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Popular Music, Popular Opinion, and an Un-Popular War

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The study of culture within international relations has created a new perspective of understanding world politics that seeks to diversify and create a more inclusive academic field. To have a cohesive acumen of such field, international relations must study all constituents that are affected, influence, relate to, and mirror politics. This includes researching and taking serious creative and non-traditional sources of knowledge to broaden and deepen the discipline. However, as culture is a vastly difficult topic to research, one essential tool that can be used to uncover how politics relates and interacts with culture is through analyzing popular culture and popular culture products. As popular culture is an essential part of the larger cultural universe that we experience day to day, its scope of investigating society is broad and far reaching. If the way in which society interacts with politics can be shown through popular culture products, these products are worthy to explore to understand what we know about world politics and how we have come to know it. That is to say, do popular culture products serve as unconventional political knowledge conventions?

However, there are some critical views of popular culture products, such as that of The Frankfurt School which infers that culture is used to control mass societies.¹ Mass culture theory subscribes to the belief that corporations and governments use mass culture to control political thought.² In countering mass culture theory, the underlying question remains, where does popular culture come from and who does it represent? As Tony Bennett has said, to study popular culture is to study ‘the people’.³ Studying the people, can explore the ways in which citizens relate and experience politics in their everyday lives. Therefore, if popular culture products are representative of the people, can it also be representative of their political views? Scholars say, different representations within popular culture products are not just “passive mirrors; they also play a crucial role in constituting the social and political world.”⁴ Researching such products then facilitates insight into these representations which can help to explain or elucidate constructions in world politics.⁵

¹ Theodor Adorno and Horkheimer, Max. “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception” In: *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 1944. <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/adorno/1944/culture-industry.htm>.

² *ibid.*

³ Tony Bennet. ‘The Politics of the Popular, in *Popular Culture and Social Relations*, 2nd edn, edited by John Storey, Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall, 1998, 20.

⁴ Daniel H. Nexon and Iver B. Neumann. *Harry Potter and International Relations*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006, 14.

⁵ *ibid.*

This thesis seeks to add to the tracing of political topics within popular culture and uncover the relationship of how the public interacts with popular culture products and political views, simultaneously. Comprehending political topics within cultural products is essential to understanding culture's influence within world politics, as culture acts as a site to construct a world view, be it through text, music, or plays.⁶ Furthermore, these cultural texts either validate or challenge particular images of the world by taking particular sides and stances.⁷ When people interact with cultural texts, they are acquiring knowledge about the world and possibly knowledge about political processes. The information being acquired may not be neutral and can then influence one's opinions on political topics. Therefore, international relations scholars should take these representations as significant areas beyond dominant knowledge conventions.

To take a closer look at the relationship between culture and politics, the time period of the 1960's in the United States is worthy of intense research. With anti-war movements, social riots, and segregation outrage, this era is marked as a time of major social change. The Vietnam War struck a jolt of involvement into politics for many young and old citizens in the US, as over 58,000 Americans ultimately lost their lives and the draft nearly doubled, to a number higher than any other time in history. At the start of the war in 1965 when US troops were beginning to be deployed, the approval rating from US citizens for the war was at 61%. By 1973, this number dropped to 29% with 60% believing the war was a mistake.⁸ This time period is significant as the general American public changed the way it reacted to foreign policy and began to challenge the actions of the administration.⁹ Since the Vietnam War sparked drastic opinions from society about foreign policy, and if cultural products are representative of the people, then popular culture during this time should reflect society's concerns about the Vietnam War.

Another critical element to studying this time is many families began to have radios in their homes and in their daily lives. Therefore, cultural music products were being experienced frequently by the masses. Studying the messages within popular music during a drastic transition of popular opinion about foreign policy, creates the perfect case study for

⁶ John Storey. *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, Essex: Pearson Education, 2001, 162.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Lydia Saad. "Gallup Vault: Hawks vs. Doves on Vietnam", Gallup Vault, May 24, 2016, Accessed June 5, 2018. <http://news.gallup.com/vault/191828/gallup-vault-hawks-doves-vietnam.aspx>.

⁹ William Lurch and Peter Sperlich. 'American Public opinion and the Vietnam War', in *Western Political Quarterly*, 1st edn, ProQuest, 1979, 24.

analyzing if popular culture exemplifies the political views of the people. This bring us to the research question:

In what ways does popular music in the United States relate to political views about the Vietnam War from 1965 to 1973?

This research question will be analyzed by first questioning if popular culture products are encompassing of political topics? If this is true, in what ways do these cultural products reflect certain political views? Do the cultural products act as a site to challenge or validate the administration's policy in the Vietnam War ? The research will further question whether the uncovered political views within the cultural products, correlates to the changing political views of the public? This thesis intends to not only chart war themes within the most popular music of the Vietnam era but to also investigate if these messages were neutral or not. Then, assess if the messages follow or relate to the trend of political popular opinion. These sub questions will be used to explore how cultural music products interact with world politics and the public, which has implications for our knowledge of political processes and the study of international relations.

Researching political topics within popular music during the time of the Vietnam War remains heavily uncharted, but scholars have proven it exists.¹⁰ This thesis seeks to fill the gap of charting popular music during the Vietnam War, on a mass scale, to sift out messages about foreign policy. Using a methodological triangulation, this thesis will use content analysis, context analysis, and statistical analysis. These methods combined will create a completely new mass data set of songs with reference to the war, during this time period. The Billboard Top 100 is a collected and unbiased data base that measures the performance of singles in the United States. It is representative of the most popular music during the years of the war and can be used as an analytical tool to understand how political messages can be traced through music and ultimately in popular culture. First, The Billboard Top 100 will be content analyzed to extract songs by year that use "code words" that relate to foreign policy during the years 1965 – 1973. This includes 900 songs (100 from each year) to be content analyzed. Once the songs with the signified and chosen code words to reference war topics are extracted by content analysis, this will produce a new data set of songs that contain

¹⁰ Michael Klein, ed. *The Vietnam Era Media and Popular Culture in the US and Vietnam*, London: Pluto Press, 1990, 82.

political words and potentially political messages. Then, this data set will then be discourse and textually analyzed to compliment the weaknesses of quantitative analysis with qualitative methods. Content analysis alone cannot reveal political opinions, only songs that use politically associated words. Therefore, textually analyzing the lyrics and language used within the songs will uncover political messages being potentially produced. This qualitative research method will uncover if cultural music products are encompassing of political views and if such views take a particular side on US foreign policy. Finally, to add to the theoretical debate on who cultural products are made for and if they are used to express political views, this thesis will discover whether the developments of political views within the song lyrics statistically correlates with the developments of public opinion about the Vietnam War. Using normalized cross correlation will reveal whether the public's perception of the war and of foreign policy, is reflected and can be traced within popular culture music. This thesis does not seek to only uncover political topics within music but to understand the ways in which popular culture products relate mutually to societal political views.

1.2 Chapter Outline

The following chapter will outline theories and relevant literature about popular culture that this thesis builds on for the case study of popular music during the Vietnam War. Chapter 3 will be used to provide historical information about the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War to provide a description of key developments within the war that influenced American society. Chapter 4 discusses the research methods and case study chosen for this thesis. Using the methods outlined in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 will reveal the analysis results of first, the content analysis; secondly, the discourse analysis; and finally, the cross-correlation. In Chapter 6, the results of the analyses will be discussed in answering the questions of this thesis and explain how the case analysis adds to the literature on popular culture and world politics.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

The focus of this thesis draws on the emerging field of popular culture in the study of politics and international relations. Theories about ways cultural products relate to society and politics will be discussed and which builds the basis and justification of this thesis. Next, the importance of popular culture within international relations will be explained in broadening and diversifying the scope of IR research and politics. Finally, public opinion and its relationship to foreign policy will be explored to show the significance of the variables within this thesis.

2.1 Popular Culture Theories

To begin examining how politics and popular culture are intertwined during the era of the Vietnam War, it is essential to look at the existing theories that seek to deconstruct the constitutive relationship between the two. There have been some theories, such as those put forth by The Frankfurt School, that suggest that popular culture is used by mega corporations to control the masses and their political thought.¹¹ The question, where does popular culture come from, stands at the heart of the theoretical debate on popular culture and politics. As Dominic Strinati asks, “Does it come from the people themselves as an autonomous expression or is it imposed?”¹² Those who echo mass culture theory ascribe that people who live in mass societies are completely atomized and thus, have no meaningful relationships and are easily manipulated by capitalism, mass media, and the state.¹³ Mass culture is seen as synonymous with mass production as culture is considered commercial and made only for monetary reasons.¹⁴ With this view, mass culture has then lost authenticity and only reflects trivial and superficial topics which threatens the intellectual regard of “high” culture.¹⁵ However, a major critique to mass culture theory is it assumes mass culture as homogenous, standardized, and completely ignores the diversity of popular culture.¹⁶ Strinati points out, this theory lacks adequate insight of social and cultural change as it only equates mass culture

¹¹ Theodor Adorno and Horkheimer, Max. “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception” In: *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 1944. <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/adorno/1944/culture-industry.htm>.

¹² Dominic Strinati. *An Introduction to Popular Culture Theories*, London: Routledge, 1995, 3.

¹³ Strinati, *An Introduction to Popular Culture Theories*, 1995, 9.

¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ J Collins. *Uncommon Cultures: Popular Culture and Post-modernism*, New York and London: Routledge, 1989, 10.

to industrialization and fails to explain the unifying interest of the public with certain cultural products.¹⁷

In contrast to mass culture theory and the power relations between corporations and the public, Grayson, et al. have established that popular culture and world politics are not autonomous but rather both are an expression of power relations.¹⁸ The separation between “high” and “low” culture is associated with the bourgeois and is perpetuated by knowledge and wealth boundaries where the distinction of the elite versus the public is exemplified.¹⁹ This separation is a direct expression of power relations in itself.²⁰ However, post-modernism explains the change in mass culture and the diminishing distinction between “high” and “low” culture. Post-modernism states that society has changed and is now saturated by cultural products and images, which dominate our sense of reality yet, we consume such products for our own interest.²¹ This is important to the era of the 1960’s as the use of the radio saturated people’s lives with music and the public chose to use the radio. The use of technology during the 60’s blurred the distinction between “high” and “low” culture.²² Not only did mass culture rise to be taken seriously due to postmodernism but, Hal Foster says, postmodernism seeks to deconstruct modernism and resist the status quo.²³ Music can be seen as postmodern by the methods it was played and through the use of “sampling” and technology.²⁴ Post-modern music combines the techniques of “high” culture, such as playing the violin but with new cultural techniques, such as synthesizers. This leads to the significance of researching music as it is not just for the “elite” anymore but for the masses.

Adding to the theoretical debate of the study of culture, John Storey argues, ideology is embedded in culture which contrasts to the views that culture is neutral and superficial.²⁵. This claim is supported through the notion that culture acts as a site to construct a world view, be it through text, music, or plays.²⁶ Cultural texts either validate or challenge

¹⁷ Strinati, *An Introduction to Popular Culture Theories*, 1995, 45.

¹⁸ Kyle Grayson, Matt Davies, and Simon Philpott. “Pop Goes IR? Researching the Popular Culture-World Politics Continuum”, *Politics* 29, no. 3, 2009, 155–63.

¹⁹ Sascha Bru. *Regarding the Popular Modernism, the Avant-garde, and High and Low Culture*, European Avant-garde and Modernism Studies, v. 2, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2012.

²⁰ J. Weldes. ‘High Politics and Low Data: Globalization Discourses and Popular Culture’, in Yanow, D. & Schwartz-Shea, P. (eds.) *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn*, London, New York: M.E. Sharper, 2006.

²¹ Strinati, *An Introduction to Popular Culture Theories*, 1995, 224.

²² Susan Santag. *Against Interpretations*, New York: Deli, 1966, 296.

²³ Hal Foster. ‘Introduction’ to *Postmodern Culture*, edited by Hal Foster, London: Pluto, 1985, xi.

²⁴ John Storey. *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, Essex: Pearson Education, 2001, 162.

²⁵ Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, 2001, 4.

²⁶ *ibid.*

particular images of the world by taking particular sides and stances.²⁷ Therefore, if culture is not neutral but acts as a platform to exemplify certain narratives, studying culture can enlighten analysts on these constructs and their effects. Culture should not be overlooked but regarded as products of political knowledge, especially in the case of popular culture; which in this thesis is referred to as ‘well-liked by many people’.²⁸

An approach to studying popular culture that echoes its value is the Neo-Gramscian approach put forth by John Storey. With this approach as Tony Bennett in ‘The Politics of the Culture’ claims, popular culture is the study of ‘the people’.²⁹ Here ‘the people’ refers to different groups who are distinguished from elites or those in power and are thus, united “of being organized into ‘the people versus the power bloc’ - if their separate struggles are united”.³⁰ Stuart Hall adds to this constructed dichotomy, the use of politics. Stating that popular culture acts as a site to contest the difference of ‘the people’ and the ‘power bloc’.³¹ It is this distinction and separation which constructs popular culture and allows those who are not part of the elite society a voice, a uniting relation, and a platform.³² John Fiske has stated, popular culture acts as a site where everyday resistances and evasions of ‘the people’ are exemplified, therefore contesting the attempt of capitalism’s ideological hegemony.³³ Since popular culture draws from the strength and continuity of the people, it can inflict social change through semiotic resistance and be potentially progressive.³⁴

Furthering the research on the relationship of politics and popular culture, John Street, Sanna Inthorn, and Martin Scott conducted research to conclude, popular culture acts as a tool to where young people gain knowledge and understanding about world issues.³⁵ David Jackson also conducted research on young adults that states, popular culture with political sentiment heavily influences young adults.³⁶ Both of these research studies show popular culture as an influential tool in creating political ideology and in reflecting the political ideology of the people. It can no longer be ignored that popular culture is a part of everyday

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ Raymond Williams. *Keyword*, London: Fontana, 1983, 237.

²⁹ Bennet, ‘The Politics of the Popular’, 1998, 20.

³⁰ *ibid.*

³¹ Stuart Hall. “Notes on Deconstructing the Popular”, In R. Samuel, ed. *People’s history and socialist theory*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981, 448.

³² *ibid.*

³³ John Fiske. *Understanding Popular Culture*, London: Unwin Hyman, 1989, 8.

³⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵ John Street, Sanna Inthorn and Martin Scott. *From Entertainment to Citizenship: Politics and Popular Culture*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013, 135.

³⁶ David J Jackson. *Entertainment and Politics: The Influence of Pop Culture on Young Adult Political Socialization*, New York: Peter Lang, 2002.

life, reflects views about the world, and has a major platform to be influential in whatever message it conveys. This thesis hopes to add to the theoretical debate that popular culture is reflective of ‘the people’, that audiences are not passive but use popular cultural products, in particularly music, to exemplify political opinions.

2.2 Popular Culture and International Relations

The work of Iver Neumann and Daniel Nexon goes a great length in explaining how popular culture intersects with international relations, as they discuss four approaches in explaining this relationship.³⁷ They argue that popular entertainment acts as a form of second-order representation that “represents social and political life through a layer of fictional representation”.³⁸ IR scholars usually neglect second-order representation yet, for many people, these representations are often significant sources of knowledge about politics and society, as the studies by David Jackson and John Street et. al. adds. The approaches Neumann and Nexon mention that are significant to this thesis are “popular culture as a mirror” and “popular culture as data”.³⁹ Pop culture products are being analyzed by the ‘causes and effects’ of a political phenomenon, that of the Vietnam War. The significance of studying these elements of popular culture are to examine if they are a “significant cause or outcome for international relations?”⁴⁰ This thesis does not seek to answer if popular culture influences international relations, but this question lies at the intersection of how popular culture can be influential and the reasons to understand and uncover what political views they are representing.

Musical cultural products within this study will be used as data in which to differently uncover the public dilemma of the Vietnam War. As such, they are being treated as storage places of meaning within US society.⁴¹ This thesis will uncover if cultural by-products still hold value for examining foreign policy of their time and if they can be used to gain a new perspective of how society was reacting to the war, even after decades of being published. The reflective capacity of these music products affirms their ability to constitute an identity by the viewer.⁴² Therefore studying the music of this time, can show if popular culture acts as

³⁷ Iver Neumann and Daniel Nexon. *Harry Potter and International Relations*, 2006, 6.

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ Iver Neumann and Daniel Nexon. *Harry Potter and International Relations*, 2006, 9.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁴² B. Buzan. ‘American in Space: The International Relations of *Star Trek* and *Battlestar Galactica*’, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 31, no. 1, 2010, 175-80.

a mirror for understanding public opinion. Ted Hopf argues, comprehending a state's domestic identity can predict foreign-policy behavior. Hopf not only researches first-order representations within foreign policy but also cultural products that constitute "textual sources of identity".⁴³ Popular culture is important to the question of how a state's identity is produced.⁴⁴ With regards to this study, if popular music during this era does follow public opinion about the war, then the prominence of researching the messages coming out of these cultural products could have led to deeper knowledge of domestic identity and possibly the US withdrawing from the Vietnam War. Due to the restrictions of this thesis, causal relationships between foreign policy, public opinion, and cultural products will not be ascribed but will show if cultural products can be used as data to understand places of knowledge about political opinions.

The time period being researched in this study has already been addressed as significant due to the contest of the "power bloc" by the public about foreign policy. Hence, we can test if cultural products acted as a site for this struggle. As Grayson et al. have theorized, cultural products serve as a place where political battles are fought.⁴⁵ As within cultural products "narratives are produced, which serve as the basis for any sense of community and political action."⁴⁶ Thus, world politics cannot be separated from popular culture nor popular culture from world politics. Within the study of international relations, culture can change the ways in which power is produced and the ways hegemony and resistance are operationalized.⁴⁷ Popular culture products create imagined realities which either challenge the status quo or reinforce it.⁴⁸ This study seeks to show whether popular music during this time was used as a site of resistance to the war which reflected public opinion but, not to prove operational power. However, this provides insight into how cultural products can provide knowledge about world political processes.

Music within international relations has given the field, once engulfed in isolationist tendencies, a new avenue of exploration of power alignments on the world stage.⁴⁹ Broadening of the narrow vision away from only including state actors, critical scholars have

⁴³ Ted Hopf. *Social Constructions of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.

⁴⁴ Kyle Grayson, et al. "Pop Goes IR? Researching the Popular Culture-World Politics Continuum", *Politics* 29, no. 3, 2009, 155-63.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ E. Bronfen. "Reality Check: Image Affects and Cultural Memory", *Differences* 17, no.1, 2006, 20-46.

⁴⁷ G. O'Tuathail. *Critical Geopolitics*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

⁴⁸ B. Buzan. "American in Space: The International Relations of *Star Trek* and *Battlestar Galactica*", 2010, 175.

⁴⁹ Marianne Franklin. *Resounding International Relations: on Music, Culture and Politics*, New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2005, 1-26.

addressed the need for applying creative and complex forces to theoretical understanding of the complexity and changing global environment.⁵⁰

Music is inherently constituted by political events and international relations, as composers throughout history have used this medium to convey the terrifying realities of conflict and the ultimate search for peace.⁵¹ Bleiker stresses the value of studying music within the context of political events as emotional knowledge can be captured and generated that other mediums cannot.⁵² Representation within music also makes this cultural product unique to IR as music evokes emotional and sensual engagement within political topics because it must be listened to. Critics of musicological study have suggested that artists in general are always critics of the status quo and therefore, their political ideologies will always challenge that of the administration.⁵³ However, Bleiker suggests that it is not that music is critical of only the status quo but it challenges the listener to reduce the political to the rational.⁵⁴ The rational is neither progressive nor regressive in nature but is calculated and produced by the artist, who may be either cementing the status-quo or challenging it.⁵⁵ Kevin Dunn argues that international relations as a discipline has been formed with unilateral knowledge that reinforces the state of the world where IR scholars are not able to talk about mass killings, poverty, preventable disease, etc.⁵⁶ Yet, music and non-conventional aspects of societal interactions, harness the power to see events critically and clearly and therefore, generate clear and unclouded knowledge of political processes and events.⁵⁷

2.3 American Un-Popular Public Opinion

As the draft began to sky rocket and the death toll began to rise, America's perception of the war spiraled down. It is well documented that the rise in Americans believing the US should not be involved in the Vietnam War, heavily grew during the 1960s and into the 1970s. The "anti-war movement" within the US rose as heavy conflict during the years of the war escalated. Charles Chatfield concludes, the anti-war movement was influential in the growth of public disaffection for the war but it was not able to mobilize or harness it; the

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ Roland Bleiker. "Of Things We Cannot See: Musical Explorations of International Politics" in Franklin, M. *Resounding International Politics*, 2005, 179-195.

⁵² *ibid.*

⁵³ *ibid.*

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ Kevin Dunn. "The Clash of a Civilization: Notes from a Punk/Scholar" in Franklin, M. *Resounding International Politics*, 2005, 263-283.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

overarching public perception of the war turned to resentful neutrality.⁵⁸ The anti-war movement alone did not lead to the ultimate withdraw of US forces, as to suggest such would take agency away from the Vietnamese forces⁵⁹. However, the broad array of actions by the anti-war activists did push the issue of the Vietnam War into the public arena and challenged the administration to “make ever-larger claims for the war”.⁶⁰ There existed two bodies of those who opposed the war, vibrant anti-war activists and a much larger body of people who opposed engagement but did not publicly proclaim their dissent.⁶¹ However, this thesis does not seek to explain the variables for public opinion during the war but to use the already charted numerical data of public opinion to explain the relationship between popular culture and political views. This drastic shift of approval of American foreign policy and how the public interacted with the administration creates a unique dynamic for researching the intersection of popular culture and politics.

During the years 1965- 1973, the general American public not only changed their opinion on the war but, changed the way it reacts to foreign policy and those in charge of creating such policy.⁶² This time period remains a crucial time for researching popular opinion and foreign policy as it contradicts theories that the general public will follow the president’s foreign policy and back the actions of the administration.⁶³ Seymour Martin Lipset said in 1966, “...polls do not make policy so much as follow policy in most areas of international affairs.”⁶⁴ Lunch and Sperlich concluded, for the first-time during the Vietnam War, Americans began to challenge foreign policy proposed by the president and thus, changed the interaction between foreign policy makers and “the public”.⁶⁵ The Vietnam War sparked a change in American and international politics due to the consequence of public opinion.⁶⁶

This shift in reaction to foreign policy meant the ‘power bloc’, as mentioned by Hall and Bennet, was being contested by the public and the ‘bloc’ was listening.⁶⁷ As the ‘elite’

⁵⁸ Charles Chatfield. *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990, 393.

⁵⁹ Kevin Dunn. “The Clash of a Civilization: Notes from a Punk/Scholar” in Franklin, M., *Resounding International Politics*, 2005, 263-283

⁶⁰ Charles Chatfield. *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990, 4.

⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁶² William Lunch and Peter Sperlich. “American Public opinion and the Vietnam War”, 1979, 21.

⁶³ *ibid.*

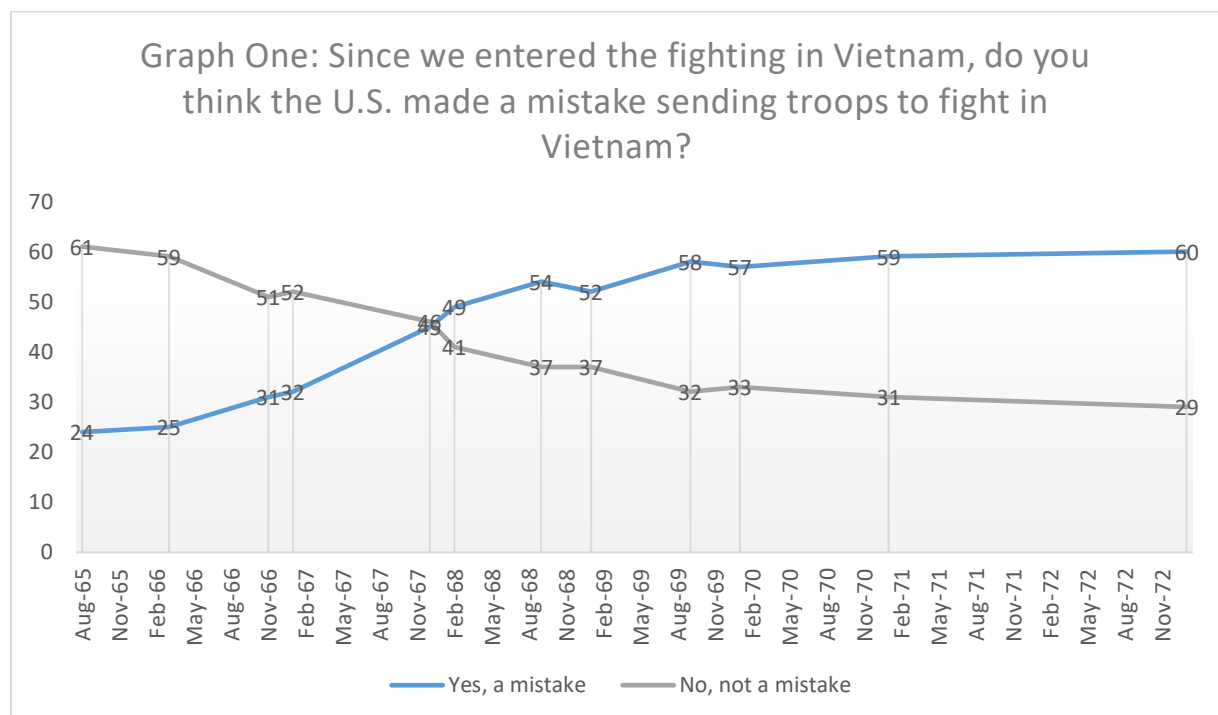
⁶⁴ Seymour Martin Lipset. “The President, the Polls, and Vietnam”, *Trans-Action* 3, 1966, 20.

⁶⁵ William Lunch and Peter Sperlich. “American Public opinion and the Vietnam War”, 1979, 43.

⁶⁶ William Lunch and Peter Sperlich. “American Public opinion and the Vietnam War”, 1979, 44.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*

members of society are not the only ones influencing the ‘power bloc’, opinions and messages of the masses become more relevant in relation to politics and may be represented in cultural products. This is a crucial development for the study of popular culture, as the lines between “thick” culture and “thin” culture begin to blur, more people are beginning to experience popular culture in their lives, and citizens begin to draw on messages from these products to create world views and form opinions. Therefore, studying popular culture products when the public was becoming increasingly involved in foreign policy, is essential to examining if cultural products act as a place to contest foreign policy. The charted data of public opinion during the Vietnam War shows an escalation of those who believed it was a mistake to enter the war in Graph 1 below.⁶⁸



⁶⁸ Lydia Saad. "Gallup Vault: Hawks vs. Doves on Vietnam", Gallup Vault, May 24, 2016. Accessed June 5, 2018. <http://news.gallup.com/vault/191828/gallup-vault-hawks-doves-vietnam.aspx>.

Chapter 3 History and Background to the Vietnam War

3.1 History and Significant Events of the Vietnam War in the United States

The war fought between the United States and Communist Movements in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos is one of the most controversial events in United States history.⁶⁹ For the significance of this thesis, the events described are due to the resonance they had in the public eye and the media attention they received that ultimately influenced the public perception and opinion on the Vietnam war. Ultimately, the cause of this war for the US was to fight the threats of communism in Southeast Asia. As President Eisenhower continued to fund this initiative after the Geneva Conference by providing substantial aid to the Republic of Vietnam.⁷⁰ However, turbulence ensued and escalated as the US backed, Diem Regime's fragility mounted in 1960 and the National Liberation Front for the South of Vietnam (NLF) was becoming increasingly powerful.⁷¹

John F. Kennedy was elected US President in 1961 and, like Truman and Eisenhower before him, was determined to pursue the defeat of communism.⁷² In his inaugural address of 1961 Kennedy stated, "The United States will pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship... to assure the survival and the success of liberty".⁷³ In 1961, Kennedy sent 400 troops that would become known as the famous Green Berets to South Vietnam and in December of 1961, sent more military and economic aid to the south.⁷⁴ Military measures continued to escalate and in 1963 Vietnamese military generals of the Diem regime seized power under a coup and murdered President Diem, only two days prior to President Kennedy's assassination in Dallas, Texas.⁷⁵ At the time Kennedy was murdered, the number of troops in south Vietnam had risen to a substantial 16,700 US military personal.⁷⁶ Unfortunately under the new US President, Lyndon Johnson in 1965, the number of troops would increase eleven fold.⁷⁷

⁶⁹ H. Bruce Franklin, ed. *The Vietnam War in American Stories, Songs, and Poems*, Boston, MA: St. Martin's Press, 1996, 1.

⁷⁰ Gordon Kerr. *A Short History of the Vietnam War*, Harpenden: Pocket Essentials, 2015, 31.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

⁷² G. Herring. *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam 1950-1975*, New York, New York: McGraw Hill Education, 2014, 94.

⁷³ John F Kennedy. "John F. Kennedy Quotations", John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, January 20, 1961. Accessed May 28, 2018.

⁷⁴ Kerr, *A Short History*, 40.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*

⁷⁶ *ibid.*

⁷⁷ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Vietnam Conflict—U.S. Military Forces in Vietnam and Casualties Incurred: 1961 to 1972," table 590, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1977 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980), 369.

A substantial year for Johnson was 1965 as what was codenamed, 'Rolling Thunder', for the increased bombing targets in the North Vietnam, began.⁷⁸ With opposition from US generals about the leading political figures following the Diem regime, Pentagon believed they were the only power to take full control of fighting the war.⁷⁹ Due to an increased presence of American troops in Vietnam, the US draft in 1966 doubled to 35,000 American men over the age of 18 per month and overall 339,000 were drafted over the span of the year.⁸⁰ To the public viewing this war at home, these numbers meant seeing brothers, husbands, and fathers sent into combat. In early 1966, disapproval of the war was climbing and one in five broadcasts about Vietnam dealt with the 'domestic unrest' of the US population.⁸¹ In November of 1967, General Westmoreland claimed in Washington, "We have reached an important point when the end begins to come into view".⁸² However, this was a lie as 1968 was the bloodiest year on all sides of the war. More than 400 Americans were dying weekly and this information was being broadcasted daily in the homes of the American people.⁸³ President Johnson also went on television to speak of 'peace' with North Vietnam and mentions the term 'peace' a total of 32 times within this speech addressed to the American people.⁸⁴

Richard Nixon entered office in 1969 at an incredibly influential time as disapproval of the Vietnam war was at an all-time high and protests were springing up around the country. Nixon announced on September 16 in a televised statement to the public that troops would begin to be withdrawn and pledged to bring an end to the war.⁸⁵ In 1970, protests were mounting to show discontent with the war as is seen in the Kent State shooting, where National Guardsmen opened fire on anti-war protestors killing 4 and wounding many.⁸⁶ As conflict increased in Vietnam, conflict in the US arose from an angry and divisive debate between the public on America's involvement.⁸⁷ At one extreme were the Hawks, a right

⁷⁸ Kerr, *A Short History*, 53.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ Klein, ed. *The Vietnam Era*, 1990, 48.

⁸² James M Lindsay. "TWE Remembers: General Westmoreland Says the "End Begins to Come in to View" in Vietnam", Council on Foreign Relations. Accessed May 29, 2018.

⁸³ Kerr, *A Short History*, 85.

⁸⁴ Lyndon Johnson. "March 31, 1968: Remarks on Decision Not to Seek Re-Election", Miller Center. April 28, 2017. Accessed June 05, 2018. <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/march-31-1968-remarks-decision-not-seek-re-election>.

⁸⁵ Richard Nixon: "Statement on United States Troops in Vietnam", 1969. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2232>.

⁸⁶ Kerr, *A Short History*, 109.

⁸⁷ Herring, *America's Longest War*, 214.

wing view, that believed the conflict in Vietnam was essential to dominating communism.⁸⁸ At the other extreme were the Doves, a vast group who opposed the war with hostility and force.⁸⁹ The opposition movement “grew almost in proportion to the escalation of conflict”.⁹⁰ In June 1971, the *Washington Post* published leaked papers termed the “Pentagon Papers” which detailed US involvement in Vietnam during Johnson’s presidency. More importantly, it exposed that the US government knew the war was unlikely to be won.⁹¹ Nixon was re-elected in the year 1972 and finally in 1973, the Paris Peace Accord was signed to end the war and restore peace to Vietnam.⁹² Over two million Vietnamese and fifty thousand Americans died in this war.⁹³ In the end, it can be said that this was a war not won by either side.⁹⁴

Data on the American troops and deaths involved in the war was also transparent to the public. This information is prevalent to how the war affected American culture during this time. Below, Table 1 shows the increasing presence of US troops on the ground in Vietnam from the years 1964 to 1972 and the number of deaths of US military personal.⁹⁵ For insight into how impactful the war was, this information is vital.

Table One		
Year	US Military Forces	US Military Battle Deaths
1964	23,300	267
1965	184,300	1,369
1966	385,300	5,008
1967	485,600	9,377
1968	536,100	14,589
1969	475,200	9,414
1970	234,600	4,221
1971	156,800	1,381
1972	24,200	300
1973	163	43

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² Kerr, *A Short History*, 136.

⁹³ Klein, *The Vietnam Era*, 1990, x.

⁹⁴ John Prados. *Vietnam: The History of an Unwinnable War 1945- 1975*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2013.

⁹⁵ US Department of Commerce, “Vietnam Conflict”, 369.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 The Era of the 60s: A Case Study

For the intent of this research, a singular case study of popular music during the Vietnam War from 1965 – 1973 will be used. This time period has been chosen as it remains a time of intense social justice issues that grasped the public's attention and lead to high involvement from the public into politics. Anti-war movements were seen across universities and segregation caused controversy across America. Thanks to technological advancements, this era was a turn for post-modernism and popular culture, as many Americans were now experiencing cultural products in their everyday lives. With the line between “high” culture and “low” culture beginning to blur, this period is an excellent time to study whether the people were creating cultural products representative of their political views. This period changed the way that people responded to their administration's foreign policy, as people began to oppose the war in Vietnam. As previously theorized by Grayson & et al., popular culture acts as a site for contesting the ‘power bloc’ and where political battles are fought. Thus, this time period of music can be researched on a grand scale to understand the relationship between popular culture and political views and to test if these political messages reflect public opinion about the Vietnam War. This will deepen the academic literature on popular culture and international relations by uncovering the participation of the public through cultural products in politics.

It has been documented that popular music drew from themes about social issues during the years of the Vietnam War. However, most of the research on the topic has been done on a very narrow scale, such as focusing on certain genres alone, on discourse from specific songs that portrayed certain thematic headings, or on sub-culture groups like the ‘hippies’. For instance, Lee Cooper compiled a bibliographic essay of Rock songs from the years 1960 to 1985 and labeled them based on events or social trends including the Vietnam War.⁹⁶ John Storey also explores the thematic trends in music during the war by analyzing lyrics of certain songs that address certain issues, such as the draft, death, and bringing home troops.⁹⁷ While both of these studies are incredibly useful in exploring how popular songs acted as a platform to discuss important points, a big limitation is that neither shows the ways

⁹⁶ Lee Cooper. *Social Concerns, Political Protest, and Popular Music*, ProQuest, 1988, 53.

⁹⁷ John Storey. “Bringing it all Back Home” in Klein, Michael, ed. *The Vietnam Era Media and Popular Culture in the US and Vietnam*, London: Pluto Press, 1990, 48.

in which this music was perceived by the people, only that they were produced and not how popular the songs were.⁹⁸

While it is noted that there were many songs that spoke out about the Vietnam War, their influence and representation of the people has been difficult to research. Arthur Marwick, by deconstructing themes of cultural revolution through protest music has attempted to do this but, has only analyzed a limited scope of songs within his analysis.⁹⁹ Sarah Hill has written about the presence of protests in the 1960's saying it was a time where most of the social activism was demonstrated through musical manifestation but does not document the development of this manifestation.¹⁰⁰ All of these studies are incredibly vital in addressing the context in which to study popular culture and politics, as they form the base to pointing where these two spheres of research intersect. However, there is still a vast amount of charting to be done to be able to fully grasp how the Vietnam War was embedded into music on a grand scale. This research intends to fill this gap by studying popular music from the scope of the Billboard Top 100, which represents the most related and popular songs of each year by the entirety of the American public and to then correlate political views within music to the shift in public opinion.

4.2 Methodology: Prior Conclusions

This thesis is a continuation study on a content analysis of the Billboard Top 100 during the years 1965-1973.¹⁰¹ This is the first data set of lyrics in one single place to be content analyzed using code words about the Vietnam War on such a large scale. This thesis will *differ* as it draws on the content analysis results and deepens academic depth by using discourse and textual analysis to understand context. The Billboard Top 100 during the years 1965 to 1973, provides a cohesive analytical tool as it demonstrates how the public related and interacted with music. The Billboard Top 100, which has been chosen as the data base, is a good representation of the most popular songs during each specific year and thus, the most played and the most purchased music of each year. In order for a song to reach the Top 100, thousands of listeners, radio stations, and consumers need to engage with the specific track

⁹⁸ Brittany Bowie. "Charting Popular Music: A Case of the Vietnam War", 2018.

⁹⁹ Arthur Marwick. *The Sixties, Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c.1958–1974*. Oxford, 1998.

¹⁰⁰ Sarah Hill. "This Is My Country": American Popular music and political engagement in 1968", in B. Kutschke and B. Norton, eds. *Music and Protest in 1968*, Cambridge, 2013, 44–63.

¹⁰¹ Brittany Bowie. "Charting Popular Music: A Case of the Vietnam War", 2018.

and is ultimately constructed by the public and represents the public's choice of music.¹⁰² The list for every respective year (900 total songs), has been content analyzed using a key word searching algorithm, implemented in Java, to deduce if the songs mention war code words. The lyrics to the songs have been found by querying three publicly available databases (metrolyrics.com, songlyrics.com & lyricsmode.com).¹⁰³

The specific key words that were used in the content analysis are the following: 'war', 'gun', 'USA', 'Vietnam', 'kill', 'resistance', 'America', 'soldier', 'peace', 'draft', 'Uncle Sam', 'bullet', and 'fight'. These code words have been chosen to strategically grasp a frequency of songs that contain any hint of war during this time period. By producing relative frequency, what percentage of songs containing the key words can be analyzed in the Top 100 of each respective year. After having defined the algorithm in java to content analyze the data set of lyrics from the Billboard Top 100, the key words were then entered, and the software produced a running list of which key word showed up in what songs and how many times it occurred.¹⁰⁴ Then, aggregated the output of the algorithm to show how many songs contained a key word/s per year. Table 2 represents the key words analyzed and their specific occurrences.¹⁰⁵

Year	War	Gun	USA	Vietnam	Kill	Resistance	America	Soldier	Peace	Draft	Bullet	Fight	Uncle Sam
1965	8	6	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	2	0
1966	22	1	8	0	1	0	0	2	9	0	0	5	0
1967	12	1	2	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	0	3	0
1968	5	7	2	0	8	0	1	4	4	0	0	7	0
1969	16	7	2	0	4	0	3	0	3	0	0	9	0
1970	35	9	3	0	2	0	17	0	5	0	1	4	0
1971	19	5	4	0	3	0	1	1	6	0	0	1	0
1972	9	2	9	0	0	0	10	0	2	0	0	0	0
1973	18	16	4	0	13	0	18	1	7	2	0	5	1

¹⁰² *ibid.*

¹⁰³ 50 years of Pop Music Lyrics. 2016. Raw Data. <https://github.com/walkerq/musiclyrics>

¹⁰⁴ See appendix Data Set 2 for the complete results of the content analysis, including the song titles, the rank of the song, the year it was produced, the lyrics of the song, the number of occurrences of the keywords, and the specific key word that was found.

¹⁰⁵ Brittany Bowie. "Charting Popular Music: A Case of the Vietnam War", 2018.

Table 3		
Year	Number of Songs with Keywords	Percentage in top 100
1965	14	14%
1966	26	26%
1967	16	16%
1968	18	18%
1969	21	21%
1970	19	19%
1971	17	17%
1972	17	17%
1973	30	30%

Table 3 represents the number of songs that contained any of the key words and the overall percentage of songs containing our key words for the years.¹⁰⁶

This research showed a relationship between the percentage of songs containing code words and political events. Some years during the war which were highly saturated with key words did relate to certain events that took place. Such as “soldier” occurring most frequently in 1968 when the draft was the highest in history. However, the data did not directly prove the cause and use of key words within the songs due to the limitations of content analysis. It did show a positive correlation of how politics is intertwined in popular culture. As the data revealed on a grand scale that the most popular music within the US between 1965 and 1973 was in some way affected by the Vietnam War.¹⁰⁷ It also showed that popular music does act as a platform in which political events are discussed and the implications war has on themes in popular culture but does not reveal the charged meaning of such messages.¹⁰⁸ Content analysis was able to draw out war themes of over 900 songs and show by year the frequency of themes about the Vietnam War to conclude that certain political events were expressed through song. However, the messages and narratives in which events were expressed could not be shown which is a limitation to using only quantitative methods.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*

4.3 Methodology: The Use of a Methodological Triangulation

Expanding on the prior research, this thesis will use mixed methods for analysis by using both quantitative and qualitative analysis to complement one another and fill in for their respective weaknesses. Using a methodological triangulation allows all aspects of the research question to be answered and enables the question to be progressed based on the findings of each respective method. Therefore, the methodological approaches will be mixed by using different ones at different stages of the research depending on the findings of the method prior.¹⁰⁹ The three methods to be used are content analysis, textual and discourse analysis, and statistical analysis.

The data from the previous research all 900 songs from the Billboard Top 100, will be run through the *content analysis* again to ensure Data Set 1 is complete. This includes running the raw data of song lyrics into the content software to extract the key words by song and per year. Then, a new data set, Data Set 2, will be revealed of the songs which mention any word that signifies war grouped by the year in which they reached the Billboard Top 100.

To explore why and how the signified key words were used within the songs produced from the content analysis, the new data set will be textual and discourse analyzed. This will fill in the limitations of content analysis to understand context, which my prior research could not do and exemplifies the need for using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The songs that were extracted from the content analysis will be the focus of the discourse and textual analysis to see in what way the key terms were used with a focus on linguistics to decipher their political opinion. The discourse surrounding the key terms within the songs will uncover the messages portrayed within the songs about war. Focusing on linguistics, a pattern can be formed between the artist's lyrics that speak out about the war and the words in which they use to express their position of support for the war. This involves from the current content data set, 214 songs separated by year. Data Set 2 will be textually analyzed to uncover if the content analyzed songs are about the war. This creates Data Set 3. Data Set 3 will then be discourse and textually analyzed and charted based on positive messages of the war and negative messages of the war. A new data set will then be produced, Data Set 4, that separates the occurrence of songs with negative political views, positive views, and neutral views about the Vietnam War. The textual analysis will draw on messages, tone, rhetoric, and the artist's position on the war to understand if the political

¹⁰⁹ Lisa Harrison and Theresa Callan. *Key Research Concepts in Politics & International Relations*, 55 City Road: SAGE Publications, 2013, 149.

opinion is charged with positive or negative connotations about foreign policy. Discourse analysis is an important analytical tool within this study as the words produced within the songs create knowledge and subjects which shapes how the world is understood and “how things are done in it”.¹¹⁰ Understanding the specific dialogue such songs are using by generating patterns within the texts will facilitate an understanding of how the discourse produces certain views of the war.¹¹¹ When mass audiences are interacting and listening to cultural products they are absorbing information that can take a particular stand and side. Studying the language used within these songs, facilitates evidence of politics and foreign policy within the lyrics. This has implications for messages the American people were acquiring through music at this time and for American identity. Textual analysis will also reveal whether cultural music products act as a site to contest or express views on foreign policy.

The messages within the cultural products and the amount of times they occurred over time will then be statistically analyzed with the perception of the war of the American people who believed the war was a mistake, which has been charted on *Gallup Vault* for the years of our study.¹¹² Normalized cross-correlation uses the comparison of two data sets over a time series with different value ranges. For this study, the time series is the years of the war from 1965 to 1973 and the two data sets are Data Set 4: the occurrences of songs with pro or anti-war messages and Data Set 5: the percentage of public opinion. Gallup Vault surveyed the public on the same question from 1965 to 1973 which was:

In view of the developments since we entered the fighting in Vietnam, do you think the US made a mistake in sending troops to fight in Vietnam?

This question was asked with the same precise wording every year. Therefore, it is the most comprehensive data to measure public opinion, as word choice is important in the outcome of answers. However, Gallup Vault did survey multiple times per year. In order to obtain a comparable data set to Data Set 4, with one data point per year, the mean of the results within every year will be taken and used as Data Set 5. Data Set 4 and Data Set 5 will be entered into the equation for normalized cross-correlation, scripted in R programming language, to prove if there is correlation between the developments of popular opinion and the occurrence of war song sentiments. Comparing the change of public opinion over time with the occurrence of ideologically charged popular music can show if popular culture was actively

¹¹⁰ Gillian Rose. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Interpreting Visual Objects*, London: SAGE, 2001.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

¹¹² Lydia Saad. "Gallup Vault: Hawks vs. Doves on Vietnam", Gallup Vault, May 24, 2016. Accessed June 5, 2018. <http://news.gallup.com/vault/191828/gallup-vault-hawks-doves-vietnam.aspx>.

reflecting and moving with the political opinions of the American people or not. This statistical analysis will aim to answer, if messaging within popular music is changing about the war, does this change follow or align with the change in popular opinion about the war or not? This thesis hopes to add to the theoretical debate surrounding popular culture that cultural products are not neutral by products of mass corporations, they are made by the people for the people and are reflective of the political opinions of their time. If the statistical analysis shows correlation then it can allude that popular culture products act as a site to contest political issues, such as foreign policy. Showing the relationship between popular culture, foreign policy, and political opinions leads popular culture products to be taken seriously in researching the dynamics of popular culture and world politics.

4.4 Limitations

The methods used within this thesis topic will not show the direct causal link of which variable produced which but rather seeks to establish and explore a relationship between popular culture and politics. As the Billboard Top 100 represents the yearly chart and not the weekly chart, it is possible that some songs which contained the code words and were popular for a few weeks, have been missed. Another limitation is using survey results about the war to reflect public opinion as the questions from the survey may have been worded in a way to create bias. However, without extensive interviewing, using survey results remains the most concrete and cohesive information recorded for this study. Lunch and Sperlich have also pointed out, The Gallup Organization tried to create data for exact comparisons by asking the same two questions every year which better shows how people's opinions changed over time without question bias.¹¹³ Stuart Hall claims, "culture is the giving and taking of meaning" by those within a society, then my own interpretations of cultural products and assumptions are constituted by the cultural world in which gives meaning to my own understanding.¹¹⁴ Thus, a limitation to this study is the potential for bias when discourse and textually analyzing the popular music products as to not rely on my own cultural archive representations to skew the results. The data set of the Top 100 songs per year was chosen to be representative of the most listened to and interacted songs of this era. However, many artists who spoke about the war were mostly in niche music markets and in sub-culture.

¹¹³William Lunch and Peter Sperlich. 'American Public opinion and the Vietnam War', in *Western Political Quarterly*, 1st edn, ProQuest, 1979, 24.

¹¹⁴ Stuart Hall. "The Work of Representation" in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London: Sage Publications, 1997.

Therefore, many anti-war and pro-war anthems known to this day are not included in this list. However, this thesis fills a gap of using a large data set of music that people related to on a mass level and were the most prevalent in society, not music from sub-cultures. The Billboard Top 100 was mostly controlled by radio stations that were playing certain music. However, these plays were chosen and justified by people tuning in to listen to the songs and the positive responses of the public. Thus, hearing the music frequently still acts as a method for which people were gathering information about politics and the world around them.

Chapter 5 Analysis

5.1 Content Analysis

To begin examining the relationship between popular music and political views from 1965 to 1973, a content analysis was used to pull out songs that relate to the Vietnam War. To begin the analysis, the defined algorithm was built to content analyze the data set of lyrics from the Billboard Top 100. An existing data base containing the 900 song lyrics for this study was sourced online and then entered into the software.¹¹⁵ Certain code words were identified for their relationship with war contexts and their signifying meaning to war. The code words remained the same as the previous study and the results of this content analysis remained the same. The code words are as follow, ‘war’, ‘gun’, ‘USA’, ‘Vietnam’, ‘kill’, ‘resistance’, ‘America’, ‘soldier’, ‘peace’, ‘draft’, ‘Uncle Sam’, ‘bullet’, and ‘fight’.

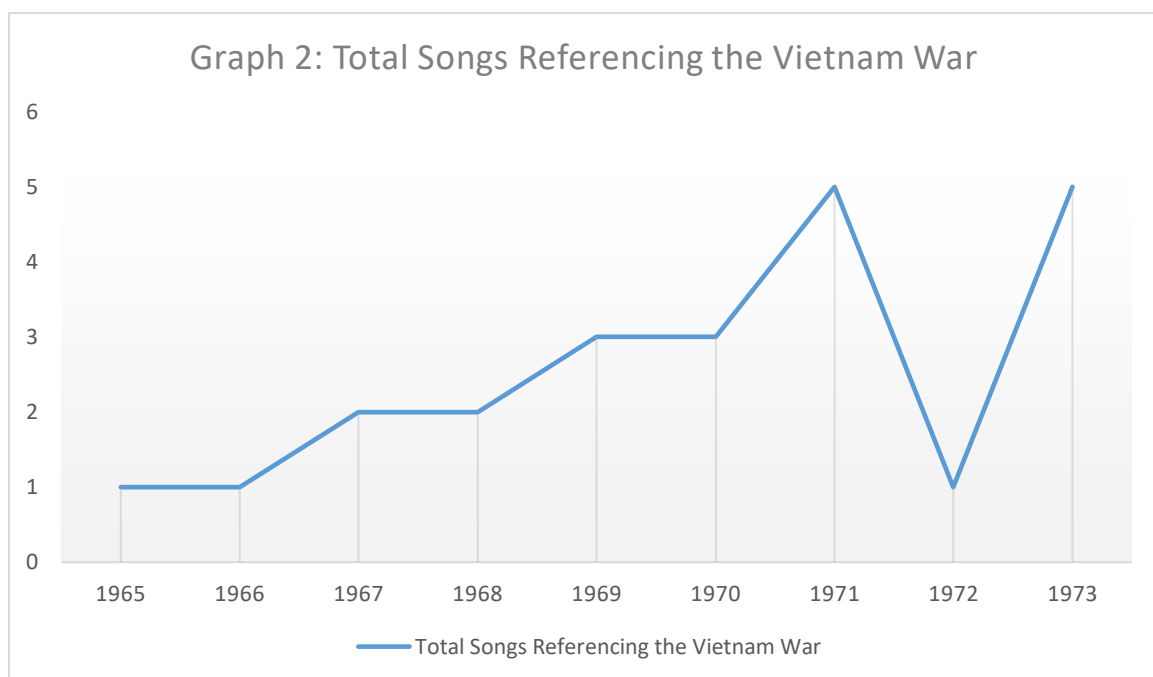
One problem that was identified in this content analysis is the algorithm has been written to pull out the sequential order of letters instead of individual words. Therefore, this content analysis draws out many false positives but no false negatives. The false positives within this content analysis are identified when context analysis is performed, and the words are more accurately sourced for their signifying meaning. The original data set for the songs containing the code words is therefore, embedded and amplified with false positives. However, this is the only way to ensure that every code word used within the 900 song lyrics has been correctly identified. For example, the algorithm has sourced that “war” has been used 144 times within all the song lyrics for every year. Yet, the algorithm will identify all cases when the letters “w”, “a”, and “r” are paired together, such as in the word “beware”. This is a limiting factor of the content analysis and is the reason for using context and discourse analysis to enhance the weaknesses of solely using one method. After the software

¹¹⁵ 50 years of Pop Music Lyrics. 2016. Raw Data. <https://github.com/walkerq/musiclyrics>

was run with the initial data set, the output of the algorithm was aggregated to show how many songs contained a key word/s per year. This results in 214 songs being found by the content analysis, to be used as a new data set for the context and discourse analysis. This data set can be found in appendix A as Data Set 2.

5.2 Context and Textual Analysis

Having identified 214 songs from the content analysis, the lyrics to these songs have been textually analyzed to identify whether the code words were used in relation to the war. From Data Set 2 containing 214 songs, 23 songs in total referenced themes pertaining to the Vietnam War. Songs that were false positives have been omitted and a new data set has been formed, Data Set 3 comprising of the 23 war songs to be discourse and textually analyzed and separated by political messaging. Of these 23 songs none referenced the war with patriotic, positive, or pro-war language. 16 songs used linguistic patterns to express concern, outright opposition, and anti-war themes. 7 songs mentioned the war with neutral language and tone. The total amount of songs with war themes occurring by year can be seen in Graph 2. Grouping the songs based on their position toward the war and occurrence per year can be seen in Graph 3. The most prevalent themes within the song lyrics have been identified and charted per year as shown in Table 4.



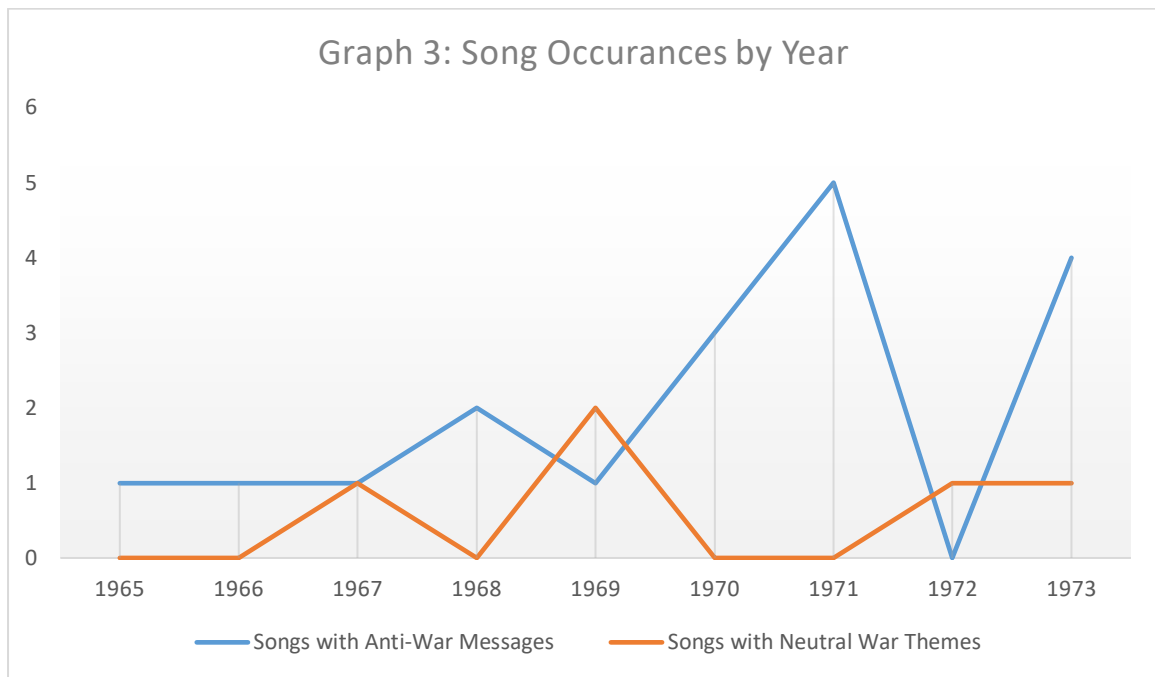


Table 4							
Year	Death	Peace	Protests	Defy Admin	Young Soldiers	Confusion	War Tools
1965	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
1966	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
1967	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
1968	2	0	0	2	1	2	0
1969	2	1	0	0	0	1	1
1970	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
1971	2	2	2	4	1	2	2
1972	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1973	1	3	0	2	1	0	0

The following section will divide the songs according to our time series and present the key findings of the linguistic and textual analysis of the song lyrics which provides the justifications for grouping the songs into either opposition for the war or neutral expression of war themes.

5.2.1. Year 1965

In the first year of this study, there is only one song pulled from the content analysis of the Billboard Top 100 that mentions the Vietnam War. Billy McGuire released the song, “Eve of Destruction” which charted at number 29. The socially conscious lyrics are charged with anti-war themes and language making this song one of the most explicit against policy of the Vietnam War. The single is almost prophetic in nature as death, defying the administration, and young soldiers are the main themes throughout its entirety. Billy McGuire uses the theme of death to highlight all the negative aspects of war and to explain the chaos that will be unleashed once the war is in full battle. “Once the button is pushed there’s no running away / there’ll be none to save with the world in a grave”. McGuire repeatedly states, the young men off to war do not believe in the war itself and that a “handful of senators don’t pass legislation”. These two statements allude to the rising tensions of the public verses the administration. This is the first instance within this data set that the “power-bloc” is being contested. This song particularly pushes information about the dangers of war and the “destruction” it brings with it. As the conflict had only just begun to develop and would not be over for almost 10 years, this message to the mass audience is a turning point in knowledge being issued by artists.

5.2.2. Year 1966

“Shapes of Things” by the Yardbirds was one of the first ever psychedelic rock songs to land massive attention reaching number 99 on the Billboard Top 100. The main narrative expressed through the lyrics is the worrisome of becoming a soldier and of being drafted. The song lyrics are clearly intertwined with the troubles of the everyday young man of this year yet, the pain and the anger the artist has for the draft can be seen in words such as, “shapes of things before my eyes teach me to despise”. Destruction is also apparent as the artist writes, “please don’t destroy these lands” and questions why men have thoughts that ultimately displace humankind. However, an emerging theme that is seen throughout all of Data Set 4 is lyrically alluded here, that of confusion and the unknowing. The artists question whether or not they will have to enter the war and of the destruction that might be within the near future.

5.2.3. Year 1967

An anthem for years to come, Buffalo Springfield writes “For What It’s Worth” which reaches number 27 on the Billboard hits. This song explicitly takes an anti-war stance mentioning the anti-war protest movements, fear of the war, and highlights destructive events of the time. The lyrics clearly state that “no battle should be fought” and accuses all parties involved of being “wrong”. Fear and confusion can also be seen from the beginning to the end with discourse stating, it isn’t “clear” what is happening and “paranoia” over whether “the man come take you away”. The overarching message within the song is to get “the people” to stop, think, and question all the events (mostly negative) that are happening which can be seen as a shift in supporting administrative policies to questioning them.

The second song to reference the war this year is “Beat Goes On” by Sonny Cher. The single is upbeat in nature and has a strong progressive melody which make for a happy light song. The lyrics mention events of the time such as “men still keep on marching off to war”. This song is clearly affected by political events, but the tone and language used can be seen as neutral in ascribing whether the artist feels the events are right or wrong but just that they are happening.

5.2.4. Year 1968

This year holds two anti-war songs on the Billboard Top 100. The first, “Sky Pilot” by The Animals, reached number 70. The lyrics within this single are short but powerful in creating a message that speaks about the pains of war and the moral dilemma of killing within war. The sky pilot is exceptionally important in the lyrics and within the year 1968, as aerial bombs became a common practice of American foreign policy in the Vietnam War and is said to be the largest in military history. The controversy arisen from this song is that of the moral values of the pilot himself, where he is taught “though shall not kill” yet, this is his ascribed duties. The confusion of the pilot can be seen as a metaphor for the confusion of the American public in questioning the justifications of the war themselves. The song also expresses the emotional toil of the soldiers who do make it home from war with “tears in their eyes” and questions whether the “job” of killing was “worth it” in the end.

The second song of this year reached number 89 and has anti-war messaging with the themes of death and confusion pulsating throughout its entirety. “Scarborough Fair” by Simon and Garfunkel uses lyrical allusions to shout out for a love that the artist longs for while telling a story of a soldier in battle. The artist states the soldier must “fight for a cause

they've long ago forgotten" which implies the motive of the war is not strong enough to mask the death and destruction the soldier is facing. This can also be a metaphor for the confusion of the public in justifying the war and the questioning of supporting the administration's policies.

5.2.5. Year 1969

In 1969, 3 songs are extracted in being lyrically affected by the war. One song, "Crystal Blue Persuasion" by Tommy James and the Shondrells, stands out amongst the previous anti-war themes in the past songs and uses the linguistic patterns of that of the "Dove" or anti-war movement. Extracted by the content analysis for its use of "peace", the single echoes the theme of 'peace and love', which can be compared to the language used during anti-war protests. This song does not specifically use the term "war" but does hope for a new day where in every "*nation* they'll be peace and good". The artist mentions "green fields" and "children" which can imply the prosperities of a time when there is no war to be fought.

The next song on the Billboard Top 100 to reference the war is "Galveston" by Glen Campbell, which reaches number 59 overall. The lyrics reference a soldier amid war with "cannons flashing" and the fear "of dying" who wants to return home. Negative connotations can be inferred about the war in these lyrics as the original writer of the song Jimmy Webb, wrote this song to be anti-war in nature, which he describes in an interview with WFUV.¹¹⁶ However, Glen Campbell when the song was recorded and released, played the tune in an up-beat melody at a faster pace which transcribed the song to be seen as a patriotic tune to some. Due to the conflicting manner of the lyrics, this song has been labeled neutral within this study, as the way it was perceived by the public could have varied. However, addressing the conflicting perceptions of the writer and artist of this song can be mirrored to the conflicting public perception of foreign policy during this time.

The third song to appear within this year is "Color Him Father" by The Winans. This song is also neutral in tone as it is about the loving relationship of a step-father and child but the father of the child "got killed in the war". This is the only mention of war and does not explicitly state a position on endorsing or going against the war, just of the natural after-

¹¹⁶ WFUV Public Radio. "Jimmy Webb – "Galveston" (Live for WFUV)", YouTube, July 28, 2010. Accessed April 21, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T_oT8Vp9hU.

effects of when there is a war. This song has clearly been written and influenced as a result of the war but remains neutral on taking a side.

5.2.6. Year 1970

Charting at almost the top of the Billboard 100 in 1970 coming in at number 5 is “War” by Edwin Starr. As implied by the title, this is another single explicitly stating opposition to the war with almost every line of lyrics sprinkled with anti-war sentiment. Drawing on numerous themes such as peace, death, protests, young soldiers, and defying the administration, this song reverberates language of the anti-war movement using words such as “peace and love”. From the chorus repeatedly saying war is “good for absolutely nothin” 10 times to “war is the enemy to all mankind”, the resonance this song had with the public was to outright oppose the war on all fronts and to expose destruction of the War. The discourse within this song directly challenges the administration’s policies and morally questions why “we must fight to keep our freedom” and the methods being used to protect such freedom.

The Temptations released “Ball of Confusion: That’s what the World is in” hitting number 24 on the top charts. The narrative of this song is to highlight all the problems America is facing in this time period such as segregation, unemployment, illegal drug sales, and the anti-war protest movement. Using negative linguistics to speak of political topics and controversial issues such as “humiliation” and “out of hand”, the artist portrays these events as detrimental to American society. The lyrics state, “people all over the world are shouting end the war” which alludes to the increasing public unrest for the war. However, the theme of confusion once again can be seen when stating the world is in a “big ball of confusion” repeatedly in the chorus, which mirrors the confusion of the people, public unrest, and changing trust in the administration.

The final song in this year, “Are You Ready?” by Pacific Gas Electric, reached number 93 and lyrically alludes to opposing the war. The artists are longing for a “new day to dawn” from the turmoil of “men dying and women crying, if you breathe air you’ll die”. Change of the current state of affairs is clearly sought within the lyrics as the artist believes this change is coming soon and with it will bring the fruits of a time without war, such as “the flowers growing” and “children playing”. This desire to want change from past events invokes disposition against the policies of the War. The artist states, “perhaps you wonder the reasons why” when speaking of the war which further resonates with the questioning of the

war from the public. The theme of coming home is pertinent to the lyrical narrative as the chorus reiterates being “ready” to “fly” when “he comes to carry you home”. The discourse here is religious in nature, insinuating “he” is god and “going home” is the next chapter after death. This has two metaphorical comparisons for the events of the war during this time, that of soldiers returning to their home in the US and leaving Vietnam and also, of the soldiers that are dying and returning to the “home” the artist describes within these lyrics.

5.2.7. Year 1971

The year 1971 is one of the most saturated for war songs with 5 in total, all of them with anti-war sentiment, tones, and themes. The first song to occur reached number 1, “Joy to the World” by Three Dog Night and is an impressionable song even today. The main messages of the song are that of peace and happiness and only slightly mention the war in the single line, “I’d throw away... the war”. However, this clearly is showing opposition to the war and can be categorized with an anti-war tone.

Using a more explicit nature to war opposition than “Joy to the World”, Marvin Gay released “What’s Going On” which directly states, “war is not the answer”. While echoing themes of death and loss, Gay’s main narrative is one of peace, love, and understanding. With a linguistic pattern of ‘Dove’ language, Gay goes above and beyond simply being a protest song by challenging the authorities to understand the peace and anti-war movement through diplomatic means instead of using brutality. The contrast can be seen by what Gay explains the anti-war movement wants, to “bring some lovin here today” with “picket lines and picket signs” verses what the authorities perceive the protests as because they revert to “punish with brutality”. This addresses the tensions between the anti-war movement and government authorities and echoes the messages of stopping the war and “love to conquer hate”, which mass audiences would acquire from listening to the lyrics. In 1971, the rise of public opinion believing the war was a mistake was already increasing fast and even though the anti-war movement and protests were not the entirety of the mainstream audience, more people would have related to the messages of this song and to the tensions this song exposes.

The most explicit song that defies the administration’s foreign policy in Vietnam within this data set was released by Freda Payne titled, “Bring the Boys Home” and reached number 65 on the Billboard Top 100. As the title suggests, the main narrative of the song is for the soldiers to return from battle to the US and therefore, end the war in Vietnam. Payne writes, “turn the ships around”, “cease all fire on the battlefield”, and “lay your weapons

down” as a direct statement for policy to change. Not only do the lyrics suggest changing war tactics within Vietnam, the song also evokes emotional questioning for reasons why soldiers are over there at all. Payne calls the war “senseless” and states soldiers have died “in vain” and that destruction has been done with men “already been wounded and killed”. As a result, she argues, the administration needs to completely withdraw from the war to “bring the boys home alive”. The lyrical discourse of this song is not one that tells a story or speaks of an event; it is more closely structured as a political statement to cease the war and a cry for help to “have mercy” on US soldiers. The messaging and tone within the lyrics draw emotions that the US Government is almost attacking its own people and the questioning of what is happening overseas, further illustrations the confusion and anger of the American public.

A song written about one of the most popular events to take place in the 1970’s, Matthew Southern Comfort releases “Woodstock” which charts at number 79 in 1971. To mention Woodstock, the anti-war movement must be addressed as this was a prominent event in gathering “Doves” together and expressing their concerns about the Vietnam War. This song was performed by the band at Woodstock where more than half a million people were in attendance. The single describes a child’s experience attending Woodstock. While at the event, he “saw the bombers riding shotgun in the sky turning into butterflies above our nation”. This metaphor shows the desire for policy to change in Vietnam from aerial bombers to something more peaceful. The use of the word “our nation” also sticks out from the rest of the discourse and suggests a formation of an identity of the US. As bomber planes were not being flown over the US but in the conflicting countries during the Vietnam War, the identity of the US portrayed here is one of hurt, loss, and destruction as if bombs had been dropped on US soil. This construction of US identity, by the artist, portrays emotional solidarity to reflect the identity of those countries who did see bomber airplanes in the sky and suggests, the pain caused by such a war is felt greatly and almost equally on both sides.

The final song in this year, “Won’t Get Fooled Again”, reached number 84 and was released by, The Who. The main memorandum of this single calls for change, revolution, and importantly, “a new constitution”. The lyrics explicitly mention “war” but, The Who go deeper into not only criticizing foreign policy of this administration and of the Vietnam War but of the identity and values of the government. The Who was a prominent British rock band who was a part of the “British invasion” of rock roll to America. However, even being British, the band gained most of its success and toured mainly in the US and was consciously aware of what was happening domestically and internationally with US policy. The Who

states, no change will ever be made without a change of constitution and governmental framework as the next president will just repeat the faults of the past president, “meet the new boss same as the old boss”. In the first line the lyrics explain, in the future the public will still protests but the morals they fight for will be gone and “the men”, who are being criticized by the protestors, will still decide to go to war with shotguns “singing the song”. The Who insinuate “the men”, the administration writing policy, value war and will never not decide on war as it is engrained in US politics. For there to be real change, this identity must change, and a new constitution and revolution must happen. The artist infers that the change of US identity directly relates to US policy as one cannot change without the other. This further illustrates the public’s waning trust in government and suggests that the defiance is not only against one administration during the war but of all of them to come. Therefore, making the shift in not supporting foreign policy permanent.

5.2.8. Year 1972

Contrasting to year 1971, within this year only one song references war themes, “American Pie” by Don Mclean. This single reached number 3 overall making it, without a doubt, very famous. However, there is doubt over the messaging of the song and what Mclean was trying to portray. Interviewers questioned Mclean and badgered him for an explanation, but he would never give one. The confusion and inability of the public to decipher the meaning behind the lyrics suggests this song was neutral in tone, as neither patriotic nor anti-war. However, the discourse was clearly influenced by war events stating, “sergeants played a marching tune we all got up to dance but we never got the chance”, mentioning widowed brides, and delivering bad news on doorsteps. All of these put together could allude to the negative perils of war and suggest an opposition. However, the song is very up tempo and the melody suggests happiness and fun. Therefore, the song has been labeled neutral.

5.2.9 Year 1973

Within the final year of this study, 5 songs mention the war and display themes relating to the war, of which 3 were anti-war and 2 were neutral. The first song released by The O’Jays and hitting number 32 on the charts was, “Love Train”. The linguistic pattern within the lyrics replicates that of the anti-war movement shouting for ‘peace and love’. The lyrics directly mention, “ain’t no more war people” which suggests a desire for change in

policy to more peaceful methods in the future. The lyrics speak of multiple conflict-torn countries during this time, such as Egypt and Israel, which relates to US foreign policy. The artists speak of unity for all and against all wars, not just US wars. Yet, mentions nation-states which the US conducts diplomatic relations with and is therefore relatable for an American audience. The message of a transition from war and fighting to one of peace and unity could be acquired by the mass audience and is reflective of public perception on the war changing.

Stevie Wonder topped the Billboard 100 at number 62 with single, “Higher Ground”. Wonder does not use this song explicitly as an anti-war song but, uses discourse to contest the “powers” and call out the administration for lying to the public while men are off dying. This portrays the theme of going against the administration’s foreign policy and lack of trust in the government. By stating that “powers keep on lyin” is referencing the future and rather than an opinion, this is an assumption by Wonder of the governments inert nature to be deceitful. As seen before in “Won’t Get Fooled Again”, this suggests that the people have solidified their lack of confidence in government as a fact and as an aspect of the relationship between public and administration. Due to this messaging and the theme of death being portrayed, this song has been listed as anti-war.

The next song reached number 71 on the charts, “Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy” released by Bette Milder, was a remake of the song originally sang by The Andrew Sisters. The song narrates a story of a man who went off to war in the draft but only wanted to play his bugle. The song does not speak positively of war but rather uses the war as a narrative for a young boy in a band. With this song being a remake, it shows that war events of an era impact song writing and how they relate to the public and thus, produce well on music charts. Since the Vietnam War was so impactful on society the audience can relate to the narrative and to the boy. This song has been labeled neutral in tone and messaging.

Close behind Milder’s release, Timmy Thomas hit number 75 in 1973 with song, “Why Can’t We Live Together”. This song is a homage to peace and unity and the uniting of nations to end all wars. Using diction such as “peace”, “brother”, and “together” relates to the anti-war movement and similar discourse used in protests. The song mentions “no more war” 5 times and “live together” 16 times which enhances the intensity of the song’s desires. Both phrases make up almost the entirety of discourse in the song and with the single performing so well on the Billboard Top 100, it can be inferred that the public was relating and echoing both messages during this time.

The final single occurring within this data set, reaching number 95 by The Pointed Sisters is “Yes We Can”. The main themes of this song are peace and prosperity of a time when “problems can be worked out” suggesting diplomatic means to solving conflict instead of going to war. The lyrics also use repetition to solidify its meaning stating “work it out” 16 times in total. The song seeks for change to better times when stating, “we got to make this land a better land than the world in which we live”. This phrase alludes to a time when society is not struck by death and destruction but with “children” and “peace”. In the first line of the lyrics, the artist uses the term “iron out our problems and iron out our quarrels”. The specificity of the term “iron” to open the track is significant as Winston Churchill used the phrase “iron curtain” to signify the divide between communist Europe and non-communist Europe. This can imply the problem to be “ironed” or “fixed” is what’s causing the world to be unpeaceful during this time and is that of fighting communism, which can refer to the Vietnam War. This reference to the war is metaphorical but is powerful to imply if the Vietnam War was “worked out” the world would find peace again.

5.3 Statistical analysis

Using Data Set 4, derived from the textual analysis explained prior, the total songs and the anti-war songs occurring per year will be put in relation to the percentage of people who believed the war was a mistake in order to find temporal correlation. The Gallup Vault results from the survey conducted by year is used for graphing public opinion. The mean percentage of people who answered ‘yes’ to the question asked about their opinion on if they believed the war was a mistake, was calculated and can be shown in Graph 4 and Data Set 5 in appendix. In year 1972, there was no survey taken by Gallup Vault and therefore, the year was omitted from the timeline. Applying normalized cross correlation to the two data sets will show whether the rise in public opinion against the war correlates to the occurrence of anti-war songs and total war songs respectively. Normalized cross correlation allows the data sets to have the same range of values to therefore examine their correlated relationship.

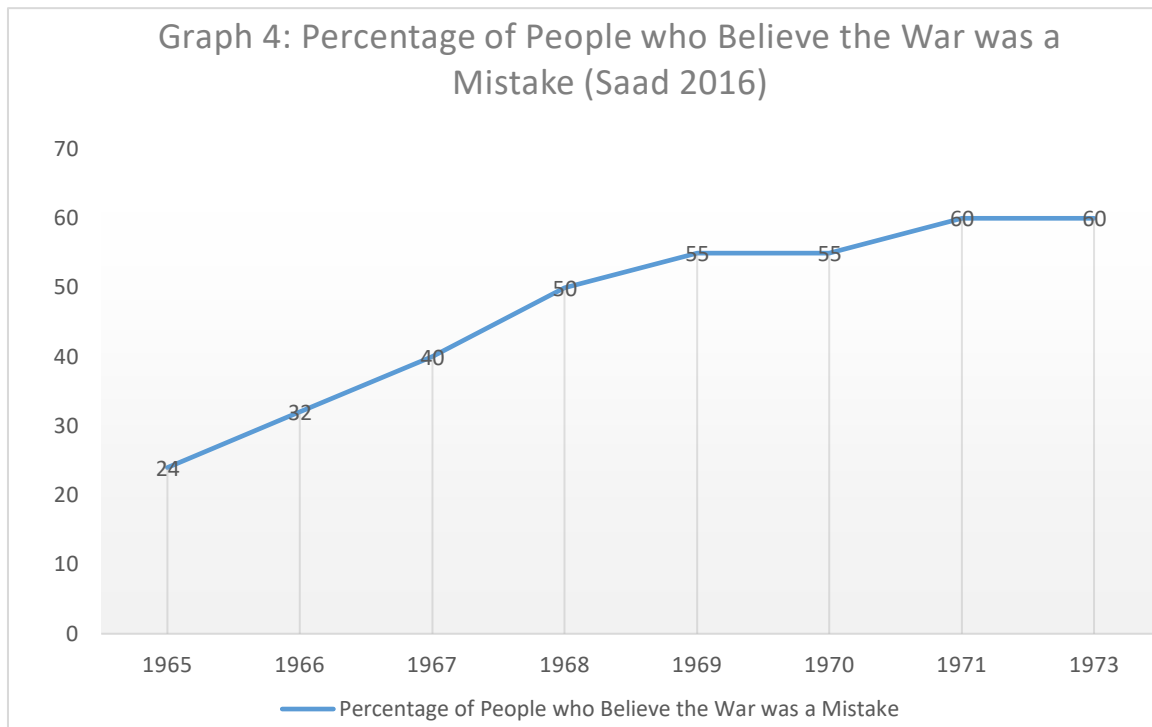


Figure 1:

Language: Editor: Layout:

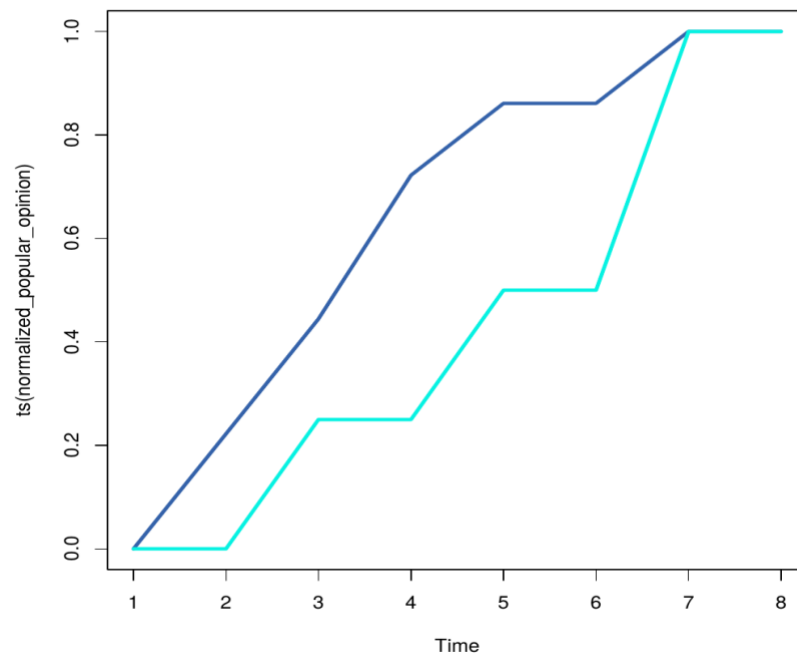
```

1 popular_opinion = c(24, 32, 40, 50, 55, 55, 60, 60)
2 song_count_total = c(1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 5, 5)
3
4 normalized_popular_opinion = (popular_opinion-min(popular_opinion))/(max(popular_opinion)-min(popular_opinion))
5 normalized_song_count_total = (song_count_total-min(song_count_total))/(max(song_count_total)-min(song_count_total))
6
7
8 plot(ts(normalized_popular_opinion), col="#3462aa", lwd=3)
9 title(main="Graph 5: Correlation of Total War Songs to Public Opinion")
10 lines(normalized_song_count_total, col="#07f2e2", lwd=3)
11
12 correlation_total = ccf(normalized_popular_opinion, normalized_song_count_total)
13 print(correlation_total)
14
15
16 popular_opinion = c(24, 32, 40, 50, 55, 55, 60, 60)
17 song_count_anti = c(1, 1, 1, 2, 1, 3, 5, 4)
18
19 normalized_popular_opinion = (popular_opinion-min(popular_opinion))/(max(popular_opinion)-min(popular_opinion))
20 normalized_song_count_anti = (song_count_anti-min(song_count_anti))/(max(song_count_anti)-min(song_count_anti))
21
22
23 plot(ts(normalized_popular_opinion), col="#3462aa", lwd=3)
24 title(main="Graph 6: Correlation of Anti-War Songs to Public Opinion")
25 lines(normalized_song_count_anti, col="#07f2e2", lwd=3)
26
27 correlation_anti = ccf(normalized_popular_opinion, normalized_song_count_anti)
28 print(correlation_anti)

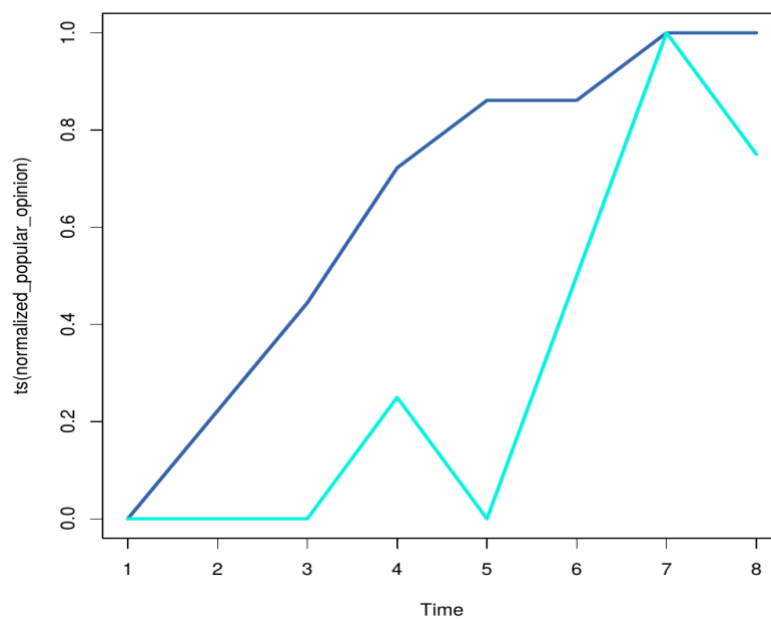
```

The script to compute the normalized cross correlation of the two data sets was written using the R statistical computing environment, seen in the code listing above in Figure 1. The results of the script execution can be seen in Graph 5 for total songs that reference the war explicitly, neutral and anti-war alike. The results of anti-war songs and public opinion can be seen in Graph 6. Within both graphs, the navy line represents the rise in public opinion against the war and the teal line represents the occurrence of politically charged songs.

Graph 5: Correlation of Total War Songs to Public Opinion



Graph 6: Correlation of Anti-War Songs to Public Opinion



The calculated correlation between public opinion and total songs mentioning the war results to .883 or 88%. This proves a very high correlation between song occurrence with war themes, neutral and opposed, to the rise in public opinion arguing against the war. When calculated with public opinion and only anti-war songs the correlation results to .736 or 74% proving a high correlation. Thus, as the public began to oppose foreign policy during the years 1965 to 1973, popular music opposing foreign policy rose in direct correlation, showing the two have a constitutive relationship.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

The depth of this thesis analysis demonstrates a strong correlated relationship of political popular opinion and popular music. This relationship then shows, as popular opinion began to shift against the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War, these political opinion developments can be traced and seen within popular music, concurrently. By using mixed methods to research popular culture products, political messages were uncovered within a mass data set and traced based on how these messages developed over time. As the public within the United States began to oppose the war in Vietnam and the administration's foreign policy, so did popular music messaging. Thus, the political opinions reflected within popular music aligned with that of the public and constituted their political beliefs. Popular music during this time, then acts as a new way to trace the rise of political views against the Vietnam War.

The findings of a very high correlated relationship have many ramifications for the study of popular music and politics. First, this thesis shows that popular culture products can be used as data and analytical tools to uncover popular political opinions. The data sets created within this thesis are large in their scope and show which highly experienced songs during the years of the Vietnam War were and still are political. Then, the data shows the song's political views about the war and the developments and changes in such political views through lyrics within music. Content analysis was able to uncover the use of war 'code words' demonstrating, that cultural products are affected by political events and draw on them for narrative purposes. This finding facilitated the analysis to research the constructs of particular political views from such popular culture products and to then test if they took sides against the war. Discourse and textual analysis indicated what messages were being put

out by the lyrics and determined many songs were challenging the administration's policy for the Vietnam War. The data then showed a trend in the rise of songs against the war, over the years of our time series, which enabled cross correlation to aggregate the data into one graph to discover how the developments were related. The importance of this correlation was to find, show, and prove mathematically a relationship between the public's political views and music.

As the trends in public opinion and songs speaking out against the war was correlated 74%, it can be concluded that popular music during this time was representative of the public's opinion on the war. This justifies Tony Bennett's claim, that in studying popular culture, one is studying 'the people'.¹¹⁷ In studying political views within popular music during the Vietnam War, the same data was uncovered that matches that of the public's views as collected by Gallup Vault. Thus, the popular music products within this study constitute a second-order representation of the public's negative perception to the war. These products then act as a mirror for understanding public opinion during this time and as Buzan has stated, their reflective capacity affirms their ability to create an identity for the experiencer.¹¹⁸ This thesis uncovered stored political knowledge within popular music which revealed the public's collective resistance to the Vietnam War. Thus, these products have influence in the knowledge the public was acquiring about the war. It can be concluded that researching popular music can deepen the understanding of domestic identity and public opinion as a viable source, in addition to public opinion survey results. If these cultural products would have been examined during the years of the war, a deeper understanding of public unrest could have been alluded and mirrored by the messages being put out that trace the developments of public opinion.

One major finding of this thesis from the discourse and textual analysis indicates these cultural products challenged foreign policy and the administration, which has affects for how the American public was acquiring knowledge about political processes. As Sperlich and Lunch have stated, this was an influential time as the public began to contest foreign policy for the first time and not simply back the actions of the administration.¹¹⁹ This thesis furthers this observance as exemplified and traced within the messages and lyrics of songs, during this time. The data found within Table 4 shows the embodiment of different themes within the

¹¹⁷ Bennet, "The Politics of the Popular", 1998, 20.

¹¹⁸ B, Buzan. "American in Space: The International Relations of *Star Trek* and *Battlestar Galactica*", 2010, 175.

¹¹⁹ William Lunch and Peter Sperlich. "American Public opinion and the Vietnam War", 1979, 21.

politically charged songs. Understanding these different topics, allows a deeper understanding to the factors that could have led to the public opposing the war such as the rise in deaths, the draft encompassing of young men, and outrage against war tools being used.

A new area of research is open to addressing how Americans were changing their reaction to foreign policy by studying this change through music. During the years of the Vietnam War, the American people used cultural products as a site to contest ‘the power bloc’ and to exemplify their unrest with foreign policy. This is seen within songs such as, “Bring the Boys Home” by Freda Payne and “War” by Edwin Starr. Thus, as Grayson has concluded before, this thesis shows culture was acting as a place where political battles are fought.¹²⁰ As technological advancements allowed the public access to culture, this diminished power relations between the public, the elite, and the government. As mentioned, the public began to challenge foreign policy for the first time during the Vietnam War, which also changed power relations between public opinion and administration. This change in power dynamics coincided with the change of power relations between “high” and “low” culture, which directly affected the narratives within popular music during this time. Coincidentally, post-modern expressions of culture become more accessible and used in the everyday lives of the public. Due to the diminishing separation between ‘low’ and ‘high’ culture, the American public now had access to use culture as a stored place for meaning and a site to contest once “elite” subjects, such as politics. Therefore, popular music constitutes a knowledge convention for areas of political processes and can be studied to understand public opinion. A change in how power is produced and contested can be seen within such cultural products and worthies these second order representations important for understanding how resistances are constructed and operationalized by the public.

As John Storey theorized, this thesis shows the public used these products as a platform to exemplify their resistance to the status quo and to use lyrics and language within music to contest power of the administration.¹²¹ The analysis of this thesis concludes these popular music products are representative in reflecting the social and political life of the American public from 1965 to 1973. These representations provide insight into the information the public was receiving about the war, such as the bloody deaths in Vietnam, the anti-war protests happening around the country, and the questioning of the war itself. The

¹²⁰ Kyle Grayson, et al. “Pop Goes IR? Researching the Popular Culture-World Politics Continuum”, 2009, 158.

¹²¹ John Storey. *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, 2001, 162.

themes and narratives within these songs exposes significance in explaining how and why the public became out-spoken against the war, as they were conveying the terrible realities of conflict and the search for peace. As the collective American society had a unifying struggle to contest, they used music to exemplify and unify against this struggle, as theorized by Strinati, Fiske, and others.¹²² Therefore, using popular culture as a power dynamic to that of the administration. This contest of power can be seen in songs such as, “Won’t Get Fooled Again” by The Who, “Bring the Boy’s Home” by Freda Payne, and “War” by Edwin Starr.

This thesis does not conclude that these cultural products directly influenced policy. However, the correlated relationship between the anti-war messages and change in public opinion shows that popular culture reflected the anti-war movement and was used as a platform to oppose the administration. As the rise in public opinion against the war grew, messages within popular music opposing the war rose, showing popular music is reflective of ‘the people’ and gives a platform to the public to contest political events. Therefore, popular music is necessary to study in order to broaden the assumptions of what composes powerful influences in foreign policy and of government actions. As it has been showed that these cultural products are political, future research could build on the use of such political songs to understand if these musical products were influential in changing foreign policy.

The conclusions found within this research also bring to light other areas of interest in international relations. Musical products were found to be politically charged and used as an analytical tool. Therefore, further dissecting such products, in terms of how they influence the public, would be beneficial to how emotions play a role in public opinion and also, foreign policy. As mentioned by Bleiker, music is a unique cultural source of knowledge as it uses the sense of listening and evokes emotion in the experiencer.¹²³ Therefore, understanding how emotion plays a role in the public formulating opinions could further the research on understanding if musical products during this time operationalized the public into believing the war was a mistake. The data set I have presented within this study, Data Set 3, can be used in future research on emotion and international relations. Music is especially unique as the melodies and chord progressions add affect to how one may perceive a song as anti-war or neutral about the war as seen within songs such as, “Galveston” by Glen Campbell and “American Pie” by Don Mclean; who’s lyrics can be deciphered as anti-war, but their melodies were strong and upbeat. Therefore, these songs were labeled neutral, as

¹²² Strinati, *An Introduction to Popular Culture Theories*, 1995, 45. and John Fiske. *Understanding Popular Culture*, London: Unwin Hyman, 1989, 8.

¹²³ Roland Bleiker. “Of Things We Cannot See: Musical Explorations of International Politics”, 2005, 179-195.

they could have been taken by the public to be patriotic or anti-war. The discourse analysis results showed that the songs in Data Set 3 and Table 4 used themes which exposed the harsh realities of war and topics that could have instilled fear into the public. Such research could build onto the concept of fear and foreign policy, which has been discussed by Ray Taras.¹²⁴ Taras looks at how fear is constructed at the domestic level and the results of such operationalized fear on public opinion.¹²⁵ As Taras points out connecting public opinion and foreign policy has been difficult and controversially researched.¹²⁶ However, as Taras concludes, the effects of fear on culture are indisputable and such culture can tell foreign policy makers what their interests and identity are.¹²⁷ Using the musical products within Data Set 3, as second order representation within the research design of fear, culture, and foreign policy could expand and diversify these topics.

The findings of this thesis add depth to the study of culture within international relations, which has disrupted previous assumptions about where political knowledge conventions can be found. This thesis concludes that popular music can be used as an analytical tool to trace public opinion during the years of the Vietnam War and act as a second order representation of the public's political views. Political popular music and public opinion can be seen in this study as a constitutive relationship, as certain types of political knowledge creates and forms the other and vice-versa. The political views of the public were reflected within the popular culture products which exemplifies that these products are useful in understanding society and addressing how society uses culture to accept or challenge certain administration policies. Therefore, researching popular culture as significant knowledge conventions solidifies the importance of including culture within the study of politics.

¹²⁴ Ray Taras. *Fear and the Making of Foreign Policy: Europe and Beyond*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015, 40-52.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*

¹²⁶ *ibid.*

¹²⁷ *ibid.*

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Appendix



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