piece a protest song. Dunaway expands the definition by noting that one must also study the context of song, "the communicative function of a particular work in a particular setting at a particular place in time" (p. 36). Most certainly, in the case of the Vietnam era protest songs, the communicative aspects of these protest songs were instrumental in underscoring the social and political environment in the U.S.

There is an indication that songs go beyond being a form of protest and wield the power to influence listeners to a greater degree. Augmenting the thought that protest songs can be a form of propaganda or even a weapon against existing governmental structures, some governments have taken the step to limit or even forbid the performance of such music as it poses a direct threat to the security of a nation. If then, those in power view certain types of music as a threat to their stability or even existence, this suggests that protest music can be a forceful and effective manner in which to convey a message, spread an ideology, and affect the listener (Côté, 2011). Côté argued that this can lead to the mobilization of individuals into "politically active communities"(p. 738).

As exemplified by the civil rights movement's freedom songs and the protest songs of the Vietnam War era, songs can be a source of empowerment. These songs were written and performed to challenge the existing social power and/or ideology. They also created a vehicle for the "collective imagination of compensatory or utopian social spaces and for new forms of identity formation, effectively reconfiguring boundaries between pre-existing, dominant and dominating, social categories" (Tilley, 2011, p. 351). The implication is that the use of a song is not limited in use to just the non-dominant group(s), but also to those in power.

Music/song and politics are two areas of human activity that are distinct. Politics by definition deals with individuals and their organization within a society. While music, is an art form dealing with sound and lyrics and embedded with meaning. Nonetheless, the two have become entwined over the course of history with protest songs dealing with political thoughts sometimes leading to actions such as protest and social movements, and governments seeking to

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control and/or censor the art form due to its perceived influence on individuals. Of course, when seen as an advantage, governments have also utilized music to help achieve their own goals.

In an authoritarian and other repressive systems, the government seeks to control all aspects of individual life, completely doing away with personal freedoms. This includes controlling culture and ideology. In the Nazi state created by Adolf Hitler, music was seen as being cultural and political, and a means to express its fascist and racist views (Street, 2012). Official policy called for the creation of the National Socialist Reich Orchestra and the Bayreuth Festival which promoted officially sanctioned music indicating the importance and value Hitler placed on music (Street, 2012). With the creation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the government sought to control song content as a means to maintain power against possible opposition and to promote patriotism (Ho, 2000). Victor Jara's songs criticizing the loss of democracy and civil rights in Chile during the dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet eventually led to Jara being tortured and executed in 1973 (Nandorfy, 2003). Prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the communist government effectively censored music by allowing only government approved groups to use the state-run recording facilities (Survilla, 1994).

In recent times, fearing the continued use of extreme violence by Mexico's drug cartels and the glamorization of drug lords, the Mexican state of Chihuahua took the unprecedented step of banning *narcocorridos* [drug ballads] from being played on the radio, television, and live concerts ("Mexico: Chihuahua's Parliament Passes Law," 2011). The law, passed in May 2011, seen by some as censorship was nonetheless viewed by lawmakers as a step to help stem the violence that has caused thousands of deaths going back to the late 2000s. In 2013, rapper Ahmed Ben Ahmed also known as Klay BBJ, was sentenced by a Tunisian court to six months in jail for a song that derided the police and the Islamist-led government (Amara, 2013).

The use of music as a political means is certainly not limited to authoritarian regimes. The U.S. has seen the value of utilizing music as a propaganda tool making a definite connection

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between music and politics. Ansari (2012) argued that the only conflict that took place during the Cold War between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. was a battle of ideologies. In this conflict the arts became significant. It was a way for the public to explore their feelings regarding Cold War issues. President Dwight D. Eisenhower established a form of music diplomacy by establishing the President's Special International Program for Cultural Presentations. Ansari indicated that this program was designed to fund music tours abroad with the intent of, "depicting music as a psychological tool that could counteract the stereotypical perception of Americans" (p. 1). In her research at the Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum, Ansari uncovered a private memo between President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. In this memo, Eisenhower suggested that the meaning of psychological warfare be expanded by writing, "psychological warfare can be anything from the singing of a beautiful hymn up to the most extraordinary kind of physical sabotage" (Ansari, 2011). However, the primary reason for these tours was to influence the attendees, whether pro-U.S. or anti-U.S., that the political and economic system practiced by the U.S. was superior to communism (Rosenberg, 2012).

In the U.S., the 1960s and early 1970s brought about an unprecedented number of protest songs. A song composed by Bob Dylan, "Blowin' in the Wind" (1963), focused on a wide range of social problems including the war, while Phil Ochs's "I Ain't Marching Anymore" (1965) and Edwin Starr's performance of "War" (1970), protested the Vietnam War in no uncertain terms. The song "Ohio" (1970) by Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young, protested the highly controversial killing of unarmed students at Kent State University which were protesting the expansion of the war into Cambodia. "Feel Like I'm Fixin' to Die Rag" (1967) by Country Joe McDonald and The Fish was a satirical song calling listeners to question the draft and Wall Street's profiting from the war. Creedence Clearwater Revival's "Fortunate Son" (1969) criticized the elite and their

patriotic fervor for the war. John Lennon, although being British, nonetheless wrote "Give Peace a Chance" (1969) and "Imagine" (1971) as pleas for peace. These artists and numerous others recognized the potential in their songs as being a form of resistance, and as an effective method to spread their personal views and the sentiments of many Americans, particularly the youth. In the 1990s, Crosby, Stills and Nash attended the 27th annual commemoration of the Kent State Massacre. When Graham Nash was asked the reason for their attendance and about the song ["Ohio"] he responded,

> Four young men and women had their lives taken from them while lawfully protesting this outrageous government action. We are going back [to Kent State] to keep awareness alive in the minds of all students, not only in America, but worldwide…to be vigilant and ready to stand and be counted… and to make sure that the powers of the politicians do not take precedent over the right of lawful protest. (Nash, 1997 [as cited in Doyle, 2009])

1.7   Song and Community

It is common to have a narrow definition of community, limiting it to geography. However, in the study of protest songs and their influence on people during the Vietnam War, it is necessary to widen the definition in order to more completely understand protest song effects. Community implies people having a common or shared interest, it implies a group of people with a common characteristic living within a common space or location, and it implies a body of people having common economic, social, and political interests (Smith, 2001). Hall (1981) stated that in modern day societies, the various media play an important role in the "production, reproduction and transformation of ideologies" (p. 23), and this concept is important as both community and social movements are based on shared beliefs, thoughts or ideologies. Ideologies are part of the fabric which binds social entities together, and such commonalities sanction the

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study of Vietnam Era protest songs and their influence on the U.S. public as these links indicate a direct connection between protest songs, community, social movements and politics.

1.8   Research Questions

Clearly, a song is a form of expression, but does it have the ability to be a seed for the creation of a community? How does protest music become a driving or an organizing force in the creation of a social movement? To establish a link between a song and the creation of a community and a social movement implies that protest songs must be a catalyst for action and/or change. This implies that protest songs are discourse and a catalyst for further discourse making them worthy of study.

Protest songs are of particular interest in this study since, by their very nature, protest songs seek (consciously or subconsciously) to disseminate the views and thoughts of the artists. Often, these views and thoughts are a direct reflection of the community or social movement. Such was the case during the Vietnam era. This study will investigate how protest songs function as a form of resistance, as a medium for spreading propaganda, and in terms of their influence on the listener. This research project will explore the sociological effects of protest songs, in particular community and social movements. Here I am speaking of community in sociological terms. This research project will seek to answer the following questions:

(RQ1) How did protest songs during the Vietnam War influence the U.S. public?

(RQ2) What was the role of radio in helping advance the principles and thoughts advocated by the protest songs?

(RQ3) What were the effects of protest songs on the antiwar movement?

(RQ4) How do protest songs from the Vietnam era compare with the freedom songs of the Civil Rights Movement?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Since its inception, radio became a part of our lives as a form of entertainment and as a means to receive news and information. The 1960s and 1970s saw radio and the content it carried become a catalyst for social change. With the political and social turbulence caused by the Vietnam War, radio became a vehicle by which the status quo, the power elites and governmental policies were challenged. The discontent felt by the young people was reflected in popular music, particularly rock and other youth oriented genres and disseminated through radio.

Radio has been an ever present part of U.S. life for over half a century yielding political and cultural clout. Yet, it has not been duly reflected in U.S. historiography or popular culture and media studies (Savage, 1999). Keith (2007) pointed out the increase of college-level electronic media related courses during the 1960s and 1970s, which mostly focused on production or operations. He argued that teachers and scholars negated the profound role that the world's first electronic mass medium played on life in the U.S. Of course, equally important was the content carried over the radio airwaves that made this medium play an important role during the Vietnam War period.

In the 1900s, one of the primary approaches to communication research that developed was the media effects orientation that came from the Frankfurt School of Sociology in Germany. The theorists from the Frankfurt School linked critical social theory and the role of culture and communication as it relates to social reproduction and domination, and the effect of media on an audience. This orientation developed out of World War II as these scholars had been witnesses to the propaganda machine created by Adolf Hitler and its effects on the public. The Frankfurt School scholars viewed communication suspiciously believing that media messages had an influence on reactive individuals. The audience, in their view, was passive in nature and reacted

to the message being disseminated by a given medium. T.W. Adorno was one of the Frankfurt School's leading theorists. Adorno (1991) viewed mass culture as being a culture industry responsible for the production or creation of works for mass consumption, and he viewed these productions as being manipulative in nature.

The Uses and Gratification Theory (U&G) is another theory by which to study communication. The media uses orientation or approach to communication research views the audience as being actively engaged in selecting and utilizing media content to satisfy or gratify certain needs, interests, and expectations (Rubin, 1979). An important premise of U&G is that a given listener is fully aware of his/her choice(s) in listening to radio (Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch, 1973-1974). In the U.S., while director of the Office of Radio Research, Paul Lazarsfeld conducted a study on radio that indicated that the higher an individual's socio-economic status the less they listened to radio when compared to their counterparts. They also listened to more serious types of programming (Lazarsfeld, 1940).

2.1   Arguments Against Songs Having an Influence and Being Political

An important aspect to consider is whether a song can be political or capable of conveying a political thought or ideology. The ability to transmit a political idea must be a fundamental characteristic of a protest song's efficacy. There are, however, opposing views to this thought. Sartre (1949) viewed music and other arts differently from literature indicating that only literature was capable of conveying or articulating a political thought. Adorno (1988) explained his views on music being able to communicate a political idea by writing,

> Music is nonobjective and not unequivocally identifiable with any moments of the
>
> outside world. At the same time, being highly articulated and well-defined within itself, it
>
> is nonetheless commensurable, however indirectly, with the outside world of social

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reality. It is a language, but it is a language without concepts. (p. 44)

There are also opposing views of the capability of music to deliver a message based on the ability of a radio listener to derive meaning out of a song. Research has been conducted on the listeners' ability to elicit meaning or comprehension from music lyrics. A study by Prinsky and Rosenbaum (1987) indicated that the youth that participated in their study derived only a vague or superficial understanding of lyrics. In fact, the students were not able to meaningfully discuss 37% of the songs they had listed as being favorites. Some of the comments provided included, "I don't listen to the words, only how the song sounds. I don't give a damn what they say" (p. 387). In a separate question, they were asked to indicate the reason that they liked their favorite songs, and "I want to listen to the words," was the least selected of the choices (p. 387). Likewise, a study by Denisoff and Levine (1971) showed that their test subjects [college students] were unable to identify the topic of the song "Eve of Destruction" (1965) by Barry McGuire. It should be noted that this was one of the most popular protest song during the 1960s. This research indicated that youths extract only a superficial understanding of the lyrics, much less a political ideology.

Other authors have argued that popular music is not an effective method for political change. Adorno (1941) viewed popular culture as having the role of maintaining social authority. Therefore, he viewed the sense of escapism provided by popular music as actually serving to subjugate individuals to the social power they were seeking to escape. Jovanovic (2005) differentiated between folk music/traditional music and popular music indicating that while the former could be a form of resistance, the latter was artificial in nature and not an effective political tool.

For a song to be an effective political tool, it must be an effective medium for

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disseminating an ideology. However, Grossberg (1988) argued that in postmodern youth culture a community is created that is based on affect as opposed to ideology. He views youth as being a highly diverse group with conflicting social identities, cultural practices, and experiences. As an example, he states that one only look at the wide range of ages of an audience at a Bruce Springsteen concert. As such, these widely divergent audiences will interpret any given media message, such as the lyrics in a song, differently. Thus, the diverse nature of the audiences makes a "culture of sociology impossible" (p. 128). However, he did note that the power of a performance lies in the "affective or emotional structure" in the concert environment (p. 133).

2.2   Songs as a Political Tool

There are researchers who indicate that music/song can serve a purpose beyond entertainment with music/song having political qualities and the lyrics having the capacity to have an impact on the listener. Brecht (1964) was a director, playwright, poet and composer who viewed theater as a medium which leads the audience to inner discourse, to recognize injustices in society and to effect change in the real world by challenging dominant ideologies. Lull (1985) asserted that music possesses communicative properties which serve a socialization function by introducing new ideas/topics and by merging social collectives. Lull further stated that music can affect the listener at the emotional, physical and cognitive levels. Dunaway (1987) argued that while it is the listener's interpretation that determines whether a song is political, he reinforced the notion that the lyrics or melody can "evoke or reflect a political judgment" (p. 36).

Governments' reactions to songs that they consider to be subversive have placed artists and their songs in the category of being a form of propaganda. Propaganda is a form of communication where there is a deliberate intent to disseminate ideas, beliefs, and ideologies to advance a cause or even damage an opposing cause. In order to be effective, both a protest song

and propaganda must have influence on the listener and have the ability to communicate ideas, concepts, and ideologies. As such, a protest song can be described as being a form of propaganda. Denisoff (1968) described a "propaganda song" as a being a tool of persuasion expressly functioning as a means of communication with the intent to deliver ideas, concepts, and ideologies. According to Denisoff,

> Propaganda songs function to achieve six goals: 1) the song elicits and arouses outside support or sympathy for a social movement or attitudinal orientation, 2) the song reinforces the value system of individuals who are a priori supporters of a social movement or ideology, 3) the song creates and promotes cohesion and solidarity in an organization or movement supporting the singer's or composer's ideological position, 4) the song attempts to recruit individuals to join a specific social movement, 5) the song invokes solutions to real or imagined social phenomena in terms of action to achieve a desired goal, and 6) the song directs attention to some problem or situation or discontent, generally in emotion laden terminology. (p. 229)

While Denisoff used the term propaganda song, a protest song and a propaganda song appear to have similar characteristics.

Dunaway (1987) referred to general patterns in the types and functions in political music. Dunaway was specifically referring to both Anglo-American and African-American music, but did note that it could also apply to protest music from other countries. The general topics of political music are concerned with

> (1) Protest and complaint, direct or indirect, against exploitation and oppression. (2) Aspiration toward a better life, a more just society. (3) Topical satire of government, politicians, landlords, capitalists. (4) Political philosophical themes; political and ethical

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ideas. (5) Campaign songs of particular parties and movements. (6) Commemoration of popular struggles past and present. (7) Tributes to heroes and martyrs in the popular cause. (8) Expressions of international working-class solidarity. (9) Comment on industrial conditions and working life and the role of trade unions. (10) Protest against racial and sexual stereotyping. (11) Appeals for renewable energy sources and environmental betterment. (Ashraff, 1975 [in Dunaway, 1987, pp. 39-40])

Denisoff (1968) wrote primarily of folk songs. However, musicians and songwriters during the turbulent 1960s and 1970s were not limited to the folk genre. The characteristics described by the Denisoff study easily applied across other music genres such as soul music and rock music, two other popular genres during this period. In *American Protest Literature* (2006), Stauffer expanded the view by describing protest literature as the use of language to bring about transformation and change to both the individual and society. He did not limit protest literature to the written word, but included music, film, and other visual arts. Stauffer further stated that protest literature was a means to critique society and a manner by which to solve social problems (Stauffer, 2006). The use of music/song in the African American community is commonly known. The Pattillo-McCoy (1998) study of life in a Chicago African-American community showed various practices taking place in the African-American church including call-and-response interaction, moving the body to the music, singing and clapping. For example, the preacher and congregation joined in singing "Jesus, on the main line, tell him what you want" (p. 770). Pattillo-McCoy indicated that these cultural practices served to create a collective identity and as means of political recruitment and activism.

2.3 Protest Songs on the World Stage

As was noted earlier, protest songs are not unique to the U.S. Throughout the world,

governments, particularly repressive regimes, have sought to control popular music and musicians/artists for various reasons including: maintaining order, maintaining the status quo, and controlling exposure of the populace to what the governments consider subversive ideologies. These actions have generally been justified as being carried out for the greater good. As protest songs were being used as a political tool in the U.S. during the 1960s and 1970s, almost simultaneously musicians in other parts of world were using songs to disseminate their own messages to raise awareness to the problems/issues around them.

On the African continent, protest songs have covered a wide range of subjects including racial inequality, government abuses, and various social problems/issues. Fela Kuti was a Nigerian musician and composer. In the 1970s, his Afrobeat music centered on social issues and was listened to not just in Nigeria, but throughout Africa. He formed the Kalakuta Republic which was a commune, recording facility and home to many connected with his band. His music was anti-establishment and shed light on military abuses, leading to a military attack on his home, the murder of his mother, and Kuti being severely beaten (Ogunde, 1998). Mano (2010) pointed out that the embedding of meaning in the music was based on the strong African oral tradition. Mano argued that popular music was created as a reaction to adverse social conditions. It was a method by which the oppressed brought focus on social issues/problems, question and fight against those in power who were unwilling to accept the popular will. Mano further explained that popular musicians go beyond providing entertainment and provide "news" through their music on a wide range of topical subjects/issues (p. 91).

In Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s, artists used music as a form of protest known as *Nueva Canción*. In Argentina, this song movement was best exemplified by Atahualpa Yupanqui and Mercedes Sosa with these artists integrating ancient traditional Andean music with

socially conscious lyrics (Moreno, 2009). In Chile, the military junta ruled by General Augusto Pinochet carried out some of the worst abuses of human rights in the 20th century. In the late 1960s and early 70s, Victor Jara was a highly popular folk singer and committed to a socialist society. His music expressed the extreme poverty, the injustices, and the population's deprivation as a result of the numerous government abuses. In the military coup that brought Pinochet to power, Jara was arrested, tortured and killed (De Luca, 2013).

In 1976, after the cultural revolution in China, most 20th century music or modern music was condemned by the communist regime as being political in nature and anti-government. Through the government's control of public broadcasting, rock music saw very little airplay (Ho, 2000). This same author credited the proliferation of modern electrical appliances such as radios, cassettes, television, etc., as opening the door to popular music and the rise of Chinese rock and roll. Ho continued, "Chinese rock has come to be seen as a central agent of popular resistance against the political systems...since the mid-1980s" (p. 343).

From the early nineteenth century to the 1970s, the Australian government implemented a plan to assimilate the continent's indigenous people into the dominant [white] Australian community. The plan was carried out by forcibly taking Aboriginal children from their families, making them wards of the state and placing them in institutions and it came to be known as the "Stolen Generations" (Read, 1981). These actions and the Stolen Generations became the focus of numerous protest songs. Through interviews with indigenous Australian women, Barney and Mackinlay (2010) indicated that the women used music as a coping mechanism to help them deal with the traumatic experience of having their children taken away and "the trans-generational trauma of colonization that continue to affect indigenous people in Australia" (p. 2).

Popular music is a primary element in culture/society and can serve different functions going beyond the confines of entertainment. Hinds (2010) noted that in the Caribbean, popular music has served as a method of maintaining a collective memory. The author noted that slavery was a common subject in the music, "reliving the past as a lesson for the present and the future" (p. 1). He further indicated that music is used as a tool for confirming identity related to the eradication of the African identity during the periods of colonialism and enslavement. Hinds (2010) summed up the functions,

> The music then becomes an important tool in the quest for reclaiming history and identity. Finally, Caribbean popular music has been a form of resistance against racial, class, and imperialist domination. By highlighting the various forms of inequality and oppression the music becomes the collective resistance that rebukes the oppressor... (p. 1)

Hinds' findings provide universal characteristics of protest music regardless of the music's origin or epoch.

The research has indicated that protest songs are a universally practiced form of communication, rebellion, and identity formation. A song's ability to focus on the sociopolitical issues of a given time and place have allowed it to be used as a tool of persuasion by those wishing to change or challenge the status quo and by those in power, as well. The communicative properties of a song support the transference of complex ideas such as an ideology, and creates a social space for further discourse among its listeners.

The lyrics in protest music served to convey the vision and ideologies not only of the creators of the songs, but of a vast majority of people in the U.S. that wanted the Vietnam War to end. The songs that music groups performed created a new way of thinking--that the Vietnam War was no longer justifiable, and that the injustice being perpetrated on the U.S. soldiers and

their families should not and must no longer be tolerated. Eyerman and Jamison (1995) viewed culture as an area of our existence that dealt with symbols and representations. The authors indicated that society is concerned with the creation and transformation of action entities. These entities have an active effect on conditions of the human state in useful or material ways. Their perspective in the study of social movements views these activities as having the capability to produce new knowledge.

As the U.S. public's opposition to the war grew in the 1960 and 1970s, two powerful mediums intersected to provide a powerful weapon for the artists to voice their discontent to the public and the government. Those two mediums were the protest song and radio. The artists' intent whether consciously or subconsciously, was to create a community capable of applying political pressure to the government to bring home the troops.

2.4   A Psychological Effect on the Listener

While some researchers argue that music listeners pay little or no attention to the lyrics, there are those that insist that music can have a definite affect on the audience's emotions. Juslin and Västfjäll (2008) maintained that music can have an emotional affect on the listener on various levels. The authors described several psychological mechanisms including emotional contagion. This is a process by which the listener perceives an emotion in the music and then the listener, "mimics this expression internally" (p. 565). This emotional contagion is creating a "mechanical account of empathy" (p. 565). The authors indicated that empathy can facilitate social interaction. Thus, this study suggested that if a piece of music is consciously or subconsciously creating an emotional expression, then that emotion can be mirrored in the listener and lead to discourse.

A basic premise of protest music is that it has the capability to affect us by eliciting

emotions. Juslin and Västfjäll (2008) believe there were six mechanisms by which emotion can be evoked through listening to music. They include "1) brain stem reflexes, 2) evaluative conditioning, 3) emotional contagion, 4) visual imagery, 5) episodic memory, and 6) musical expectancy" (p. 563). Fritz and Koelsch (2008) proposed that there may also be a semantic association by which music elicits an emotional response. Roederer (1984) argued that music not only transmits information, but did so through "emotional states" allowing for capturing the attention of large groups of people through a bonding effect leading to cooperative activity and social organization (p. 356). This indicates that there is a relationship between the medium, such as a protest song, and the generation of an affect. Robinson (1994) made a distinction between music expressing various emotional qualities of human personality such as a sad or happy song, and music that affects us emotionally by actually evoking or creating an emotion in the individual. Her overriding argument was that basic feelings aroused by music can indeed contribute to the creation of more complex emotions in the listener. Similarly, Walton (1994) commented that most all music was expressive and that for music to be expressive means that there was a substantial relation to human emotions/feelings. In addition, Walton argued the music has the capacity to stimulate imaginings.

2.5   The Sociological Aspects of a Song

Thought, action, speech and various artifacts such as music are integral elements of culture in learning and disseminating knowledge and information. Culture is composed of various symbolic mechanisms that have meaning and include,

beliefs, ritual practices, art forms and ceremonies, as well as informal cultural practices

such as language, gossip, stories and rituals of daily life. These symbolic forms are the

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means through which social processes of sharing modes of behavior and outlook within

[a] community take place. (Swidler, 1986, p. 273)

The reason social entities exist is to actualize the basic values. Values are the soul or root out of which societies are constructed (Swidler, 1986). If, as Swidler argued, the purpose of social entities is the realization of values, then there must be a complementary or supporting action by which a community mobilizes to achieve a goal(s). A social movement is such an action. Lewis (1985) noted that while social movements are rooted in social discontent, there must also be a process of legitimizing the discontent in order to make it a force of change. He continued by saying that music was important in redefining and creating a social ideology for a social movement.

A community is a social entity which can be described as a group of people who are living in a particular area, or a group of people who are considered a collective because of their shared interests or background. Sharing a value and working as a unit are essential qualities not only of a community, but of social movements, as well. The nation-state is a social construction which functions within the confines of a geographical area with culture and institutions serving to create a sense of unity within the entity (Connell & Gibson, 2003). The authors further explained that music is a cultural form that has been applied in "political context" in the manufacturing and sustainment of identities, such as a national identity (p. 117). Smith (2001) said that community can be explored in three different ways. In terms of a place community, people can share something in common geographically. Next in terms of interest community, people can be linked together by shared or common beliefs. Finally, in terms of communion, there is attachment by the people to a place, group or idea. Songs can serve as a common link within a community.

The argument set forth by Stauffer (2006) that protest literature [includes music] functions as a transformational tool was augmented by Lull (1985) who wrote on the communicative properties of music on a social level with music working on different levels, not only as a source of entertainment but as an agent of social utility. This social function, especially in young people, serves as a way to introduce new topics, merge social collectives, and in the creation of symbols. Thus, the active or frequent use of a medium increased its effect as, "an agent of socialization" (Lull, 1985, p. 364). Moreover, songs had the capacity to have an impact at the emotional, physical, and cognitive levels. Finally, songs assisted in uniting formal social collectivities such as protest movements (Lull, 1985). In a study conducted by Born (2011), the researcher described four planes of social mediation generated by music. "In the second, music conjures up and animates imagined communities, aggregating its listeners into virtual collectivities and publics based on musical and other identifications" (p. 378). The author notably mentioned that music has significant power to create, "imagined or virtual communities" (p. 381).

2.6   The Role of the Individual

The important role of individuals in music, community and social movements cannot be negated. After all, it is their texts that are being studied here. Collective actions are undertaken by individuals comprising a specific group to accomplish a goal or in pursuit of their shared interests (Varenne, 1977). Social movements are a vehicle for a specific view of history and, "articulate new knowledge interests, integrating new concepts or world-view assumptions with organizational innovations and sometimes new approaches to science. This process of identity formation is called cognitive praxis and those actors who make it happen movement intellectuals" (Eyerman & Jamison, 1995, p. 450). Movement intellectuals can be identified as

those individuals whose actions/activities are able to express the "knowledge interests and cognitive identity of social movements" (p. 450). Similarly, Gramsci (1971) referred to "organic intellectuals" (e.g., musicians) as having the capability to change the prevailing paradigm and educate the masses (p. 5). In addition, Gramsci stated that for every social group that comes into existence it is the organic intellectuals that bring the group a sense of its own function within the social and political fields. This then, is the beginning of developing an identity. A similar identity serves as a cornerstone to bring individuals together and develop a community.

2.7   The Relationship Between Youth, Media, and Social Movements

Researchers have viewed the association between youth, media and social movements from various angles including demographically, the effect of media on the population, and media's effect on social movements. Social change has at times taken place through social movements. Social movements are composed of diverse groups of people linked together through common interests with the intent of social change or transformation. In the U.S., social movements have generally been associated with youth, as was the case with the civil right movement, the sexual revolution, and of course, the antiwar movement. The antiwar movement in the 1960s was spawned in college campuses across the country with youthful protestors rebelling against the draft and the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Typically, it is the youth that have provided the drive and the leadership for social change (Keniston, 1962). Ryder (1965) viewed transformation in society in relation to demographics, arguing that young adults had figured prominently in war, revolution, and changes in technology by providing the source for new ideas and followers. Frith (1978) also noted that the primary composition of the antiwar movement were people below thirty years of age, adding that those within this age group were the prime consumers of popular culture.

U.S. social movements during the last century utilized the media as a means to recruit, disseminate information, challenge government policies, and spread ideologies. Social movements are born of the socio-political environment of their time as well as from historical/cultural traditions, with protest songs and performers being a key to the identity formation of a movement (Eyerman & Jamison, 1995). Moreover, Eyerman and Jamison (1995) established a greater connection between popular music and the antiwar movement by indicating, "Movement ideas, images and feelings were disseminated in and through popular music and, at the same time, the movements of the times influenced developments, both in the form and content, in popular music" (p. 452).

Mass media in the 20th century and today are channels of communication utilizing technology, such as radio, television, and print. These technologies are able to reach a nation-wide population almost instantly. Bagdikian (1981) noted that in 1960s the population in the U.S had grown to 180 million. He asserted that the best way to reach an audience was through technological systems of communication such as newspapers/magazines, movies, and commercial broadcasting. He further noted that youth eventually learn to utilize the media on their own terms building a culture bound by music. Armstrong (1981) saw alternative media empowering various public sectors by providing an access to mass media otherwise marginalized by conventional media outlets. The author further argued the importance of alternative media within U.S. social movements in disseminating new ideas, allowing activists to view how their work(s) take shape in society, as a vehicle by which social movements exchanged information and thoughts, and as an outlet of critical perspectives of grassroots political efforts. Social movements utilize the media as a means to 1) gain and mobilize political support, 2) as a way to

validate a movement's views in the mainstream's discourse, and 3) to help expand the movement itself (Gamson &Wolfsfeld, 1993).

In the U.S., the link between music and politics generally involved social/political movements and folk music. For example, research conducted by Denisoff (1971) on folk music and left-wing movements in the U.S. brought focus on political music as a means to express discontent and recruit activists. This view changed in the 1960s when other genres of popular music became identified with the socio-political turbulence of the decade, as well as the era's social movements challenging traditional concepts of what was considered political (Garofalo, 1992).

2.8   Literature Review Summary

There have been opposing views regarding a songs capacity to be political and yielding influence on an individual. Various researchers argued that listeners do not derive a meaningful understanding of a song's lyrics (Prinsky & Rosenbaum, 1987; Denisoff & Levine, 1971). Thus, making it difficult for a listener to derive a political message or concept from a song. While others, attested to a song's communicative properties and their ability to affect the listener at an emotional level which initiated a socialization function by the introduction of new ideas (Brecht, 1964; Lull,1985; Dunaway, 1987).

There is no doubt the important role radio has played in U.S. culture and history. However, what is significant are the opposite views proffered by researchers related to a listener's participatory association with the medium. The 1900s saw communication theorists develop different approaches to studying media and its effects. The scholars from the Frankfurt School viewed media as being a powerful force with the capacity to influence, what they considered to be a passive audience. While other theorists, viewed the audience as being active

participants and using media to satisfy particular needs and interests (Rubin, 1979; Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch, 1973-1974).

These previous studies provide a basis and a justification for studying the influence of protest songs on the U.S. population during the Vietnam War era and their effect on the U.S government and the war. The role of radio as a medium with the ability to reach a youthful audience would be fundamentally critical in disseminating the message(s) within a protest song. Thus, radio's role as a complementary force warrants study, as well.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This research project deals with the communicative effects of protest songs on the U.S. public during the Vietnam War (1963-1973), and the role played by protest songs in the creation of a community and the antiwar movement. In general, qualitative research seeks to study the nature or composition of the human social experience. The social experience or phenomenon is closely tied to its historical setting. The social experience can and does create artifacts, such as songs. As such, qualitative research can examine the social experience, the artifact and its effect which in this case was catalyzed by the media. Similarly, media, in this case radio, can also be examined for content and context. This chapter will explain the rationale behind using historical criticism as the principal methodology for this research project and the use of textual analysis to analyze several protest songs from the Vietnam War era. The use of historical analysis and textual analysis is necessary to uncover and gain understanding of the text found in music, the context of its production and its influence. There is a precedent in utilizing more than one methodology. Bennett (2000) commented that there is debate among popular music theorists regarding the research of music whether it is best approached from a musicological standpoint or more recent sociology or cultural methods. He explained that musicologists argue that the interpretation of popular music lies in finding meaning in the melody and rhythm. While cultural theorists and sociologists look for the meaning in music as a "product of its reception and appropriation by audience..." and that "...particular socio-cultural environments may also play a part in determining how individuals receive music and inscribe meaning into given musical texts" (p. 182). Bennett proposed that interdisciplinary approaches must be combined to understand musical meaning in everyday life. For the purposes of this research project, historical criticism allowed for viewing and analyzing other cultural artifacts such as newspaper/magazine

articles, interviews, recorded materials, etc., to investigate the context which led to the production of protest songs.

The use of textual analysis allows for gaining a deeper understanding of meanings found within music. The meanings within texts can provide insight into the communicative and social intent of the songwriters. Meanwhile, content analysis is not a suitable methodology for this investigation as it is necessary to look beyond the categorization of words and interpret their meaning based within the context that they were created. Frith (1989) provided support for this view by commenting that content analysts look at lyrics only superficially, giving equal value to the words of songs without taking into consideration the performance or musical setting. Moreover, Frith affirmed coding lyrics statistically concerned itself with what words describe, but did not allow for the significance of the words as language.

It is difficult to show a cause-effect relationship between protest songs and bringing the Vietnam War to an end. Instead, this research project will investigate the relationship between protest songs, community and the antiwar movement from a communicative point of view. By utilizing deductive logic, the interplay between these relationships will be explored to see if and how protest songs may have been instrumental in helping bring the Vietnam War to end. Babbie (2010) indicated that deduction or deductive reasoning is a logic model used in academic inquiry in which you move from the general to the specific. He further noted that conclusions drawn from social research methods, "are usually suggestive rather than definitive" (p. 19). Due to the discursive nature of protest songs, qualitative research methods provide the best approach for studying their effects, as other methodologies (i.e., quantitative and even some qualitative) because of their rigidity do not allow the researcher to fully explore the subjective nature of music texts.

3.1   Qualitative Textual Analysis

Fundamentally important to this research project is to determine what constitutes a text. In Plato's *Republic* (trans. 1970), the philosopher stated that a song was comprised of three elements--the words, the melody, and the rhythm. It is worth noting that Plato stressed that there was no difference between words that were set to music and those which were not. This statement sets up early documented support for considering lyrics to be a text. Fox (1995) reinforced this view by arguing that texts do not have to be written. He explained that any object or social practice produced by culture which can be interpreted symbolically or reinterpreted can be regarded as a text. In exploring research methods for postmodern social theory, Fox (1995) proposed intertextuality (how one text influences another) and the genealogical approaches to research writing. He further argued that genealogy as a research method is fundamentally intertextual analysis offering a way of understanding texts as they appear in other social forms such as protest (Fox, 1995). Lyrics are a form of text, no less communicative or expressive than written works, and are laden with meaning. Thus, these texts derived from music are a symbolic artifact, allowing them to be interpreted and making them a site for viewing and analyzing culture and society. It can argued that intertextuality goes beyond studying how one text influences another. One can deduce that culture influence texts, and in turn, texts influence culture.

Music texts can be studied in various manners. One method is to examine the communicative and sociological effects of these texts. The lyrics or texts, of course, are the primary vehicle for the delivery of a thought or message. As such textual analysis can provide an insight into the ideas and ideologies of the songwriters. The lyrics can also serve as a reflection of the public's view or opinion of the issues/events of the period. Pichaske (1999) argued that

rock lyrics are in fact poetic texts that serve as tools for social analysis and are thus worthy of literary criticism. "Rock songs do virtually everything that traditional, or linear poetry does--with the possible exception of making a shape on the page" (p. 96). This characteristic is not exclusive to rock text, but popular music texts, in general.

With youth being the largest population segment that was directly effected by the Vietnam War, the ideal music genres to examine are those that directly targeted the youth audience. During the 1960s and 1970s, those music genres were rock, soul, and folk music. As such, one exemplar was chosen from each of these genres to represent the larger individual genre. While the lyrics play an important part of this study, the overarching focus of my study will be the examination of protest songs' influence on the U.S. public as it pertains to the development of community and the antiwar movement. Thus, the three main areas of this study will deal with 1) the communicative influence of Vietnam War era protest songs in the U.S., 2) the protest song's role in the creation of a community comprised primarily of U.S. youth, and 3) the role of protest songs in the U.S. antiwar movement during the 1960s and early 1970s.

Since, the topics of the protest songs (i.e., stopping the war and ending the draft) remained consistent it would have been redundant to conduct textual analysis on numerous songs. Moreover, the abundance and popularity of protest songs across the youth oriented genres made it possible to narrow the analysis to a single song in each genre that was representative for rock, soul and folk music. While each genre may have easily been represented by any number of songs, the songs that were finally selected to undergo textual analysis were based on the social and communicative significance each had during the 1960s and 1970s. Social and communicative significance can be qualified by any number of factors including its effect on the public, the wide listenership based on its position in ratings charts, or its focus on a

historic/pivotal event(s) during the era. As such, the protest songs selected are as follows:

- Folk: "Blowin' in the Wind" by Bob Dylan (1963)

- Rock: "Ohio" by Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young (1970)

- Soul: "War" by Edwin Starr (1970)

A more detailed explanation of the justification for selecting these protest songs is provided later in this chapter. It is anticipated that these three songs will provide the reader an understanding of artists' use of song as a form of protest and rebellion, and as initiating discourse among its listeners about the Vietnam War and other issues.

Furthermore, the content transmitted through media can be studied through qualitative textual analysis. Babbie (2010) referred to this methodology as a means to view preserved human communication which can include books, websites, paintings, etc. Fairclough (2003) set forth the concept of texts being tied to social events, that is, texts can be representative of the physical, social and mental worlds. For example, while lyrics are not text in the traditional sense, such as a book, they are no less a form of communication expressing the thoughts of their author. Moreover, texts as elements of social events have the ability to bring about change in our knowledge, value system, ideologies and beliefs, and thus can have causal effects. Thus, protest songs were representational of the physical, social, and mental spheres of the Vietnam Era and are a worthy subject for academic study.

Song lyrics differ from other text documents in that they can contain numerous types of literary and musical devices to capture the listener's attention and imagination. These devices can include the use of metaphors, simile, call-and-response, etc. Moreover, it is not uncommon for the composer to use slang. The standard use of language is associated with conformity while slang can be a form of rebellion and group identification (Coleman, 2012). Therefore, this

investigation will examine elements such as lyrics in combination with the literary/musical devices employed by the songwriters of the selected artifacts as a method to help explain their communicative aspects. The study and use of literary devices has its roots in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (trans. 2004) which viewed the voice and language as means to persuade through the incorporation of knowledge. Foss (1996) indicated that the use of textual analysis to examine media artifacts can expose the meaning(s) and the manner in which they reinforce or even undermine the prevailing ideology and/or social class/system. Thus, the examination of the literary/musical devices in conjunction with the lyrics allows for an understanding of the protest song.

Communication researchers use various forms of interpretative analysis to study artifacts. The primary purpose of textual analysis is to search for a deeper understanding or meaning and explore possible meanings or significance. Thus, textual analysis will be employed to complement the historical criticism approach. *The Prospect of Rhetoric* (1991), noted that the National Conference on Rhetoric encouraged expanding the definition of rhetorical studies as "any human transaction in which symbols and/or systems of symbols influence attitudes, beliefs, and actions" (Bitzer and Black, 1971, p. 214). It is noteworthy that rock music was specifically mentioned by recommending,

> subjects which have not traditionally fallen within the critic's purview: the non-discursive as well as the discursive, the nonverbal as well as the verbal, the event or transaction which is unintentionally as well as intentionally suasive. The rhetorical critic has the freedom to pursue his study of subjects with suasory potential or persuasive effects in whatever setting he may find them, ranging from rock music and put-on, to architecture and public forum, to ballet and international politics. (p. 221)

By its very nature, this approach calls for studying artifacts to help us explain, research, and comprehend these artifacts and how we respond to them (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Moreover, textual analysis allows for the researcher's own interpretation or reflexivity when studying an artifact to come into play.

Carey (1989) took a cultural approach to mass communication viewing communication as a ritual process which involves sharing construction of social behavior/interaction and social significance through symbolic forms. Symbolic forms can be a wide array of materials created by culture including art forms. Meanwhile, Tilley (2001) referred to "material culture" as any artifact that is produced by a human (p. 258). The material culture that is the primary focus of this research project are the protest songs, with their texts being the primary vehicle for the delivery of a message. The lyrics or text are a message specifically created to influence the listener. Pineda (2009) used textual analysis to examine the lyrics in Los Lobos' 2006 album, *The Town and The City* providing insight into the journey of immigrants along the U.S.-Mexico border and the illustration of Chicano/a identity. Pineda (2009) views music and its lyrics as having the capacity to affect and inform identity. An overarching concept is that popular music and its performance can reveal and affect identities. He argued that the lyrics in *The Town and The City* provide a metaphorical journey giving insight into the identity and culture of Chicanos/as. Pineda provided the actual lyrics from the individual songs, analyzed them and searched beyond the superficial to support his theory, and such research provided a basis and support for this current research project showing lyrics as textual, a cultural artifact which provides a site for investigating culture and affect by this communicative form. Similarly, textual analysis will be utilized to interpret the meaning(s) and intent of the songwriters. This research project will analyze three songs, one from each of the youth oriented music genres of the time:

rock, soul, and folk.

3.2   Historical Criticism

History by definition is a record of a past time or event(s). Historical criticism is a research method by which we can view accounts of what took place at a specific point in time. As such, historical criticism allows for the use of a wide variety of sources to gain an understanding and insight of social phenomena. Lipsitz (2007) viewed popular music as having histories that were not immediately visible. "Historical knowledge reveals that events that we perceive as immediate and proximate have causes and consequences that span great distances" (p. viii). A basic contention is that music has the ability to reflect and shape history. Moreover, it functions as a storehouse for the collective memory. "Popular music can mark the present as history, helping us understand where we have been and where we are going" (Lipsitz, 2007, p. xii). Lipsitz's use of intertextual genealogy as a research methodology allows for the study of popular music to help gain a clearer understanding of our past and the direction where we are heading.

A goal of this research is to uncover the roots of dissent and discontent that first led U.S. youth to rebel against the status quo and then seek change. By exploring this environment and conditions, I plan to examine the reasons leading to the creation of the protest music of the 1960s and 1970s. Songs are useful in studying history as they recreate the social and cultural mood of a particular era by highlighting its common ideas and attitudes (Rodnitzky, 1999). Rodnitzky further elaborated by saying that songs had the ability of preserving and illuminating "subtleties better than most historical sources" (p. 119). To uncover the social and political environment of the time, requires viewing news articles, historical texts, first-hand reports from newspapers and magazines, academic journals, and of course protest songs.

To fully comprehend protest songs and their influence requires flexibility in the gathering and use of historical data in order to form a cogent picture of the period. Historical analysis goes beyond reviewing historical artifacts, it also calls for interpreting those sources to establish how and why changes took place in society, the effect of human actions, and the outcomes of those actions. Armstrong (2008) affirmed the importance of electronic media in providing artifacts both qualitative and quantitative in nature and the necessity to, "interpret the 'how' and 'why' of historical events and to evaluate their significance" (p. 146).

Historical criticism will be employed to examine the how and why of protest songs' effect on the U.S. public and events pertaining to the Vietnam War. The strength of the historical criticism approach lies in the flexibility it allows the researcher to examine a wide variety and range of sources to answer the proposed research questions. These sources/artifacts allow the researcher to derive meaning and understanding of the subject, its place and effect on history, and how that relates to the present day. Russell (1993) argued that popular music can be studied critically by viewing the "social history" of music which takes into consideration the social and economic aspect and the effects of musical production and consumption (p. 139). The historical criticism approach bears a close resemblance to journalism's basic rules for writing a good news story. Those guidelines consist of the five Ws: who, what, when, where and why. Likewise, historical criticism as a methodology seeks to answer questions related to what took place or happened to whom, where, why, what was the effect and lastly, what is the meaning for the present culture? (Leslie, 2010). An important aspect of this method is to, "examine how past events shape and are shaped by rhetorical messages..." (p. 95).

A song, whether listened to live or through electronic means [broadcast, CD, mp3, etc.], is fleeting in nature. It is there in the moment one listens to it. Therefore, to study this art form's

text and its influence requires one to go back in time and this, in its essence, is viewing history. One area of focus in this research project deals with the historical backdrop of the Vietnam War and its role in causing songwriters to protest the war and the various issues surrounding it. This requires a chronological examination of the war and how the various milestones or issues may have served as the catalyst for protest songs. In addition, the progression or growth of radio and its own changes over time must also be considered to understand the role this technology played in protest songs influence on the U.S. public.

The study of songs utilizing historical analysis has its precedence. Avant-Mier (2008a) was a resource for guiding this research project in exploring the Vietnam War, radio, and protest songs. In the Avant-Mier (2008a) study "Latina/os in the Garage...," the author used historical analysis to research the influence of Latinos on U.S. rock and pop music. Perhaps one of the strongest arguments proposed is that popular music is a fundamental cultural element where "discourse, debate, and conflict" take place, thus making popular music worthy of scholarly examination (p. 556). An equally interesting and important research technique employed by Avant-Mier is genealogical examination. This research method is linear in nature, allowing a chronological view of the progression and changes taking place over time as it pertains to music and the Latina/o influence. This is essentially a form of historical analysis guiding the researcher and the reader to see history as it unfolds and the consequences of that musical development. Another important aspect of Avant-Mier's research dealt with the development and creation of Latina/o identity and the marginalization of this minority group due to the reinforcement of stereotypes imposed by the U.S. mainstream. Identity formation is an important aspect of this current research project since identity formation must be a fundamental effect if protest songs wield influence over the public.

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Similarly, in "Heard It on the X: Border Radio as Public Discourse and the Latino Legacy in Popular Music," Avant-Mier (2008b) provided a historical journey of border radio and its role influencing popular music genres in the U.S. Avant-Mier (2008b) used historical criticism to explore the role of media, in this case radio as a cultural process with this medium being a site for public discourse. The author built a historical case by delving into the background of radio stations along the U.S./México border which brought multi-cultural influences to bear on the music scene. Just as important as the electronic medium is the content it is carrying over the airwaves. The complementary and interdependent relationship between radio and music is fundamentally responsible for creating this site for discourse making it a fertile ground for viewing culture. Moreover, an important by-product of this union between technology and art is identity formation. The implication is that radio goes beyond being just a means of disseminating music, news, and information and is, in fact, an active participant or catalyst in the creation, development, reinforcement, and propagation of culture. This concept of radio as a cultural process proffered by Avant-Mier was important to this current research project. This research project seeks to examine the relationship between radio, in particular the FM progressive stations and protest songs, and how they influenced the youth culture during the Vietnam era. These protest songs were effectively "cultural texts" which can be analyzed (p. 62). Avant-Mier seeks "to reconsider the history and role of Latino/as in the U.S. culture" (p. 51). In a similar vein, this research project will examine the role of the text found in protest songs and their effect on the U.S. public.

In *Rock the Nation: Latin/o Identities and the Latin Rock Diaspora,* Avant-Mier (2010) provides a well-organized historiography of the Latino influence on the development of rock in the U.S. The liberal use and referencing of discography encourages the reader to pursue their

own research by listening to the music directly. By doing so, the listener is able to not only enjoy the music, but dissect it the same way the Avant-Mier does leading the reader to reach his/her own conclusion on the validity of the facts presented. Listening to the music itself provides a strong argument for the author's overall premise of the Latina/o influence. Avant-Mier's flexibility in using numerous and varied historic/informational sources was necessary to build a foundation, explore, and ultimately prove his argument. So too, the research conducted in this investigation seeks to illuminate and validate that the protest music of the 1960s had an influence on the U.S. public and to explore how that influence was manifested. The exploration of various sources allows for building support for the arguments presented based on cultural artifacts such as newspapers, magazines, demographic data, and of course, songs. The ubiquitous nature of popular music requires a combination of historical criticism and textual analysis to fully grasp the extent that music influences us. It through these varied sources that one is able to give meaning to text in music, but just as importantly, the context.

In each of Avant-Mier's research projects, the engaging and factual use of various texts/documents including census, CD liner notes, *Billboard* chart data, performer biographies, etc., builds a historical foundation and support for the author's overall premise of the Latina/o effect. Thus, historical criticism is ideal to view the protest songs related to the Vietnam War and their effect on the U.S public during a distinct period of U.S. history--the 1960s and early 1970s.

3.3   Combination Methodology

Gaining insight into the production of protest songs, their communicative qualities, and their sociological effects will require the combination of the two aforementioned qualitative research methodologies: historical criticism and textual analysis. The combination of these two research methods will provide the ability to view the protest song through a communicative lens,

gain an understanding of the content of the protest song, and examine its context within a specific time period, in this case, the Vietnam War. Howell and Prevenier (2001) noted the importance of viewing history as a way to uncover or "expose the ways the political, social, and intellectual hierarchies that we have inherited from the past were fashioned, in this way working to demystify those hierarchies..." (p. 16). The authors added that today's researchers must employ the various sources and methodologies available in order to uncover evidence. Similarly, as Bennett (2000) noted earlier, understanding musical meaning requires the use of interdisciplinary approaches.

Songs are, in fact, historical artifacts generally closely tied to the period in which they were composed and/or the manner in which they were used. Songs are a communicative act regardless of whether they are created solely for entertainment or with a specific intent such as a protest song. As has been mentioned, the 1960s produced many protest songs as a result of the turbulent social changes that were taking place during this decade. For example, the U.S. civil rights movement produced protest songs as well, with several that had an influence on the U.S. public. Two such songs were "A Change is Gonna Come" by Sam Cooke (1964) and "We Shall Overcome" (n.d.) a traditional gospel song . "A Change is Gonna Come" arguably came to exemplify the civil rights movement and was mentioned in the recent documentary *American Experience: 1964,* notably giving credit to this song as summing up the spirit of revolution that was ignited by the tumultuous social events of 1964 (WGBH, 2014). However, although these protest songs and others were important during the 1960s, they were not considered for textual analysis since this investigation specifically focuses on protest songs that were not only composed during the Vietnam War period, but also dealt with the war or some aspect of it, and/or relating to the antiwar movement. Country music was not selected because during this

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period, this genre typically represented the rightwing and thus was pro-government and its polices (Anderson, 1986). Anderson further explained that from 1965-1970 the "musical battle lines were drawn" with older conservatives on one side and the youth generation on the other (p. 56). Quite simply, the expansive number of protest songs that emerged during the Vietnam War period makes it nearly impossible to analyze each one. Thus, this research project will focus on one song from each of the three main popular music genres that targeted youth in the U.S.--folk music, rock, and soul music. Various songs were reviewed for this study, however the three selected have endured the test of time and remain popular even today.

It has been previously stated that the social issues/problems of the Vietnam War era created a rich environment for songwriters to compose protest songs. While this research project only selected three protest songs to undergo textual analysis, there were several others that were reviewed as possible choices. This included

- "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixing-to-Die-Rag" (1967)-Country Joe McDonald;

- "Ball of Confusion" (1970)-The Temptations;

- "For What It's Worth" (1967)-Buffalo Springfield;

- "Fortunate Son" (1969)-Creedence Clearwater Revival;

- "Give Peace a Chance" (1969)-John Lennon and the Plastic Ono Band;

- "I Ain't Marching Anymore" (1965)-Phil Ochs;

- "Imagine" (1971)-John Lennon;

- "Sky Pilot" (1968)-Eric Burdon and The Animals;

- "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised" (1970)-Gil Scott Heron;

- "The Times They Are A Changing" (1964)-Bob Dylan;

- "The Unknown Soldier" (1968)-The Doors;

- "What's Going On" (1971)-Marvin Gaye.

This list is not meant to be exhaustive and is only meant to provide some of the various protest songs that stood out as possible choices. Each of these songs was extremely popular and widely listened to. However, none was as important, influential or pivotal as the three that were ultimately selected. The songs selected were: Bob Dylan's "Blowin' in the Wind" (1963) from the folk genre; Crosby, Stills, Nash, & Young's "Ohio" (1970) from the rock genre; and Norman Whitfield and Barrett Strong's "War" (1970) (performed by Edwin Starr) from the soul genre. The three exemplars illustrate how each song in its own way functions as a means of communicating a specific antiwar message or manner of protest.

In brief, none of the other protest songs ever received the critical acclaim of being considered the greatest protest song ever written, such as "Blowin' in the Wind" (1963), none were ever recognized as being an anthem for the antiwar movement like "Ohio" (1970), and none were pivotal, such as "War" (1970), which not only became a number one hit on *Billboard*, but also inspired other African-American artists to compose their own protest songs. In order to justify the selection of these songs, it is necessary to look at the history of the artist and/or each song.

3.4   Justification for "Blowin' in the Wind"

Bob Dylan wrote several well-known and popular protest songs, Bob Dylan, in fact, has remained one of the most recognized and influential singer-songwriters over the past five decades. Initially recognized as a folk singer in the early 1960s, he wrote several critically acclaimed hits including "Blowin' in the Wind" (1963). Rodnitzky (1999) referred to Bob Dylan as being the, "most creative and influential American performer of the 1960s" and was responsible for "pioneering very general protest songs such Blowin' in the Wind" (p. 109).

Rolling Stone notes this song's first public performance as taking place in 1962 ("500 Greatest Songs, Bob Dylan," 2013). It was released in May 1963 on the album, *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan*. This protest song is arguably the most famous protest song ever written and remains one of the most popular songs of all time [No. 14 on the *Rolling Stone's "*500 Greatest Songs" list]. The premise of this song is simply that things can and should change ("500 Greatest Songs, Bob Dylan," 2013). While there are specific references to war, violence, and the inhumane treatment of man by man, the general vagueness of the lyrics allowed "Blowin' in the Wind" to become known as an anthem for the civil rights movement and an antiwar song (Schall, 1977). With "Blowin' in the Wind" becoming a hit single, Dylan was established as the "premier lyricist of his generation--a unique voice inspired by the personal and the political" (*World Literature*, 2005, p. 7).

Interestingly, the lyrics in "Blowin' in the Wind" are general in nature, not specifically identifying a social issue. As such, it allowed the song to become an anthem by the 1960s civil rights movement and later by the antiwar movement as well. For example, the year 2005 saw the release of the Martin Scorsese documentary on Dylan entitled *No Direction Home* (WNET, 2005). In it, Mavis Staples (gospel singer and civil rights activist) expresses her awe that a young white man could encapsulate and articulate the feelings of frustration and hope of the black community in a song, "How could he write 'how many roads must a man walk down before you call him a man'? This is what my father went through: he was the one who wasn't called a man" (Mavis Staples [on Bob Dylan], in *No Direction Home* [2005]).

Sam Cooke biographer Peter Guralnick recalls that Cooke, upon hearing "Blowin' in the Wind" was also impressed with the song and wished it had been done by a black person (Rath, 2014). Nonetheless, Guralnick added that Cooke was so moved by the song to the extent that he

began performing it live in concert, and it inspired him to write his own now famous protest song "A Change is Gonna Come" (1964). Sam Cooke not only made "Blowin' in the Wind" part of his repertoire, but also included it on his 1964 album *Live at the Copacabana* (Gray, 2006).

Gleason (1969) equated "Blowin' in the Wind" to a propaganda campaign that "shames the Voice of America" (p. 163). Gleason also added that no other "radical bard" has been able to reach the mass audience that Dylan has (p. 65). This song is listed on the "NPR 100" which lists the most significant musical works of the 20th century. In a radio documentary that aired in 2000 on *Weekend Edition Saturday,* NPR's Brian Naylor reported that "Blowin' in the Wind" is the most covered Dylan song with versions by Duke Ellington, Stevie Wonder and Glen Campbell (*NPR*, Oct. 21, 2000). Relating to Dylan's multifaceted prolific writing, Riley (2005) described the artist and songs such as "Blowin' in the Wind" as not only defining the decade referred to as the 1960s, but transcending the era and remaining relevant.

3.5   Justification for "Ohio"

Rock music was arguably the most influential and important music genre for youth during the 1960s and 1970s. The rock genre also produced an iconic protest song that continues to be played today on classic rock stations across the country, "Ohio" by Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young (1970). The inspiration for this song is considered one of the most tragic days in U.S history. On May 4, 1970, National Guard troops opened fire on unarmed protesters on the campus of Kent State University in Ohio. Lewis & Hensley (1998) explained that approximately1000 students had gathered to protest the expansion of the Vietnam War into Cambodia, and another 2000 students had gathered to watch the demonstration. The National Guard troops had been called out to maintain order, and a reportedly leaderless group of approximately 100 National Guard troops, feeling outnumbered and partially surrounded, opened

fire on the unarmed students. Two 19-year old and two 20-year old students were killed in this incident.

Graham Nash was a member of Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young. According to Nash (2013), the May 15, 1970 issue of *Life* magazine carried the widely disseminated story of the Kent State shootings, and Neil Young had been given a copy by bandmate David Crosby, which featured the story and a now iconic picture of one of the students who had been shot, laying on the ground and being attended by a fellow student. Young, after reading the story wrote the song in a few hours (Nash, 2013), and the next day the group entered the Record Plant Studios in Los Angeles and recorded it as a single. Nash further relates that record executive Ahmet Ertegun personally helped get the song released within two weeks of the recording. "Ohio" was released with the U.S. Bill of Rights featured on the cover showing Article 1, Section 1, which guarantees the right to free speech and peaceful assembly.

Worth noting, during the 1960s and 1970s, AM radio stations played mostly mainstream pop music and some AM radio stations refused to play "Ohio" because of its anti-war and anti-Nixon [U.S. President Richard Nixon] message. However, the FM stations which tended to have free form formats quickly moved to give the song frequent airplay. "Ohio" became an antiwar anthem for the generation of the time (Doyle, 2013).

This senseless killing of four unarmed student protesters by National Guardsmen at Kent State University sparked nation-wide protests of the killings and the Vietnam War, and it is under these circumstances that the song "Ohio" was written by Neil Young and recorded by Crosby, Stills, Nash, & Young. "Ohio" reached the number 14 spot on the "Hot 100" chart on August 8, 1970, and it remained on the chart for nine weeks ("Billboard Chart History," 2012). In the 2004, the *Rolling Stone* survey, "500 Greatest Songs of All Time," selected "Ohio" as the

395th greatest song of all time ("500 Greatest Songs of All Time: Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young," 2013). To the casual reader, this may not seem important, but this survey reviewed rock, pop, and soul/black music dating back to the 1950s, and the amount of music produced during this period is somewhat incalculable. As such, any song recognized on this survey can be considered significant and influential. The popularity of "Ohio" induced the record company to release the song multiple times initially as a single, then the live double-LP set, *4 Way Street* in 1971, and numerous other compilations.

As has been mentioned previously, the social unrest and political issues of the 1960s created an environment which sparked songwriters to write protest songs. In researching protest music of the 20th and 21st centuries, Lynskey (2011) referred to "Ohio" as "perhaps the most powerful topical song ever recorded: moving, memorable, and perfectly timed" (p. 160). Interestingly, Lynskey added that this song marked the end of the protest songwriting era of the 1960s due to the violence and factionalism that was taking over the country which confused songwriters. In the Neil Young's biography written by McDonough (2002), the author opined that "Ohio" in ten lines effectively captured the feelings of anxiety, chagrin and anger that was being felt by youth in the U.S.

The controversy and outrage surrounding the Kent State shooting became a focal point for discourse over this incident, the war and the U.S. government's Vietnam War policies. Bindas and Houston (1989) indicated that rock music was an assault on the establishment with the social and political arms of the counterculture viewing the music as a vehicle for communication. Rock text served to magnify the emotions and encouraged participation of the audience. They commented that while "Ohio" makes no direct mention to the Vietnam War it was a major hit for the Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young and, "became the long-awaited popular antiwar anthem..." (p.

16). From 1970 to 1980, there were no less than fifteen songs that had lyrics or references to the tragedy at Kent State with "Ohio" by Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young arguably being the most famous (Dingman, 2012). Dingman added that this song was instrumental in helping frame this historic event in the minds of the U.S public as well as maintaining the memory of the massacre.

3.6   Justification for "War"

The soul genre also provided an outlet for artists to express their sentiments of the Vietnam War with the most notable being "War" performed by Edwin Starr. During the 1960s and 1970s, Motown Records, based out of Detroit, Michigan, emerged as one of the country's most successful music labels. Motown was home to some of the most famous African-American artists of the time and focused on black music or soul music as it later became known. It was the brainchild of Barry Gordy whose goal was to bring black music to white America.

According to Bronson (2003), the song "War" was written by Norman Whitfield (producer and songwriter) and Barrett Strong (artist and songwriter) who worked with Motown records. The song was originally released in early 1970 on the Temptations album *Psychedelic Shack* (March, 1970). Motown was inundated with hundreds of letters, mostly from college students urging the label to release "War" as a single. Motown, however, had other plans for the Temptations. Whitfield recognized that he had another possible hit on his hands and offered the song to Edwin Starr. Starr was also part of the Motown family of recording artists and took Whitfield up on the offer (Bronson, 2003), and "War" was Edwin Starr's biggest hit. Burns (2010) noted that the success of this antiwar anthem allowed Motown Records to recognize the financial potential of releasing other protest songs by Motown artists. This song was effectively responsible for emboldening other black artists to express their social awareness and concerns by releasing their own socially conscious songs. There were soon releases such as "Ball of

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Confusion" (1970) by the Temptations, "What's Going On" (1971) by Marvin Gaye, "You Haven't Done Nothin" (1974) by Stevie Wonder, and others.

This is significant as Barry Gordy, president of Motown records, had previously instructed artists on his roster not become involved in politics. Gordy was not interested in "message music" and he viewed protest music as a danger to his business (Lynskey, 2011, p. 144). Similarly, when the Temptations were signed to Motown in the early 1960s, musical director Maurice King provided them with the Hitsville [Motown's recording studio] philosophy of cautionary politics,

> Do not get caught up in telling people about politics, religion, how to spend money or who to make love to, because you'll lose your fan base. So don't let no interviewer get you talking about politics, just tell them we ain't politicians, we just sing. (pp. 144-145)

This philosophy came straight from Gordy. So, it was a pivotal moment for Motown with "War" becoming the first antiwar song to become number one, leading Gordy to recognize that protest songs were a commodity capable of creating great profits (Bindas & Houston, 1989).

The release of "War" represented the "hardest core sound" on a Motown label up to that time (Perone, 2001, p. 63), and it marked the first time that a smash hit antiwar single specifically dealing with the Vietnam War reached the number one spot on the *Billboard* pop charts. Other number one singles only mentioned the war as part of their overall message such as "Eve of Destruction" (1965) by Barry McGuire or were very general and not specific like, "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" (1960) by Pete Seeger (Perone, 2001). Indicating the all-inclusive popularity of "War," the song also reached number three on the *Billboard* R&B charts indicating that both black and white audiences were listening to and purchasing the song, "in droves" (Perone, 2001, p. 63). Perone went on to comment that "War" was and remains

significant today as "one of the most musically powerful and rhythmically solid records of 1970" (p. 63). "It remains a frequently reissued recording and one that well symbolizes the growing strength of the anti-war movement among blacks at the end of the 1960s" (p. 63)."War" entered at number 72 on the *Billboard Hot 100* on July 11, 1970, and on August 19th, just seven weeks later, it became the number one hit in the U.S. It stayed at number one for three weeks (Bronson, 2003).

With this research, I am seeking to examine the influence that protest songs had on the public during the Vietnam War and radio's complementary role as a vehicle for mass communication/dissemination. This research project will also examine the historical role of radio and protest songs during this period through a cultural lens focusing on community and the antiwar movement. Protest songs are historical artifacts embedded with meaning. The process of studying protest songs requires viewing history, and cultural artifacts such as written materials, speeches, demographic data, etc., can provide insight and understanding of the sociopolitical climate of the period (the 1960s and early 1970s). It is this climate that led to the production of these songs. In summary, this research project will utilize historical criticism and textual analysis as a method to investigate protest songs and their communicative qualities. One single methodology is not sufficient as this project seeks to gain understanding of the events and issues during the Vietnam War and the role and influence protest songs had on the U.S. public. This affect is at the personal level with protest songs creating an emotional response in the listener. Similarly, this research project will investigate the effect that protest songs had as it pertains to helping end the Vietnam War.

Chapter 4: Analysis

As previously described, it is necessary to employ a combination of methodologies to grasp a deeper understanding of the context, content, production and the influence of protest songs during the Vietnam era. In addition, by using deductive logic the relationship between protest songs, community, and the antiwar movement will be explored to search for ways protest songs may have helped stop the war. It is also essential to view the complementary role and significance of radio during this period. As previously indicated, other art forms have the capacity to communicate a message from its creator. Songs, however, are considered a universal language with the ability to transcend physical and social boundaries. Similarly, while other electronic media are capable of the disseminating a message widely, it was radio's unique relationship with youth and the content it carried that made the potency of the art form and this electronic medium greater than the sum of its parts. In this chapter, those relationships will be explored along with their influence on helping bring the Vietnam War to an end.

4.1   Arguments Against the Efficacy of the Antiwar Movement

It must be duly noted that there is some research defending the stance that the antiwar movement was ineffectual. Garfinkle (1997) argued that the antiwar movement actually prolonged the war because it only served to encourage the enemy to keep fighting. Garfinkle opined that the movement did not bring the war to an end. Instead, he argued that it was the failed political and military strategy by U.S. leaders that led to the war's end.

Although the antiwar movement contained many loosely grouped organizations and individuals there was one group of student activists that emerged and was effective at coordinating various events across the country. The organization known as the Student Democratic Society (SDS) was responsible for organizing various demonstrations. In an article

written by Steigerwald (2000), the author expressed that the antiwar movement was not successful, due to the fact that the SDS was co-opted by radical pacifists and thus was not representative because it did not carry the greater antiwar opinion. As such, many opponents of the war sought to distance themselves from the SDS and its leadership. The researcher gave greater credit to influential mainstream individuals who opposed the government's war effort even prior to the movement becoming prominent.

In a study by Ransford (1972), the data compiled from a sample of Los Angeles residents showed moderate support for the hypothesis that blue collar workers were found to be antagonistic towards student and black protesters. Thus, working class people experienced a sense of outrage towards campus demonstrations like the kind that were undertaken protesting the Vietnam War. Utilizing *Gallup Polls* from the era, Schreiber (1976) forcefully stated that the U.S. public "did not respond to antiwar demonstrations" (p. 227). Instead, he indicated that a greater influence came from the public's response to "dramatic change in the war situation and it responded to Vietnam policy changes" (p. 227). He noted that perhaps the most important event was the Tet Offensive. This well-coordinated, nation-wide military attack launched by the North Vietnamese created a public opinion change in the U.S. public as indicated by Schreiber's study of the January and March 1968 *Gallup Polls*. These polls indicated a notable shift in the public's preference from "hawk (step up our military effort) to dove (reduce our military effort)" (p. 227).

4.2   Youth and the Antiwar Movement

Another indicator of the efficacy of the antiwar movement was its ability to recruit or convert individuals to support its views. Looking back at the decade of the 1960s, there is no doubt that this period was marked by social and political upheavals that left an enduring mark on the history of the U.S. and that protest songs played an important role. One of the prevailing

arguments in this research project is that it was the youth culture that was most involved with the protest of 1960s, due to their eligibility for the draft and the target audience for the protest songs and progressive radio. An indication that protest songs influenced youth requires that youth be involved in the movement itself whether as activists, supporters or demonstrators. If the community's sociopolitical views were not being met by the government, then there was necessity for a social vehicle to make those demands/views more widely known. That social vehicle or mechanism was the antiwar movement. The success of any social movement lies in several factors: its ability to convert and recruit individuals to its doctrine, to disseminate its ideology, and to exert political pressure on those in power.

Boskin and Rosenstone (1969) pointed out that protests of the 1960s had characteristics that separated them from other periods of unrest in the U.S. Most noteworthy was their identification of the younger generation as being responsible for the "tone and direction of the movements" and that the protests reflected, "the increasingly pluralistic nature of society, including not only ethnic groups, but also emerging subcultures centering around school, youth, and dropouts from society" (p. ix). Boskin and Rosenstone (1969) further indicated that the Vietnam War brought together otherwise disparate groups such as blacks, students, and the New Left. Guttman (1969) separated and characterized the protests of the center and the left by explaining that the former group argued that the war was unwinnable and that the cost, both in terms materials and loss of life, was too much. The left viewed that the means employed by the military to achieve a non-Communist South Vietnam as unjustifiable and amoral. These viewpoints were influenced and mirrored by the protest songs of the era and the antiwar movement.

The U.S. youth provided the necessary manpower to continue the war effort staged by the

government, and this was only made possible by the U.S. Selective Service draft. As such, it stands to reason that the greatest number of protestors came from this age group. Fry (2007) contended that the student protest observed during the Vietnam War was the most pervasive case of student activism and protest seen in U.S. history. Fry augmented this by writing that their activism was instrumental in keeping the horrors of war in the public mind, pointed out the amorality of the U.S. involvement, and constricted executive political options and helped dissolve the public's support for the war. Fry (2007) explained that few student protestors belonged to a formal antiwar organization since most activity was primarily local, but does identify some national level groups. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was highly active and part of the New Left group, claiming as many as 100,000 members. The Young Americans for Freedom was a conservative national group that had approximately 50,000 members although some historians place the membership higher than the SDS. The argument posited by Fry (2007) that most protestors were organized at a local level appears plausible as he indicated that in 1969, there were approximately 400 protests that disrupted college campuses across the nation. Fry explained, "Student arrests, which totaled 4,000 for the 1968-69 school year and nearly 8,000 for the 1969-70, reflected the heightened campus unrest" (p. 233). These statistics also reinforce the argument that as the deaths of U.S. soldiers increased so did the level of protesting.

Robert S. McNamara, who served as Secretary of Defense under two presidents during the Vietnam War, also makes an interesting observation in his book *In Retrospect* (1995). He noticed that during his visits to college campuses opposition to the government's war policy increased in direct relation to the university's prestige and the educational level/success of the students. In other words, the more prestigious the university and the greater level of

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educational attainment of the students, the greater the opposition to the war. Thus, this indicates that opposition to the war was more widespread and not just endorsed by low-income, low-education individuals.

4.3   Radio: The Ideal Youth Medium

Radio was the electronic medium of choice for the youth of the Vietnam era. Although record companies sold music directly to the consumer, they relied heavily on radio as a means to introduce music/artists, to foster listenership and to develop a fan base for the artists they were promoting. This was a period of U.S. history without MTV, music channels, downloadable music or the internet. Thus, radio was the primary source for providing music entertainment to the masses, especially youth. Avery (1979) indicated that at this time there was a dramatic increase in listening to the radio while at the same time there was a decline in the television viewing habits at the adolescent stage (between 12-18 years of age). Moreover, he found music listening is most highly rated as a source for entertainment by both male and female adolescents. The upper scale of this age group is of particular importance because 18 is the age at which youth became eligible for the draft. Another study supported these findings, indicating that the adolescents studied showed an increase in music listening and a decline in television viewing associating this with a shift away from a medium that reinforced their parents values (Arnett, Larson & Offer, 1995). Thus, radio (not television) was the ideal electronic medium for youth during the 1960s and 1970s.

Similarly, a study of adolescents conducted by Larson, Kubey and Colletti (1989) concluded that music listening was more effective than television in engaging youth. It was reasoned that this shift away from television to music resulted in adolescents reinforcing peer values. Additionally, the authors pointed out that, "rock music has always spoken to values and

points of view outside of the mainstream, values frequently divergent from or in opposition to adult culture" (p. 584). They expanded on the influence of music stating that adolescence is the period when youth become immersed in popular music, purchasing music, "to have a favorite disc jockey, to respond personally and emotionally to the messages the music conveys" (p. 597). This research makes a direct connection linking youth, music, and radio. Establishing this relationship serves to demonstrate the importance of popular music and its influence on youth. Furthermore, the role that radio played is equally important with this electronic medium having no other competitor in reaching a youthful, diverse, national audience.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, AM radio stations were primarily mainstream, playing what can best be described as easy listening popular music. The songs played on the AM were typically between 2-3 minutes in length, making for a rapid pace moving between music, commercials and news. However, the FM stations took a different approach, playing songs longer in length with the disc jockeys or deejays slowing down their delivery. The FM disc jockeys developed a free-form style format and selected their own music lists. This free-form format became known as "progressive radio" (Cosper, 2007).

The importance of progressive radio, which later developed into AOR (Album Oriented Rock), cannot be underestimated. The playlists on these stations included: songs with longer playing times, songs containing sexual references and innuendo, and politically-charged songs. The playlists were created based on the popularity of a particular song, the record sales, and call-in requests to the radio station. It is important to note that a popular song was put into a high rotation, meaning that the song was played numerous times throughout the broadcast day (this is also true today). The disc jockeys too were free to express their opinions unlike their clean-cut, non-political AM counterparts. In other words, many songs deemed unplayable on the AM

stations found an outlet on FM.

Radio's influential role cannot be discounted during this period. Technology is a fundamental element of culture, and so too is music. The fortuitous intersection of FM radio and protest music/songs allowed each to reinforce and enhance the influence of the other, greater than each operating independently. Without radio and the progressive format, protest songs were limited to distribution through record sales and live performances. While the record industry, in and of itself is formidable in its scope, it too relied heavily on radio as a means of mass promotion and driving consumer consumption. Simultaneously, the progressive format allowed songs that were not played ordinarily on the AM stations (due to their subject matter or running time) to be introduced, listened to, and assimilated by a national audience. Kellner (1995) asserted that broadcast media has created public areas where information can be accessed and debated. He views the use of technology as being essential in contemporary politics and its use by intellectuals as being necessary in shaping society and culture.

The quantitative data presented provides compelling evidence that radio was ideally suited to reach the youth audience and was their preferred medium. The proliferation of radio stations across the country allowed for the target audience to be saturated with protest songs and their antiwar message. With songs played multiple times a day, in many cases on a 24-hour a day basis, in some cases on more than one station in a given radio market, and radio's free and easy access the information disseminated was able to penetrate the psyche of the nation in manner that no other medium matched. The dramatic shift by youth from television viewing to music/radio listening made them particularly receptive to information being disseminated via the radio airwaves. This was also taking place at a formative time of their own physiological and psychological development as they explored and developed their own social identity, a social

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identity that was influenced by the songs of the time.

4.4   Functions of a Protest Song

As noted in a previous chapter, the protest song is not unique to the U.S. Throughout the

world, protest songs have been used as communication tools to advance social change and as a

form of resistance, as was the case in the U.S. during 1960s and 1970s. Nor are protest songs

unique to this period of U.S. history. One early use of song in communicating ideas to the public

is a ballad written in the 16th century regarding the death of Queen Jane, third wife of Henry

VIII. Queen Jane ruled from May 1536 to October 1537 and died giving birth. Particularly

interesting are two versions of the ballad. One indicates that she died while giving natural

childbirth. The second indicates that she died as a result of a caesarean. The second version may

have been written as a form of catholic propaganda against the crown (Vannan, 2013). What is

important for the purpose of this research project is not how Queen Jane died, but that a ballad

was used as a communicative tool to spread the news of the event, preserve the event in the mind

of the public, and that one version was used as propaganda. This ballad also provides early

evidence to the power of song to influence the public. Thus, studying songs allows gaining

insight into the historical context of a given event because of their ability to preserve history. The

Vietnam Era is a particularly interesting period in U.S. history due to the large number of protest

songs that were recorded and played on the airwaves. These protest songs sought to create

awareness and dialogue, disseminate propaganda, and most importantly, they helped coalesce a

disparate group of individuals from across the country to create a movement. The antiwar

movement arose as the U.S. public's opposition to the war grew. The signs of protest erupted on

the campuses of colleges and universities across the country, and these students were united in

their opposition to the war and the draft. This social movement helped bring an end to the

longstanding U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.

Protest songs have been described as a form of propaganda given their intent to further a cause or damage/criticize an opposing cause/view by purposely disseminating ideas, facts, allegations, etc. In order to be effective, a protest song essentially must have influence on the listener and the ability to communicate ideas, concepts, and ideologies. Denisoff (1968) described a "propaganda song" as a means of communication expressly functioning as a tool of persuasion with specific goals as was indicated earlier. Denisoff focused primarily on folk songs. However, musicians and songwriters during the rebellious 1960s and 1970s expressed themselves in other genres, as well. The functions of protest music previously described by the Denisoff (1968) study can be applied across other music genres including soul music and rock music, which were extremely popular during the Vietnam War period.

On the most basic level, a song must have an influence on the listener or the ability to grab the listener's attention and hold it in order to deliver a specific message. The ability to move us beyond our own individual cultures and differences is essential for a song to begin the process of creating a community and/or a social movement. DeChaine (2002) maintained that music has the capacity to transcend time and space and to "allow for an articulation of music and bodies across lines of individual and social identity, across boundaries of culture and difference" (p. 79). Moreover, DeChaine contends that "affect" is a conduit allowing,

> the past and present, as well as imaginings of the future to become confluent. It enables
> the process of becoming, entangling our bodies, minds, memories, histories, thoughts,
> and feelings to the point where they can't be imagined apart from each other. (p. 86)

Arguably, these are the very same characteristics necessary for the creation of a community or a social movement. The inherent qualities of a song described by Denisoff (1968) and DeChaine

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(2002) suggest a correlation between songs, communities, and social movements.

4.5   Textual Analysis of "Blowin' in the Wind"

Bob Dylan's most famous composition "Blowin' in the Wind" is from 1963. This is a fine example of a song that can be applied to different situations as it is non-specific and not tied in to any particular conflict. It's a universal plea for the human race pointing out its mistakes and problems, but also imploring it to learn from its mistakes. This song was a rallying call for antiwar protesters everywhere in the 1960s, and it has been covered numerous times with versions by Peter, Paul and Mary, Bobby Darin, Elvis Presley and Neil Young.

"Blowin' in the Wind" is different from other protest songs in that it does not focus on a specific topic. Instead it uses the literary device of the rhetorical question to pose several topics or injustices, "Yes, 'n' how many years can some people exist, before they're allowed to be free?" (Dylan, 1963). These two lines speak directly to the social injustice of racism and the civil rights movement [U.S] which was already taking place when this song was released. The song continues bringing attention to a litany of social ills like racial equality ("How many roads must a man walk down, before you call him a man?"), to peace, ("Yes, 'n' how many seas must a white dove sail, before she sleeps in the sand?"), and to war, ("Yes, 'n' how many times must the cannonballs fly, before they're forever banned?") (verse one). Perhaps, the most important aspect of this song is the attention it brings to man's indifference to the problems and social ills that confront us ("Yes, 'n' how many times can a man turn his head, pretending he just doesn't see?") (verse two) and ("Yes, 'n' how many ears must one man have, before he can hear people cry?") (verse three). The use of rhetorical questions throughout "Blowin' in the Wind" are not only to pose the problems and place them center stage, but to create a deep impression on the listener, to cause the listener to reflect and to create an inner discourse.

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Significantly, all the functions of a protest song described by Denisoff (1968) are illustrated in "Blowin' in the Wind": 1) it arouses sympathy for a social movement (i.e., civil rights movement), 2) there is reinforcement of social values of the antiwar movement and the civil rights movement, 3) the song seeks to create a sense of cohesion and/or solidarity for Dylan's ideology/stance on war, peace, racial equality and racism, 4) while there is no direct call for recruitment to a social movement, arguably, the chorus, "The answer my friend is blowin' in the wind" is a call for us to individually seek answers and actions, 5) again, the chorus calls us individually to seek/find the solutions or course(s) of action to the social "phenomenon" described, and 6) "Blowin' in the Wind" directs attention to several social problems utilizing emotionally charged lyrics.

In general, the intent of the composers of protest songs whether consciously or unconsciously was to create a sense of community and empowerment among the listeners leading them to apply political pressure to the government to bring home the troops. The songwriters were essentially spreading propaganda through song. The direct and primary intent of propaganda is to spread ideas and other types of information to further a specific cause. A protest song is meant to function as form of communication and to persuade its audience through its delivery of ideas, concepts, and ideologies. We can see the intent of the songwriters via their lyrics and the technical ability of radio to disseminate a message combined to make a powerful instrument by which to influence an already receptive youthful listener.

The protest songs that emerged during the Vietnam era were ideal for the FM progressive station's format. This was a format expressly for the U.S youth. It was this youth that was being most effected by the Vietnam War because of the draft and therefore the target audience for progressive stations. The youth oriented genres of the time--rock, soul, folk--all had artists that

were writing protest songs. One artist that emerged from the soul genre was Edwin Starr. He went on to deliver an incomparable performance of one of the most iconic protest songs ever written, "War" (1970).

4.6   Textual Analysis of "War"

"War" was performed by Edwin Starr and released July 11, 1970. Looking at the lyrics one can easily see that there is no subtlety in its wording. Yet, ironically perhaps, there is no direct mention of Vietnam anywhere in the song. Nonetheless, at this time the U.S. was enmeshed in an unpopular war that still showed no signs of ending.

The format of this song is interesting in that it does not follow traditional songwriting format. "War" begins immediately with the chorus instead of the verse: "War, what is it good for? Absolutely nothing..." (Whitfield, N. & Strong, B., 1970). A second interesting technique used here is in the form of a question: "what is it good for?" (Whitfield, N. & Strong, B., 1970). Questions are a literary/communication device used to draw in the listener and require a response. It is thus an overt invitation to respond to and to participate in the song. It is, in fact, a form of call and response. This literary/musical device is a form of human communication and is considered a basic element of musical form. Middleton (1993) viewed the contrast between the verse and the chorus. He referred to the verse as, "basically the narrative...the internal rhyming simulates a conversational account...and repeating call-and-response patterns, in the chorus...is common" (p. 183). The chorus is repeated a total of 11 times in the song, considerably more than is typical in a pop song, and it is meant to drive home the message that war serves no purpose, "absolutely nothing!" (Whitfield, N. & Strong, B., 1970).

The song uses several other literary/communicative tools including imagery and personification. After repetition of the chorus three times, the first verse begins and is laden with

imagery: "...War, I despise, 'cause it means destruction of innocent lives" (verse one), and continues with "War means tears to thousands of mothers eyes, when their sons go off to fight and lose their lives" (verse one).

An example of personification appears after the first verse, which is followed by one repetition of the chorus. The last two lines in the chorus are an example of personification. The songwriters have made war into a "heartbreaker, and "friend only to the undertaker" (chorus). There are several other examples of personification throughout the song such as, "War, is an enemy to all mankind" (verse two), and "War can't give life it can only take it away," (verse three).

While it was noted earlier that there is no mention of the Vietnam War directly in the song, in the second verse there is clearly a reference to the drafting of civilians which was very much in force in 1970 when this song was released. The U.S Selective Service described the draft as the process by which men were selected to become members of the armed forces to fill the vacancies or needs for manpower ("Selective Service," 2013). Once a civilian was drafted, they were "inducted" into an armed force such as the U.S. Army. Thus, in the last line of verse two, "Induction, then destruction who wants to die?" the word "induction" refers to the draft process which, in fact, continued until 1973. In addition, the songwriters use the literary tool of cynicism in the form of a question, "Who wants to die?" (verse two).

Referring back to the functions of a protest song proposed by Denisoff (1968), "War" exemplifies six out of the six goals he sets forth. They are: 1) the song arouses the sympathy in terms of the destruction war causes to lives and families alike, 2) the lyrics promote the songwriters ideological stance that war serves no purpose, 3) the song calls attention to the destructiveness of war on various levels (unrest in the younger generation, tears to mothers eyes,

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shattered many young man's dreams, etc.), 4) the songwriters seek a desired goal of having peace, love, and understanding (verse 4) and suggests that there must be another way to maintain freedom, and 5) the song is laden with emotional terminology and imagery, and certainly draws direct attention to the war which is the "problem or situation or discontent" (p. 229).

Another goal prescribed by Denisoff is that, "the song attempts to recruit individuals to join a specific social movement" (p. 229). "War" contains no overt call or direct reference to join the antiwar movement, however, it can be argued that the continuous refrain heard in the chorus, "War, what is it good for? Absolutely, nothin," firmly implants an antiwar stance in the listener's mind. Interestingly, while songwriters and the antiwar movement were protesting the deaths in Vietnam, the country had just experienced the loss of innocent lives on U.S. soil as well.

4.7   Textual Analysis of "Ohio"

Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young was considered one of the supergroups of rock during the 1960s and early 1970s. "Ohio," (1970) written by Neil Young, recounts the killing of students on the campus of Kent State University in Ohio. The opening lyrics of "Ohio" are an immediate challenge and squarely place the blame on the guardsmen and President Nixon: "Tin soldiers and Nixon coming" (Young, 1970). The description of the guardsmen as "tin soldiers" is poignant. The symbolism is quite apparent as tin is often described as a metal with little value, unlike a precious metal such as gold. This is clearly a slur meant to degrade the value of the guardsmen. By placing the term "tin soldiers" and "Nixon" within the same verse, then by association it is meant to shame the president, as well. Meanwhile, "We're finally on our own," (verse one) most likely describes the situation that the protesters stand by themselves, or that they have only themselves to depend on. The next line, "...I hear the drumming," (verse one) is essentially a reference to a battle march. Throughout history, drumming has been used as means of

communication and motivator to keep troops moving forward. Finally, the last line, "four dead in Ohio," (verse one) is used to sum up the results of that tragic day, which ended with deaths of four students.

The next verse is a direct call to action: "Gotta get down to it" (Young, 1970) is slang [1960s] for taking action or to take responsibility. The next line references back to the first, that the public must take action because the "soldiers are cutting us down" (verse two). "Should have been done long ago," (verse two) is in a sense an admonishment meaning that the public should have taken action sooner, before an atrocity like the killings happened. Finally, an appeal to one's emotions, "What if you knew her, and found her dead on the ground," (verse two) is followed by another call to action, "How can you run when you know?" (verse two). This last line is an appeal to our sense of responsibility, to our civic duty, and to be courageous in our stand for what is right. Young is essentially saying, you have been shown the truth, you can no longer tolerate it, and you cannot run from it.

It is important to note that the six functions of protest songs prescribed by Denisoff (1968) are fully explored in "Ohio": 1) it elicits support (e.g., "should have been done long ago") and sympathy by repeatedly chanting, (e.g., "four dead in Ohio" and "found her dead on the ground"), 2) it reinforces the value system by calling upon a relational and emotional factor (e.g., "what if you knew her"), 3) it promotes cohesion and solidarity by exclaiming (e.g., "gotta get down to it"), 4) there is a call to join a movement (e.g., "we're finally on our own"), 5) it calls for a solution (e.g., "should have been done long ago"), and 6) most importantly it calls attention to the problem, (e.g., "four dead in Ohio"), and this phrase is repeated 11 times until the song finally fades out.

4.8 The Influence of Protest Songs

A song, of course, is a musical composition composed of two fundamental components--lyrics and music. It is the lyrical content that is the principal delivery system in the dissemination of information. It is through the words or lyrics that the listener is able to realize any intended intent of the artists. However, the music is also a channel through which an audience or individual listener can be affected.

There is potentially a physiological mechanism by which a protest song can affect the listener and potentially be the process of recruitment to a cause, such as the antiwar movement of 1960s and 1970s. It is known that music involves auditory processing that also brings the brain stem reflex into play. It is this process in the brain stem that induces an emotion caused by the acoustical characteristics of music to signal a "potentially important and urgent event" (Juslin & Västfjäll, 2008, p. 564). The acoustical creation of an emotion sympathetic or corresponding to the songwriter's intent can therefore enhance or reinforce the affect that is being induced by the lyrics.

Clearly, the music artists of the time recognized the ability to share their personal discontent with the war, but also the technical capability to distribute their message to a wide audience via the airwaves. Unlike today, there were no music television channels, MP3 players, or the internet for music file-sharing or streaming audio. The only consumer-level recorded music formats consisted of the 8-track [audio tape], 4-track [audio tape] and records [phonograph]. Only radio and television had the capability to deeply penetrate any given market. Radio served as a mediating element in dissemination of an antiwar message that was contained in protest songs. John Stauffer (2006) described protest literature as the use of language by which the individual and society can be transformed and changed. He expanded protest literature

beyond the written word and included other art forms such as music, film, and other visual arts. Stauffer further stated that protest literature is a vehicle by which society can be critiqued and offer a solution to society's problems.

The lyrics in protest music served to convey the vision not only of the creators of the music but of a vast majority of people in the U.S. that wanted the war to end. The protest songs that the music groups performed created a new way of thinking--that the Vietnam War was no longer justifiable, and that the injustice being perpetrated on the U.S. soldiers and their families should not and must no longer be tolerated. The argument set forth by Stauffer (2006) that protest literature [including music] functions as a transformational tool was augmented by James Lull. Lull (1985) wrote on the communicative properties of music on a social level stating, "Music works on different levels, not only as a source of entertainment but as an agent of social utility" (p. 364). This social function, especially with young people, serves as a way to introduce new topics, merge social collectives, and in the creation of symbols. Thus, the active or frequent use of a medium increases its effect as, "an agent of socialization" (Lull, 1985, p. 364). Moreover, music has the capacity to have an impact at the emotional, physical, and cognitive levels. Finally, listening to music, "enhances socialization to the values...embraced by it" (p. 365).

While some researchers argue that music listeners pay little or no attention to the lyrics, there are those that insist that music can have a definite affect on the audience's emotions. Juslin and Västfjäll (2008) maintain that music can have an emotional affect on the listener on various levels. The authors describe several psychological mechanisms including *emotional contagion* described earlier as the listener internalizing an emotion perceived in the music. The researchers add that this process can lead to discourse. Discourse was and is a necessary function in shifting

public opinion and creating a new vision for society.

A basic premise of protest music is that it has the capability to affect us by eliciting emotions and allowing us to imagine different realities. This indicates that there is a relationship between the medium, such as a protest song, and generating an affect. Robinson (1994) made a distinction between music expressing various emotional qualities of human personality (i.e., such as a happy or sad song) and that music affects us emotionally, such as creating a particular emotion in the individual. Her overriding argument was that basic feelings aroused by music can indeed contribute to the creation of more complex emotions in the listener. Similarly, Walton (1994) commented that most music is expressive and that for music to be expressive means that there is a substantial relation to human emotions/feelings. In addition, Walton argued that music has the capacity to stimulate imaginings, and in the case of the protest songs and the antiwar movement those imaginings included a vision of peace.

Protest music reflects the individual ideologies of the songwriters, but they can also mirror and reinforce the thoughts/sentiments of the general public. These ideologies are shaped and influenced by the prevailing culture. Thus, protest songs can be viewed as a strategy or a part of a greater plan of action. In this case, a strategy of action can also become a social movement. Social movements seek to change the status quo and are by nature is embedded with ideology. Lewis (1983) viewed music as "symbolic communication" where the meaning(s) and symbols are integrated into the artifact allowing social interaction to take place. He viewed music through a sociological lens where music "expresses the images, visions and sentiments of the people who find significance in it...such music reflects the values and norms of the larger social system or the ideology of a social class" (p. 136). This point of view supports music's ability to build a community since social interaction is an inherent quality of any given community. In addition,

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the basic building block of a social movement is a shared ideology.

Unquestionably, individual songwriters were fundamental in the creation and function of protest songs, community, and the antiwar movement. Their contributions took place at different levels, all relevant and intertwined. Varenne (1977) referred to the collective actions executed by individuals to accomplish specific goals or in promoting/advancing their shared interests. Eyerman and Jamison (1995) described movement intellectuals as undertaking actions which support the generation of a social movement identity. This is comparable to Gramsci's (1971) description of organic intellectuals having the capacity to inform/educate the public and to change the prevailing paradigm. During the 1960s and 1970s, the production of protests songs was in response to the artists' and the public's discontent with the Vietnam War and U.S. involvement. Their production was more than just an artistic outlet, but a creative way in which to inform the public, share views, create a social identity, shift public opinion, and provide support for the antiwar movement. The concept of developing an identity is significant as this is a necessary element in bringing individuals together in the formation of a community or a social movement.

4.9   Establishing Community Through Song

It is well established that music, regardless of genre, is a form of communication, and communication is an intrinsic characteristic of a community, along with shared values, ideas, and ideology. Chaffee (1985) described music as a form of communication capable of reaching beyond man-made boundaries and obstacles created by language. Moreover, he believes that music has the power to establish, "social entities--subcultures, folk traditions, generation gaps, and other boundary definitions--that set people apart" (p. 413). This power of setting people apart can be viewed as community formation and collective identity creation. Many musical

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artists that wrote protest songs had already been well established, many at an international level, such as Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young, and Bob Dylan. This level of popularity, visibility and access to the airwaves allowed them to become social actors and spokespersons in the culture of the 1960s and 1970s. These musical artists and others were able to effectively communicate their own opposition to the war in a manner that, as described by Chaffee, "set people apart" (p. 413). This action of setting people apart is, in essence, the creation of a community. They are set apart from other groups by their shared interests, views, and ideologies. Smith (2001) defined community in terms of sharing an interest and attachment by the people to a common or shared belief. This community was brought together and united in their disapproval of the government's Vietnam War policy and was the seed for the antiwar movement, and shared opposition to the war was part of their social identity.

"War," "Ohio," "Blowin' in the Wind" and other protest songs helped to reinforce an identity at the collective level and a sense of unity which is the very essence of community. Moreover, these songs were both forging and reinforcing an antiwar sentiment and calling for unity among the community members. Songs are not only a tool for communication, but can serve as a catalytic force to establish alliances based on music to reconstruct social borders and have the ability to create collectivities (Shelemay, 2011). The music within the collectivities, then serves as a force in the beginning stages of community formation, specifically in the creation, support, and reinforcement of a collective identity (p. 368). Hutnyk (2000) noted that music creates a space because of its content, but expands that argument by saying that music is rooted in politics by virtue of its ability to confirm community and transmit histories. Eyerman (2002) contended that music and other types of cultural expressions,

can articulate as well as fuse a group, offering a sense of belonging and collectivity as

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well as confronting violent resistance and repressive authority. Through song, a

collective, such as a movement, can objectify itself and its history, making itself visible

to others, as well as creating and establishing a sense of continuity. Finally, music and art

can serve as a basis for recruitment and support, economic as well as moral, passive as

well as active. (p. 447)

As Connell and Gibson (2003) indicated, music is a cultural form that can be utilized in a

political environment in the manufacturing and sustainment of an identity, such as a national

identity. A national identity is not unlike the required identity for the constitution of a

community or social movement. Without an identity there is no community or social movement.

By definition, a community will be a group of people sharing ideology and other

common characteristics such as thoughts, ideas and culture. These social bindings allow a

community to become a force of action and to move forward their own agenda to a larger stage

such as a national stage. Connell and Gibson (2003) stated that the nation-state is socially

constructed to create a sense of community which operates within a geographical area and held

together through common culture and institutions (e.g., governmental structures), and it is the

culture and those structures that bring about a sense of unity. They also explained that, "Popular

music is an integral component of processes through which cultural identities are formed, both at

the personal level and collective levels" (p. 117). The authors went on to say,

...many other cultural forms have been employed to create nations with a sense of

community and unity. Music, alongside national artistic traditions, common religions,

ethnic identity and a range of visual symbols and is embedded in the creation of

nationhood. Music has been used in a variety of political contexts related to the

construction and maintenance of national identity. (p. 117-118)

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Thus, popular music yields influence in the creation and/or reinforcement of a cultural identity at various levels: personal, local and national. Each of these levels is relevant in a protest song's ability to influence the public. This begins first at the personal level with the individual being influenced by the lyrics and music of a protest song, stirring an emotion empathetic to the viewpoint of the songwriter and eventually, as in the case of the Vietnam era, causing an opinion shift if needed. Like-minded individuals then coalesce into a group or community, all sharing the same view of the war and the government's war policies. Over time, as the community's concerns are not being met or addressed, the community then seeks a method by which to bring those issues/concerns to the forefront and to seek the attention of those in power by participating in the antiwar movement. A social movement is the mechanism by which a community can unite to bring about social change.

4.10   Social Movements

Any community within a larger society serves as a unifying organizational social structure. A community is bound by a social glue consisting of shared values, traditions, and common law. If a community determines that a governmental entity or structure is not functioning or operating in the community's best interest, then that community can seek to actualize, reinstate, or reinforce its set of values. The efforts engaged by the community to actualize its values can set in motion the steps towards the creation of another social structure geared towards mobilizing the larger community as a more vocal and mobilized political/economic/social force. That force is essentially an action arm of the community and is known as a social movement. Lewis (1985) noted that while social movements are rooted in social discontent, there must also be a process of legitimizing the discontent in order to make it a force of change. He continued saying that music can be important in redefining and creating a

social ideology for a social movement. Culture can be viewed as an area of our existence that deals with symbols and representations, while society is concerned with the "formation and reformation of identities of action, which actively affect the condition of human existence in practical or material ways" (Eyerman & Jamison, 1995, p. 449). Their "cognitive approach" in approaching the study of social movements views these activities as having the capability to produce new knowledge (p. 450). Swidler (1986) noted that art forms can serve as means by which a social entity can share its views. This view was augmented by Brecht (1964) indicating that art forms created change in the real world by triggering discourse among the audience. This was certainly true in the case of protest songs seeking to disseminate an antiwar sentiment to the larger population in the U.S.

A fine example of a song written in response to wide social discontent and events that took place during the Vietnam era is "What's Going On" by Marvin Gaye (1971). The text in this song highlights several issues that were at the forefront of public discourse when it was released: the seemingly endless deaths of U.S. soldiers and the effect on families, the escalation of the Vietnam War, the police brutality perpetrated on nonviolent protesters, and the older generation discriminating against youth popular culture.

The concept of protest songs of the Vietnam era being able to communicate an antiwar sentiment or a call to social awareness implies that these songs are dialogic, creating a conversation based on social history. This argument is vital to the efficacy of protest songs in preserving history and moving it into the present where the ideologies presented can be deliberated. Popular music is a continuous historical conversation thus making it dialogic and inherently social and historical by nature (Lipsitz, 1990). Lipsitz expands this thought:

First, the presence of the past in rock and roll music has meaning beyond the lure of

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nostalgia and the persistence of artistic clichés. Second, the experiences of the past help

shape both the structure of music and the intentions of artists. Third, the origins of rock

and roll music in the postwar American industrial city infuse the music with certain

democratic and egalitarian propensities. Finally, while no cultural form has a fixed

political meaning, rock and roll music has been and continues to be a dialogic space, an

arena where memories of the past serve to critique and change the present. (p. 100)

While Lipsitz was referring to rock and roll music, protest music is not bound by genre as was

noted earlier. Protest music is found the world over, yet regardless of its origins or time period it

has the same basic characteristics presented by Lipsitz (1990) and the same functions described

by Denisoff (1968).

Protest songs such as "Ohio" point out a form of interdependence. It was not uncommon

for songwriters to write a protest song based on their own feelings, thoughts and political

viewpoints. However, they were sometimes inspired by certain events, policies, or the mission of

the antiwar movement. In effect, the songwriters were being influenced by culture and their

songs were influencing culture. This view was substantiated by Eyerman and Jamison (1995)

arguing that there is a fundamental relationship between popular music serving as a vehicle for a

movement's ideas, images and sentiments and the movement influencing popular music in "both

form and content" (p. 452). Regardless of the circumstances or inspiration for writing a protest

song, they serve to disseminate a message to a wide audience and in identity formation. Eyerman

and Jamison (1995) added that another important effect of popular music was in creating the

collective identity of the 1960s, which was emphasized by mass demonstrations and

organizations. Eyerman and Jamison described some music as being "politically-charged music,"

and that this music "helped project a new vision of American Society" (p. 452). This symbiotic

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relationship is demonstrated is "Ohio" where the song was inspired by a particular event and then the recording and release of the song disseminated the songwriter's and the movement's views and feelings of the event. The symbiotic relationship can also be seen in a song by Graham Nash, "Chicago" (1971). This song was inspired by the violence that erupted at the 1968 Democratic Convention held in Chicago where policemen brutally attacked protestors and the subsequent trial of the Chicago 8 on federal charges of intent to incite a riot (Nash, 2013). This song and others like it sought to frame the issues of the day in a manner that made the listener morally responsible for taking action and implementing change, "We can change the world, rearrange the world..." (Nash, 1971).

The eruption of protest on the campuses of colleges and universities across the U.S. was a result of students being united in their opposition to the war and to the draft. This shared viewpoint marked the beginning step in the creation of a collective or community. A community can be characterized as a collective within a particular area. The term collective implies that the constituents have similar backgrounds and interests. As indicated by Smith (2001) earlier, community can be explored geographically, by viewing the shared beliefs, and via the attachment to place, group, or idea. Social movements can be explored in a similar manner since they share common characteristics with communities.

It is important to note the striking similarities between a community and a social movement. Both are social entities bringing individuals together in a collective. They are brought together by various commonalities such as culture, ideology, and politics. As entities, they have the capacity to promote and communicate their views to a greater audience, and to seek and garner support for those views (thereby increasing their influence, size, scope, and efficacy).

4.11   The Role of the Protest Song in the Antiwar Movement

A barometer by which to judge the efficacy of protest music lies in its ability to bring about political change or create a change in the policy process. Perse (2000) noted that mass communication does have a role in the formation of public opinion serving as a mediator with people experiencing politics indirectly through mass media reporting and as a watchdog tracking, monitoring, and reporting on political affairs. This also can be applied to protest songs with these songs serving as a means to inform and provide news as argued by Mano (2010) and Lee (2006). Likewise, with FM disc jockeys having the wide latitude to express their own personal views and those of their listeners through the airwaves, the power to help shape public opinion was possible.

However, it is difficult to make a direct connection between protest music and political change. Nonetheless, an indirect relationship can be deduced from various studies linking social movements, protest, and political change. It has already been indicated that protest music has the capacity to disseminate ideologies and other complex ideas, affect emotion, build collective identities, and serve as a means of historical archiving by retelling an event. Protest songs can be a form of resistance, which is sometimes manifested as social protest. Social protest has been known to influence political leaders and their decision making, thereby bringing about political change and/or policy change. In a study conducted by McAdam and Su (2002), the researchers analyzed congressional voting data during the Vietnam War. The researchers coded protest events from the *New York Times* and the counts of roll-call votes to search for a relationship between the two variables. While the researchers indicated mixed results, they did report a pattern showing that "extreme or threatening forms of protest simultaneously increase pro-peace voting while depressing the overall pace of congressional action" (p. 696). The authors also

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argued that protest does not affect policy directly,

> but indirectly by first shifting public opinion in the direction of movement goals. Once
>
> opinion has shifted in this way, it then acts...to alter the policy preferences of those public
>
> officials who are subject to electoral pressures. (p. 703)

This argument also holds true for protest music as one of its primary strengths is in its ability to create a new paradigm in the way people think. A fundamental change in the way individuals think is perhaps the first step to creating an opinion shift. Opinion shift is dependent on the dissemination of information, and the protest song was an effective method to do this.

It is well documented that there was a certain amount of misinformation disseminated by the U.S. government in reporting U.S. successes in the Vietnam War. The victories by U.S. military personnel and the number of enemy troops killed were sometimes overstated. Research conducted by Lee (2006) asserted that the mainstream media did a poor job of reporting the developments surrounding the conflict. It was his assertion that protest music functioned as an "alternative media outlet" responsible for partially filling the gap by raising questions and issues (p. 2). His findings further showed,

> that as U.S involvement in Vietnam escalated and opposition to the war among the
>
> American people increased, the popularity of protest music rose proportionally, and that
>
> by the time opposition to the war had reached its peak, protest music had largely been
>
> incorporated into the mainstream culture. (p. 3)

Protests songs' function as an alternative media channel allowed the lyrics that emphasized the public's discontent with the war to be widely communicated, further encouraging discourse among its listeners.

One manner in which the efficacy of protest music can be seen is by examining its role in

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the antiwar demonstrations. Signs of organized public displays of discontent with the war surfaced as early as 1964. The ability or function of a social movement, a community, and songs to bring people together can be established in the numerous organized antiwar demonstrations that took place across the country. These early student demonstrations took place across various U.S. cities with participants numbering only a few hundred. However, those demonstrations soon became more pronounced and profound.

One antiwar demonstration, in particular, took place on October 21, 1967 in the nation's capital with an estimated 100,000 protestors participating, and became known as the March on the Pentagon (Leen, 1999). Leen (1999) explained that this march was part of a five day nationwide protest organized by the National Mobilization Committee to end the War in Vietnam, which was a coalition of 150 groups. U.S. Deputy Marshals reported that following the rally, which took place in front of the Lincoln Memorial, approximately 35,000 protestors then marched to the Pentagon where the demonstration turned violent, and resulted in 682 people being arrested ("US Marshals Service," n.d.). *Washington Post* staff writer William Chapman (1967) reported the following day that the program featured folk songs by Peter, Paul and Mary, and Phil Ochs singing "I Declare the War is Over." As the war continued and the number of U.S. soldiers climbed, the antiwar movement held its largest demonstration. The moratorium to end the war in Vietnam took place on November 15, 1969 with an estimated 500,000 protestors taking part. Archival film from public television WGBH in Boston shows the multitude singing "Give Peace a Chance" led by folk singer Pete Seeger (WGBH, 1990). The use of protest songs at these rallies validates the argument that songs were an integral part of the antiwar movement. These songs were at the forefront of the protestors minds, no less than the issues that were the raison d'être for the movement itself.

Protest music is instrumental in creating an identity, disseminating an ideology, bringing awareness to social issues, and creating a social collective. These characteristics were shared by both communities and social movements with movements seeking to bring individuals together and create a cohesiveness built upon common ideas, beliefs, values and ideologies with the intent of reaching specific goals and solving social issues/problems. "Blowin' in the Wind," "Ohio," "War," and protest music, in general, and coincide with the goals that both communities and social movements sought to accomplish and ultimately, bring the war to an end.

4.12   Public Opinion and Policy Shift

The success of the antiwar movement required support and participation beyond students. It needed to reach disparate social and ethnic groups, basically wide general support for it to be legitimate and have any effect on political leaders. The antiwar movement's ability to bring together disparate groups from across the nation was further supported by Hunt and Levine (2012) who wrote that by 1967 the protest movement had moved from the campuses to the larger society. This group now included, "Women's and nuclear groups, civil rights and black power advocates, union members, people of faith, representatives of professional organizations, and the first veterans swelled the numbers at the rallies" (p. 223). Perhaps, even more telling is that the public opinion shift that took place regarding the war was also spreading to the government officials. Hunt and Levine (2012) described the loss of support among some of President Lyndon B. Johnson's inner circle including his National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, who now advised stopping the bombing to help the peace negotiations. Thus, it can be argued that the antiwar movement succeeded not only in creating a public opinion shift, but a policy shift as well. This policy shift at the upper echelons of power was a requirement for finally bringing the war to a conclusion and bringing home the

troops.

Perhaps there is some vindication of the antiwar movement's notion that the war was unwinnable. Robert McNamara, the chief strategist of the war and U.S. Secretary of Defense under Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson wrote,

> We of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations who participated in the decisions on Vietnam acted according to what we thought were the principles and traditions of this nation. We made our decisions in light of those values. Yet we were wrong, terribly wrong. We owe it to future generations to explain why. I truly believe that we made an error not of values and intentions, but of judgment and capabilities. (McNamara, 1995, p. xx)

Those errors in judgment refer to the government's view that the war was winnable. The thought that the war was a stalemate was central to the stance of bringing home the troops, and this was illuminated by the protest songs and the antiwar movement. Protest songs and the antiwar movement brought attention to the draft system, the amorality of the war, the loss of life, the massacre at Kent State, and the pursuit of peace.

Political leaders are meant to be representative of their constituency. Their voting tendency should reflect the views of the people they represent. As such any new ideas or views, such as those presented by a social movement require wide acceptance before a political leader considers political action. For a social movement's ideology to become politically relevant, it must be seen as legitimate to a wide group of followers. By doing so, it can gather wide support which, in turn, can lead to policy reform or change. Sawyers and Meyer (1999) view politics as specific areas of political opportunities with each area having its own set of actors or players that will yield influence in their particular area. The researchers noted that the actors change over

time as does their relevance and influence. They also noted that for the most part change or reform is conservative. However, they noted that political protest or social movements can change the actors, the extent of a political conflict and the focus on issues. Social movements thus create their own political area that legitimizes their views and builds a base for government action.

In response to widespread protests against the Vietnam War, President Richard M. Nixon gave a televised speech to the nation to explain his Vietnam War policy. The speech was given on November 3, 1969 and is referred to as his Silent Majority speech. In it he said,

In San Francisco a few weeks ago, I saw demonstrators carrying signs reading: 'Lose in Vietnam, bring the boys home.' Well, one of the strengths of our free society is that any American has a right to reach that conclusion and to advocate that point of view. But as President of the United States, I would be untrue to my oath of office if I allowed the policy of this Nation to be dictated by the minority who hold that point of view and who try to impose it on the Nation by mounting demonstrations in the street. (Nixon, 1969)

Undoubtedly, Nixon was well aware of the demonstrations and the mounting national dissatisfaction with the war. In another quote taken from the "Whitehouse Tapes," Nixon is having a private conversation with U.S. Secretary of the Treasury John Connally, and Nixon specifically mentions the antiwar movement commenting, "The antiwar movement is a wild orgasm of anarchists sweeping across the country like a prairie fire" (Nixon, 1972). Regardless of whether the antiwar movement helped stop the war or not, there is little doubt that its message of stopping the war and bringing home the troops had gotten the attention of the highest elected official in the land.

To what extent popular music was effective in helping stop the war will continue to be

debated and the same holds true for the antiwar movement. However, there is little doubt that protest songs did have an influence on the U.S. public by helping shape opinion, focusing on issues, and creating a sense of identity and community for those opposed to the government's involvement in Vietnam. This community, in time, formed the nucleus for what became the antiwar movement. In any given social movement, there will be an intent or goal it seeks to accomplish. This is the primary element that brings individuals together and helps define the movement. Perhaps one way to view the efficacy of a social movement is to examine its stated goals or mission and assess whether they were accomplished or not. In the case of the antiwar movement, the purpose was to end the war and bring home the troops, and ultimately this did take place.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The Vietnam War was at least partially responsible for creating an environment for protest during the 1960s and 1970s. With youth being the segment most impacted by the war, it was their protests that manifested in various forms including popular music. The intersection of art and technology led to a unique set of circumstances in history that allowed protest songs to not only flourish, but explode. Adding to the potency of the antiwar message through song was its dissemination via the radio airwaves and the complementary progressive radio format that was able to effectively reach a highly receptive youth market.

The popularity of songs among youth lies in its ability to connect with the values and viewpoints shared by young people. This takes place at an important developmental stage when youth are seeking an identity and other social spheres separate from that of their parents. The research indicated that the adolescent stage is a period that includes a fundamental shift in the type of media used, moving from television to radio and more listening to music. This shift is paramount as it gives credence to the influence that protest songs had on the youth growing up during the Vietnam War era and the complementary role that radio had simultaneously. Protest songs and radio created a social space where politics, the war and culture were discussed, reinforced and disseminated. Protest songs provided the soundtrack of the time that permeated and penetrated the psyche of youth, and eventually the nation.

It is widely accepted that music is a form of communication. As was noted earlier by Chaffee (1985), music is not bound by social or man-made boundaries and can transcend time/space. However, Chaffee builds on that premise by saying that music has the power to establish "social entities" (p. 413). A social entity is a community. This viewpoint is fundamental in substantiating a protest song's function as part of a communicative/sociological process

leading to the creation of a community. In turn, the creation of a community can be the initial step leading to the creation of social movement, as was the case in the antiwar movement.

Protest songs, regardless of their genre or origin appear to function in a universal manner. Earlier in this project, the functions of protest were illustrated best by Denisoff (1968) indicating 1) they must seek and garner support or audience sympathy for a social movement or produce a change in the listener's attitude, 2) the song seeks to support the ideology or the values of a social movement's supporters, 3) a sense of unity is created in the movement or organization that supports the songwriter's ideological stand, 4) there is a call for recruiting individuals to join a specific movement, 5) the song proposes solutions to reach a goal, and 6) the song calls attention to a problem, an event/situation or item of discontent generally utilizing language replete with emotion. These functions, regardless of the youth oriented music genre of the time, are visible (and audible) across the protest songs that were produced.

This country was founded on the principle of freedom, perhaps none more important than the freedom to express ourselves and to petition the government. Protest can be compared to a form of petitioning the government in seeking redress for grievances. It is fitting that this guarantee appears in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The protest songs of the 1960s and 1970s provided a vehicle by which the government was addressed and made accountable. Perhaps not directly, but there is little doubt that these songs influenced the U.S. public, including those in government. As the U.S. involvement in Vietnam deepened and the loss of life climbed, the youth made their antiwar views visible through demonstration both violent and nonviolent, and audible through popular songs. The antiwar movement, although loosely organized was able to coalesce a wide range of groups and individuals united in their opposition to the war. Eventually, the nation-wide antiwar demonstrations commanded the

attention of the U.S. presidency, arguably leading to an end to the war.

Protest songs played an important role in the antiwar movement allowing the free flow of information, ideas, and ideology to transcend geographic, ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic obstructions and differences. This ability to express and transmit complex ideas was pivotal in creating an opinion shift in the mind of the U.S. public and eventually a policy shift, thereby limiting and eventually helping end U.S. military involvement in Vietnam.

Protest can include the gamut of artistic expression, arguably none is more creative, expressive, or effective as a protest song. A song has the capacity to remain in our minds long after its initial hearing. In some cases, it becomes a part of our long term memory becoming a permanent and important part of who we are and what we believe in. The use of song as a form of protest has the power to organize people by promoting a specific thought or idea, it can effectively articulate the views of the songwriter, and disseminate those views to a greater audience. Moreover, protest songs have the capacity to create a sense of community and unity within large groups of people, and function as a recruitment tool that has the force to birth, advance, and reinforce a movement capable of political change. This function/process is relevant to the antiwar movement that was born in the 1960s to protest the Vietnam War and was thus fueled by the protest songs of the time. Thus, the protest song coupled with radio's power to reach a mass audience helped create and advance the antiwar movement by keeping the ideology of the songwriters at the front of the listeners' minds and the nation. It was the ultimate hope of those involved in the movement, whether as an activist or songwriter, that someday their efforts bring the Vietnam War to an end. On January 27, 1973 those hopes were fulfilled, and the Paris Peace Accords were signed finally bringing an end to the war.

5. 1   Future Considerations

There is an indication that there is a close relationship, interplay and symbiosis between

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protest songs, community and social movements. Each is concerned with the dissemination of thoughts, ideas, ideology, and identity development. There is also a social component with protest songs aiding in the creation of a community composed of individuals with similar beliefs. A community can then become a social movement when a community is compelled to take action as way of expressing its discontent and/or grievances to a power structure. Throughout this process, protest songs serve to reinforce, recruit, and energize both the community and the social movement. Simultaneously, a community and a social movement can influence music/songs through the collective thoughts and desires of the social entity.

Music, in general, is a vital component in culture functioning not just as a form of entertainment, but as ritualistic practice that is very much an integral part of social life. This leads to further questions regarding the relationship between protest music, community, social movements and communication/sociological progressions within social structures and the role that sex/gender and race play in these cultural artifacts and entities. It is beyond the scope of this research project to identify or define a social or communicative progression between protest music, community, and a social movement. Perhaps some of the research found here will spur or provide a basis for further inquiry on the interaction between songs and these social entities. There are other limitations that can be identified in this research project, such as sex/gender.

The music of the 1960s and 1970s, particularly rock music was a male dominated industry. This is not to say that there were not any influential female rockers. There were definitely several influential female artists such as Joni Mitchell, Janis Joplin, and Joan Baez. Joan Baez, in particular, was deeply involved in the U.S. civil rights and antiwar movements. She was sometimes referred to as the female Bob Dylan. This comparison is hardly fair as Baez was a talented songwriter and performer, and deserving of recognition on her own accord. Yet,

this comparison gives an indication of the views promulgated by the industry. In fact, as a disc jockey in the mid-1970s, this researcher worked for an AOR (album oriented rock) station that was consulted by one of the top programming companies in the nation at that time. Those programmers did not allow the disc jockeys to begin a song set with a female vocalist. It was their view that a female was not strong enough to carry a song set. As unbelievable as that sounds today, it gives insight into the thoughts of radio programmers and other power brokers in the music industry at that time. It is clear to see that such an attitude resulted in less attention and airplay being given to a female rock artist. This fact influenced the selection process for the songs chosen for textual analysis, since female rock performers' songs were at a disadvantage to climb the charts, receive airplay, and thus, potentially influence the public. A goal of this research project was to identify those protest songs that had the greatest influence on the public during the Vietnam War era. While, the sex/gender issue was not explored in this research project it certainly warrants investigation into the role of female artists in the antiwar movement, and this important era in U.S. history.

Race is also very much a part of our national political discourse and has been a part of the discourse revolving around popular music. Early record company executives practiced their own brand of segregation by creating record labels that catered to specific racial groups. However, the liberal attitude by most youth (both black and white) in the U.S. during this period, allowed for music composed by both African-American and white artists to be viewed more as a colorless commodity consumed by the public in general. Regardless of race, the themes covered in Vietnam War era protest music were very similar and involved the loss of life, the draft, and bringing an end to the war. One exception was protest music composed by African-Americans artist dealing with poverty and the plight of the inner cities. Chapter One discussed the role of

freedom songs during the civil rights movement in the U.S. These freedom songs were similar to the protest songs related to the Vietnam War, with freedom songs serving as catalyst in the creation of a social collective based on ideology and imagined communities. These imagined communities would involve a world where there was racial equality. This research project did not investigate any differences based on race in the assimilation of protest songs, listening habits, or emotional response. Another area of research not covered in this project deals with the implementation of the Uses and Gratification Theory to investigate, based on race, how individuals use media, their motives for using media, and the consequences of individual media use. These are discursive avenues that can be explored by future researchers.

This research project does not seek to negate the influential role that other media played in the antiwar movement and helping to bring the Vietnam War to an end. As was pointed out in Chapter One television news, newspapers, and magazines played a significant role in bringing about an opinion shift in the public's initial support of the war effort. The printed word and images can most certainly illicit an emotional response and this affect was an important step in creating an opinion shift, and later a policy shift. As was previously indicated, by 1972 a majority of the U.S. public relied on television as its primary source for news as opposed to newspapers. Similarly, the influence yielded by images can be seen by the impact a particular photograph had on Neil Young. The iconic picture of the lifeless body of the massacred Kent State student inspired Young to write one the most important songs of the Vietnam era. These interesting facts indicate that there is a justification for more research on the affect and effect of news and images as it pertains to the Vietnam War. However, as indicated early on in this research project, the focus was on protest music and its influence on the U.S. public, as it pertained to the Vietnam War. Protest songs and their ability to affect a listener at an emotional

level, disseminate complex thoughts and ideologies, and create a community were unique in their capacity to reach the youth audience. Youth's pervasive use of radio during this period enhanced the overall effect of the protest songs and the message they carried. The print medium and television did not have the ability to reach the youth audience in the manner that radio did.

Lastly, the fact that only three songs were chosen for textual analysis can be viewed as a limitation. Most certainly, some research methodologies seek to quantify data and provide results based on a greater number of samples. This research project does, after all, indicate that there were large numbers of protest songs composed during the Vietnam War. This research project sought instead to select three songs that were not only representative of their respective genres, but also chosen for their influence on the public, their critical acclaim, and/or influence on other artists or the music industry. However, even these criteria can be debated and any change in the selection process will yield different results. For example, other criteria that can be used is selecting protest songs based on the number of weeks on *Billboard* or only protest songs that made it into the top ten. There are obviously numerous ways to set parameters by which popular music can be viewed, each with its own outcomes and limitations. It is hoped that by pointing out the limitations in this chapter, other researchers will be spurred to conduct their own investigations of protest music and music, in general.

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Vita

Juan R. Carrillo has worked in the communications field for 40 years with experience as an announcer, recording engineer, in resource development, and public relations. Juan started his professional career after his first semester at UTEP working at a commercial radio station. He went on to become the morning drive disc jockey at two of El Paso's top rock stations. After receiving his Bachelor of Arts in Mass Communication (UTEP, 1979) he became a recording engineer and national level technical trainer with Empowerment through Communications (ETCOM) where he also went on to become a cofounder of KXCR Radio. Recognized for his expertise in audio production, he was recruited by National Public Radio (network level) in Washington, D.C. Quickly establishing himself as one of their premier engineers, he went on to engineer numerous high level projects. The highlight of his 10 year tenure at NPR was being named the Project Engineer for the nationally broadcast 26-part series "Making the Music with Wynton Marsalis." Juan received the prestigious George Foster Peabody Award for his work on this series. Leaving NPR in 1998, Juan returned to El Paso and has concentrated his efforts as a communication/public relations/technology/development executive working for such prominent organizations as the United States-Mexico Border Health Commission, The El Paso Empowerment Zone, the Anthony Independent School District and Communities in Schools of El Paso. His is currently a development director for KTEP-FM and lecturer at UTEP.

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