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CHANGING PATTERNS IN POPULAR MUSIC:
A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

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In short, then, those who keep watch over our commonwealth must take the greatest care not to overlook the least infraction of the rule against any innovation upon the established system of education, either of the body or of the mind. When the poet says that men care most for "the newest air that hovers on the singer's lips", they will be afraid lest he be taken not merely to mean new songs, but to be commending a new style of music. Such innovation is not to be commended, nor should the poet be so understood. The introduction of novel fashions in music is a thing to beware of as endangering the whole fabric of society, whose most important conventions are unsettled by any revolution in that quarter.

Plato

The Republic

Chapter I

Introduction

The need to understand the nature of social change stretches far back in the history of man; from the musing of Heraclitus that the constant of the world is change, to Socrates, who reasoned from what is to what can be. Over the years the methods of the social scientist and the philosopher have become more sophisticated, but the essential understanding of the nature of societal change has not been appreciably advanced. Historians, sociologists, political scientists, economists, philosophers and others have all advanced theoretical formulations on the nature of social change which range from identifying the single important variable (e.g., Marx and the economy), through re-stating the multiple-variable Greek conceptualization of the cyclical nature of social change (as in Sorokin.) An over-view of the various theories which have been advanced to explain social change is provided in Appelbaum's Theories of Social Change (1970).

Most of these theories of social change concentrate on an essentially mechanistic view of the nature of society, and concern themselves with understanding how the various segments of that society can "cathect" in such a way that change occurs. These understandings of social change range from the optimistic "best of all possible worlds" genre (Comte), to the pessimistic, as exemplified by Spengler (1964) and Ellul (1964). A missing factor in all these studies of social change, however, has been

to neglect attending to the role of verbal symbolization in changing society. By directing attention exclusively to particular relevant institutions, or to structural factors of society, one means of understanding has been neglected.

The same difficulty that plagues understanding social change, a limited range of study, is also evident in the sociological approach to understanding mass communications, which are a visible and important aspect of modern life. Recent research in mass communications has been on the instruments of communication (i.e., investigations into the structure and functions of the media), or on the impact of the media on selected segments of society (i.e., opinion leaders, attitudinal change, voting behavior), but not on the media content of symbols, or on the meanings of these symbols. The predilection of sociologists of mass communications to fail to consider messages transmitted is traced in part to emphasizing "scientific" sociology and in part to the origins of research in mass communications. Sociology's preoccupation with assuming a place among the sciences is not further discussed, but comment is necessary about the origins of research in mass communications.

As the media grew in power and scope it became important for media management to know their audience and to know how programs were received. They needed to know what response might be expected from different types and strengths of inputs, and how to effectively maximize their own company's position in the marketplace. To these ends they drew upon the social sciences, with the result that their demand for specific, useful information in

many cases shaped the knowledge made available. Because of the two inter-related factors delineated, sociologists could study specified variables relating to an occurrence in its particular spatial and temporal setting, but could not, except speculatively, consider the symbols transmitted by the media and the symbolic uses of the message. The needs of the media resulted in a "mediacentric" bias in mass communications research.

There are, of course, exceptions to the general pattern of neglecting content in media research. For example, Lowenthal (1961) examines "The Triumph of Mass Idols" via the content of popular magazines (106-140); Johns-Heine and Gerth analyze "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction, 1921 - 1940" (1949:105-113); and Berelson and Salter look at the prejudices and stereotypes attached to minority groups in the United States (1946:168-197).

Etzioni notes, "Not only public availability, but also what is made available distinguishes between a tool which is useful chiefly for bureaucratic purposes and one that will contribute to any collectivities' efforts at self-realization" (1968:16). The bias toward practicality of those sponsoring research tends to inhibit distinctly sociological approaches, makes available information which is "...chiefly a tool for bureaucratic purposes", and fails to "...contribute to any collectivities' efforts at self-realization." Continuing along the lines directing most communications research of the past -- research which has largely neglected contents communicated -- then scientism and research design limitations may well justify Berelson's gloomy prediction

that "...for communication research the state is withering away" (1959:1).

I contend that the central concern for considering the mass media, and for understanding the significance of media, must deal with what is communicated by the media, which will amplify reciprocal relationships between society and communication. I shall consider two objectives to this end.

Review of the Literature

The area selected for consideration is popular music, an area most sociologists neglect. Music has been used as an indicator of the time when it was composed, as representing an epoch or period. For example, Stark's introduction to The Sociology of Knowledge (1952) casts Beethoven's music as foil to explore the German mood of the early Nineteenth century. Stark uses Beethoven's music to discern the varied nuances of German thought which illustrate man is a product of the time in which he lives.

Another instance of music representing a period is Moller's meticulous tracing of the romantic troubador music in "The Social Causation of the Courtly Love Complex" (1964:484-502). The courtly love complex sprang up in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Moller's analysis of the Provencal and German lyric poetry of that period, and the troubadors' part in disseminating courtly love, demonstrated reciprocity between music and a sector of society. The lyric poetry of the troubadors and minnesingers was important

in shifting behavioral patterns of that age. Moller used this shift of patterns to account for social conditions that altered the status of women in society.

Norman Cantor (1963), a cultural historian, also used the distinctive music of a specific period to obtain insight into that time's meaning or culture. His cultural-intellectual history of the Medieval period uses music to indicate idea transfers within culture. Cantor relates both changing musical styles and acceptance of changed styles to the changing basis of society.

The first serious sociological inquiry into popular music was Adorno's (1941) study of the essential character of popular songs. Adorno also investigated the role of various music agencies in the standardization of certain musical forms. Peatman's (1944) content analysis of popular song lyrics yielded a classification of themes. All songs he surveyed dealt with "love" as major theme. Peatman proposed three subclasses of love lyrics: (1) vocalist and lover who are "happy in love"; (2) vocalist who is "frustrated in love"; and (3) the "novelty song with sex interest" that has general application.

Reisman (1950) explored popular music to define its boundaries for development of a sociological perspective. He proposes some "...very general assumptions which guided me in setting down the... hypotheses about a majority and a minority audience for popular music among teen-aged groups" (1950:360). Reisman's sketching of boundaries to be observed in more rigorous investigation apparently was not followed by subsequent publication.

Semanticist S. I. Hayakawa (1955) compared the images of life as developed in the lyrics of popular songs with Negro blues jazz. He found marked discrepancies between the "facts of life" as portrayed in these two musical types. Hayakawa concluded that the blues realistically pictured life as experienced by Blacks, and that realism did not characterize popular songs.

Johnstone and Katz (1957) discovered that preferences among young people as to radio stations and disc jockeys chosen (these preferences exposed them to particular types of music) related directly to the friendship circle in which they moved. The peer group of interaction determined the type of popular music preferred by young people.

At the same time, Horton's (1957) content analysis of current popular songs yielded a classification of lyrics, and he concluded that popular music was used to socialize the young into patterns of love. For example, popular music lyrics function as a source of language which young lovers use to express feelings toward each other.

A most recent sociological examination of popular music is Carey's (1969) replication of Horton's survey of courtship patterns in popular music. Carey compared courtship patterns communicated in popular music of 1966 with Horton's findings of 1955. Carey's survey revealed that significant differences in the courtship patterns of the young were reflected in popular music. Carey also indicated apparent changes in the uses of popular music among the young but he does not consider these changes in detail.

Carey implicitly recognizes the changing face of popular music when noting "Changes in song content over the past eleven years reveal marked differences in orientation, not only in the relationship between the sexes, but also in the relationship of young people to the larger social order" (1969:730; emphasis added). However, Carey fails to expand his perspective on the music sufficiently to draw conclusions beyond that simple notation. He briefly notes these changes when he analyzes the wider range of themes in 1966. Carey suggests that the 1966 lyrics relate to "choice", but he fails to account for the 24 per cent of his sample that did not fit Horton's categories derived in 1955.

Theoretical Perspective

To systematically consider the popular music of today it is beneficial to discuss a taxonomy of the various types of music currently being performed.

"Rock 'n' Roll", music of the mid-1950's popular with young people, was successfully introduced by Bill Haley and the Comets. The song "Rock Around the Clock", released in 1955, sold over 16 million phonograph records, and was number one on the Hit Parade in Australia as recently as 1968 (Kansas City Star, June 28, 1968: 5). Although Bill Haley and the Comets had had million-selling records as early as 1952, "Rock Around the Clock" brought them -- and their style of music -- to the peak of popularity. This first success of rock 'n' roll music produced a spate of imitators, such as Little Richard and Jerry Lee Lewis. Rock 'n' roll music used

standard band or orchestra arrangements, and featured instruments like the saxophone prominently. The vocalist performed against the background of the instrumental arrangement, with no interplay between himself and the background group.

Popularized folk-style music introduced a second major strain into the American popular music scene. The modern popularity of this style can be traced to the appearance of a single group and one phonograph record: the Kingston Trio's 1958 recording of "Tom Dooley." Again, a group's success produced a host of imitators, and introduced a musical style that continues as part of today's popular music scene. Folk songs had been recorded by Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, and groups such as the Weavers as early as the late 1930's. However, the success of the Kingston Trio and "Tom Dooley" catapulted folk music to the public. Simple arrangements, guitars or banjos played by the vocalists themselves, and lay-written lyrics were and are the characteristics of the folk genre. Folk music has differentiated more recently, with one line of descent traceable from the social awareness of the Limelighters to the social involvement of Joan Baez. This line of folk music is exemplified in records like Baez' "Birmingham Sunday", and by such performers as Janis Ian, Tim Hardin, and Buffy St. Marie.

The strain of folk music and the stream of rock 'n' roll have been combined to produced the distinctive folk-rock type of popular music. Some refer to folk-rock as the "Nashville sound." That type of music uses electric sound, without making that sound the focal point, and there is not a significant interplay between

backup vocal groups and/or the instrumentation. Folk-rock may be extremely sophisticated music, as by Simon and Garfunkel, or the recently-disbanded Mamas and the Papas.

A fourth strain in today's popular music is "hard rock." Electronic instrumentation, especially electric guitars and electric organs, is important to performance. The performance of the lead singer counterpoints against that of a back-up vocal group, and against the lead instrumentalist and the back-up instruments of the balance of the group. The "Liverpool sound" of the Beatles, initially at least, was "hard rock", although the Beatles changed so much that it is difficult to classify their style with certainty.

"Acid rock" is a fifth major dimension in American popular music today: newest and a most vital type. It is distinctively performance oriented. Even so, it is the most intricate popular music. Acid rock requires electrified instruments for its effects. Acid rock music so depends on studio-produced effects that some of these groups cannot perform in public because their distinctive "sound", involving elaborate "stacking" techniques, is only possible in a studio. There is no significant interplay between the vocal and back-up groups, but there may be interplay between the vocal and electronic effects. The Cream, Jefferson Airplane, and the Grateful Dead illustrate acid rock music.

Ballads, which must manifest "soul" to sell widely, and country-western music make up the balance of today's popular music charts. "Soul" is loosely defined as the singer's projecting

his experience and personality into the song, which gives a vocalist latitude in performing a particular song. A soul rendition of the national anthem by Jose Feliciano aroused popular comment during the 1968 World Series. Even country-western music has been up-dated so it is not only a nasal whine of lost love, but is marked by the up-tempo "Nashville sound." Old style country-western music is now known as "hillbilly" or "bluegrass" and is commercially successful only in restricted markets. Glen Campbell and Johnny Cash have brought new country-western music to greater heights of popularity.

Popular music falls broadly into the categories listed above: rock 'n' roll, folk music, folk-rock, hard rock, acid rock, ballads and country-western music. For the purposes of this study, observation of popular music will be limited to those pieces whose lyrics are published in issues of mass-distributed music magazines.

For present purposes, my concern is not with forms chosen to express meaning (although I believe there is a relationship between forms and content), but rather with the content. The intent is to treat popular music as literature. This decision reflects a methodological difficulty, for there is not now an adequate measure of the impact which form of a composition makes upon a listener. Nicholas Ruwet (1967) recently attempted to reconcile linguistics and musicology in order to benefit both fields. He contends that linguistics is significantly more advanced than musicology, and hence that the serious study of

music will benefit from semiotic understanding. To this end, he posits a methodological framework, and admonishes musicologists to avoid the pitfalls and detours which have plagued linguistics. Keil (1966) also tentatively classifies music, but his provisions do not relate form to content. Neither Ruwet or Keil provide methodological guidance to this study.

To consider popular music as literature has some popular justification. Ralph J. Gleason, a popular and jazz music critic, says that "The New Youth of the Rock Generation has done something in American popular song that has begged to be done for generations. It has taken the creation of the lyrics and music out of the hands of the hacks and given it over to the Poets" (1968). A book review in the Kansas City Star, November 17, 1968, makes much the same point when it quotes author James Lipton as saying "...the popular songs of this generation have shown ingenuity and daring in both themes and words." That review continues, "He (Lipton) mentions that the best recent lyrics of Bob Dylan, Donovan, Jim Webb and others are stylistically closer to Rimbaud than Tin Pan Alley, and this is all to the good." Popular music is out of the "moon, June, croon, spoon" rut, and has become more intellectual, relevant, and less banal. This is supported in content analysis of actual lyrics.

Popular music offers a writer advantages which have traditionally been associated with novels or poetry. Popular music offers literature relevant to the time, and, moreover, offers its author the opportunity for popularity, appreciation, recognition,

and financial success. Finally, popular music has potential for wide dissemination through the mass media. While electronic media have an elaborate network of producers, distributors, and performers, like the production-dissemination structures existing for novelists or poets, the electronic media outlets are more accessible to the mass public than are printed works.

My concern with popular music is to analyze the symbols transmitted as indicators of the nature of contemporary society, and as clues for future societal arrangements. The arts in society serve that society as a symbolic sort of "Distant Early Warning" line, permitting experimentation with ideas.

Through artistic expression it is possible to create and disassemble, to change and modify; all this involving no actual change of society. The artist transmits his visions of changing forms, contents and relationships in society "on approval;" it becomes possible for members of society to accept, reject, or be neutral toward these visions. The use of symbols (popular music) in society is not viewed psychologically, but rather sociologically. Impacts may be on the separated individual, but cumulatively, when popular music is popularly received, it may create societal changes. Because I am concerned with the impact of symbols transmitted via popular music on institutions and organizations the thesis is sociological.

Duncan (1968) directs attention first to the arts as symbolically defining roles for interactions of members of society, and second to the forms the arts develop around social integration.

For example, Duncan notes that "Art creates symbolic roles which we use as a dramatic rehearsal in the imagination of community roles we must play to sustain social order" (1968:222).

The arts make it possible for the individual to assume roles enacted outside of his experience. An individual may prepare himself to assume roles future circumstances force upon him, or to enlarge his experience by living-through roles not now (or, never) available to him. Here he derives some self-knowledge as a member of the community through which he expresses himself, and then becomes capable of seeing himself in terms of the larger communal experience. So using art deepens and enlarges the sphere of shared experiences in which members of the community participate. Essentially, this perspective was developed by Horton as theoretical base for his consideration of popular music.

Secondly, Duncan conceives art's symbolic role as providing forms for interaction and integration. For example, "We are powerless without art, for without the forms supplied by art we cannot communicate, and when we cannot communicate we cannot relate as social beings" (1968:223). By providing form, art creates the order necessary to communicate the essential nature of society, brings into focus various aspects of society, and hence makes possible communal interaction.

The vital importance of communication, made possible by forms art supplies, is particularly emphasized by Hertzler in noting that communication

...is, in fact, the elemental social process, the social technique upon which all social processes depend. Its elemental significance rests upon the fact that without it there can be no semantic transfer. This is of crucial importance in that meaning alone is communicable and communicated; the rest is "instrument" and "conditioner." Moreover, communication is necessary in order to establish social ties, to conduct action with or against others. Without a range of communication there can be no interstimulation and reciprocal response, no establishment of meaningful common conceptualizations, no informative, instructive, provocative, invitational, or directive action, no invention, no recording, no accumulation and transmission of knowledge, no social organization, no planning, and no reorganization (1965:26-27).

For communication to function effectively in society, it uses symbols. Art bears symbol systems that integrate society using available media of communication. Electronic media transmit possible forms and role choices to mass publics.

Mills, similarly to Duncan, notes that propaganda and advertising intend to provide role-models for actors in society.

Manipulations by professional image-makers are effective because their audiences do not or cannot know personally all the people they want to talk about or be like, and because they have an unconscious need to believe in certain types. In their need and inexperience, such audiences snatch and hold to the glimpses of types that are frozen into the language with which they see the world. Even when they meet the people behind the types face to face, previous images, linked deeply with feeling, blind them to what stands before them. Experience is trapped by false images, even as reality itself sometimes seems to imitate the soap opera and the publicity release. (1951:xiii)

As Mills describes it, symbols come to condition the responses available to the actor. Faced with symbolic choices which he has

previously learned, reality is transcended by the prior forms, contents and roles which he has symbolically adopted.

Further explication of the role of literary and poetic symbols in society is provided by Hayakawa. He notes two basic functions:

First, by means of literary symbols we may be introduced vicariously to the notions and situations which we have not yet had occasion to experience; in this sense, literature is preparation. Secondly, symbols enable us to organize the experiences we have had, to make us aware of them, and therefore to help us to come to terms with them; in this sense, literature is learning. (1955:84)

Hayakawa's first function of literary symbols in society is essentially that noted by both Duncan and Mills; his second function is an addition on the same dimension, as well as being concerned with the second point which Duncan made. Hayakawa intends to point up the organizing and understanding function of symbols. By the organization of symbols for learning and understanding, the literary symbol serves the function of directing further role expansion, and socialization into the communal experience. By enabling the actor to see his own experiences and unique actions in terms of the totality of communal actions and experiences, he perceives self not only in terms of existential reality, but he also perceives self as integrated into the societal whole. Perhaps this function of symbols constitutes a primary means by which the individual transcends his unique experiences and both sees himself in the sweep of history and of his time. He perceives

his own life history and the on-going stream of society in which he lives.

The attempts at "politicization" launched by the New Left may be understood as attempts to generate an awareness or consciousness of politically relevant processes. Etzioni makes awareness an empirical concept by detailing components of its processes, and providing empirical referents for these components. He notes that "To be conscious is to be aware, to pay attention" (1968:224). Consciousness and awareness are synonyms, and are distinguished from non-awareness. Elements of consciousness are (1) "Awareness is a relational concept it is always 'of' something," and (2) "The extent of an individual's awareness is always more limited than the extent of his knowledge" (1968:225). The first point specifies that consciousness is not a generalized concept, but always relates to a specific object, event, or person. The second concerns the fact that an actor is aware of only a small fraction of what is his knowledge. One knows there is a war in Viet Nam; being drafted and shipped to Viet Nam calls the war to his consciousness and being in Viet Nam would enlarge awareness of that war.

The effect of symbols is more than passive. A novel or poem represents the author and, to some degree, the social situation in which it was conceived; if it is also socially significant, it may construct a framework for further perceptions and actions. For example, the symbols used in a political candidate's acceptance speech probably set the stage for his election campaign. The

importance of such effects of communication was well recognized by George H. Mead:

The social process, as involving communication, is in a sense responsible for the appearance of new objects in the field of experience of the individual organisms implicated in that process.

Symbolization constitutes objects not constituted before, objects which would not exist except for the context of social relationships wherein symbolization occurs. Language does not simply symbolize a situation or object which is already there in advance; it makes possible the existence or appearance of that situation or object, for it is part of the mechanism whereby that situation or object is created (1934:77-78).

From this point of view, content not only reflects but directs. The document itself becomes a pivot for further discourse and action; inferences and predictions may be made about its effects.

Many kinds of inferences might be made from the written or verbal record. Taken together, I think these inferences constitute a significant element in understanding man's behavior.

Popular music, to employ Kenneth Burke's famous phrase, provides "equipment for living" in a society. Music, through its symbols, provides a means for integrating the individual experience into the communal experience; for expanding role possibilities for actors of a society; for generating new forms and directing responses; and for communicating within mass populations. Art allows the artist to explore forms and contents which are not already available; or which have not been previously articulated and communicated.

It must not be inferred, however, that the only function of symbols in society is to provide means to change society; this

discussion is directed at one specific use of symbols, arranged as art. As the novelist arranges experience in words, the artist space and color, the musician time and tone, the dancer motion and emotion, the symbols which they create, and which are disseminated, become integrated into the use of the society and become available for the broader experience of the community; but existing traditional symbols, which function as master symbols of legitimation for a society (Mills, 1941), are also important to understand society. As the traditional symbol of "happy marriage" contributes to the continued stability of society, communal living and freer sexual or marital relationships advanced by art may contradict the continued integration of a society whose traditional arrangements are antipodal to the contents of such art. Insofar as the clash between symbols is made explicit, we may understand some changes of a society.

Objectives

By speaking of the popular music of today, an assumption is involved that a different situation exists today than previously existed. There have been obvious and drastic changes in the form and content of popular music which need no exploration or elaboration. Yet, if popular music offers the "...opportunity to experiment in imagination with the roles one will have to play in the future and the reciprocal roles that will, or should be, played by the as-yet-unknown others of the drama" (Horton, 1957:577), then changes taking place in role relationships communicated

through popular music are important for sociological analysis. A broadening of the role possibilities, both within and without the courtship paradigm Horton proposes, increases the role possibilities available to the young person who listens to recordings that differ from those courtship styles his parents heard. Horton's contention that popular music provides symbolic expression to young people who are not verbally articulate in the language of love can be transferred to other areas of the society. If, for example, the young person is not articulate in politics, ecology, or war, current issues on which opinions are valuable, contemporary popular music could provide a vocabulary and attitudinal guidelines for comprehending such issues. If many young people hear the same musical message on such issues, presumably those common experiences allow for engaging in interaction with peers, and with society.

Carey (1969) recognizes that changes had taken place in popular music, but his concern to up-date Horton's dramatistic presentation of the language of popular music in courtship outweighed exploration of changes which had taken place. In addition, the time period which he selected for investigation provides insufficient insight into the on-going nature of change which he finds. By selecting only a single point in time for analysis, Carey cannot treat the continuity (or discontinuity) of change in popular music, nor can he predict the future course of popular music. Hence, my first objective is to examine change of the thematic content of popular songs during the period 1955 to 1969. The change Carey hints at serve as my focus.

This exploration provides the basis for my second objective concerning the nature of changes which have taken place. The second inquiry is that changes in thematic content of popular music have resulted in a reduction of the personal love pattern in the lyrics of popular songs.

Nearly one-third of the songs which Carey surveyed (1969: 725; Tables 5 and 6) do not readily fit Horton's categories for the popular music of 1955. Moreover, Carey pays sketchy attention to the songs falling outside Horton's original taxonomy. If the first objective is fulfilled, the primary interest of this paper will be on those songs outside Horton's original schema, which Carey ignored. This investigation enlarges the scope of popular music surveyed to include songs other than those concerning courtship and romantic love.

This work builds upon Horton (1957) and Carey (1969) for empirical reference, and on Duncan (1968), Mills (1951), Hayakawa (1955) and Mead (1934) for theoretical reference.

Chapter II

Methodology

The technique used here to analyze data is content analysis, which Berelson defines as being "...a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (1952:489). Essentially, content analysis is an attempt to do, objectively and systematically, what most of us practice without conscious thought in everyday life: to bring together qualitative representations and to classify them into categories for treatment or observation. For example, we classify motion pictures such as "westerns", "art films" or "x-rated;" we classify the editorial content of a newspaper as being either "conservative" or "liberal;" we make judgments about the main theme of a political speech; and we apply the same basic technique to inter-personal communications. Content analysis, as a scientific technique, differs from the examples above in detail more than spirit: it is a conscious disposition of communication into analytic categories which allow us to deal with communicated symbols or ideas, and to do so in a quantitative fashion.

Content analysis, without being labeled as such, is used widely in sociological analysis. For example, open-ended responses from questionnaires and interviews use the categorization techniques of content analysis to group data collected. By pulling

together disparate responses into general categories of "approve" and "disapprove", the researcher is able to deal with responses that would otherwise be too scattered to be useful. In a similar fashion, the Thematic Apperception Tests used in social-psychology and psychology rely upon the researcher's ability to use techniques of content analysis: to recognize underlying themes of individual responses, and to group these responses so that they can be dealt with systematically.

While the techniques of content analysis underlie other methodologies employed in scientific sociological analysis, the acknowledged use of content analysis per se is not currently widespread in sociology. Early sociologists utilized the technique extensively to deal with a variety of materials. For example, Znaniecki (1918-20), working with life histories, employs content analysis to describe personality and social structural changes the Polish peasant underwent when transplanted to America. Sorokin (1947) utilizes content analysis to explicate the mentalistic themes he saw as the dominant realities of sociological analysis. Currently, historians (particularly cultural historians) and political scientists use content analysis extensively. However, sociologists have sacrificed the use of content analysis to use more sophisticated mathematical or data processing techniques (e.g., path analysis, computer techniques) that have become available.

Perhaps an additional problem in using content analysis is that its use directly implicates the researcher, in the sorting

and classifying of responses. Basic to content analysis is the researcher's knowledge of the material being manipulated. From that knowledge he forms categories which he then employs to classify the material. Procedures have been used to overcome this objection (e.g., replication through the use of multiple raters), but the researcher's imposition of categories upon the material remains the focus of the research. Actually, inferences about the material being treated occur at two levels: initially with the creation of the categories of investigation, and secondarily with the conclusions which are drawn from analyzing data allocated to categories. The "objectivity" of these inferences and the current "scientific" notions of sociologists limit the viable use of content analysis as research technique.

The categories which are utilized become of prime importance to the success of the technique; as Berelson noted, "Content analysis stands or falls by its categories...Since the categories contain the substance of the investigation, a content analysis can be no better than its system of categories" (1952:147). The creation of categories to be used in research is a difficult subject to approach in a systematic fashion. Ideally, these categories should grow naturally out of the researcher's immersion in the material, rather than being imposed from the outside. This "growing out of" might be likened to the manner in which you chose to arrange books on your shelf; you place them as you do because your interests and intimacy with the books dictates their placement. Similarities in material suggest a unifying theme

which pulls a group of references together, and differentiates it from alternative methods of expression. In much the same fashion, those who employ open-ended questions in survey research are admonished to let the responses dictate the categories into which they fall, or interpreters of TAT are bounded by similar admonition.

For this research, I used initially the categories employed by Horton (1957), and then added those employed by Carey (1969) for analyzing later published songs. In dealing with material which neither Horton nor Carey analyzed, I extracted categories suited to themes discerned from popular music. To test the differences between earlier and later published songs I use the chi square test with the .05 level being accepted as significant value.

The Baseline Data

The original material, which forms the baseline for comparisons, is from a survey of popular music Donald Horton published in 1957. Horton was interested in how musical communication of the language of courtship, with its highly stylized and repetitious rhetorical forms and symbols, is confined to expressing and manipulating a narrow range of values. To this end he employs the verses of popular songs published in the June, 1955 issues of four periodicals devoted to songs lyrics: Hit Parader, Song Hits Magazine, Country Song Roundup, and Rhythm and Blues. The four magazines included 290 song lyrics. Leaving aside cases of duplication, where one song's lyrics were published in more than

one magazine, 235 different lyrics constituted the material analyzed. Horton pays scant attention to the other contents offered by the magazines, beyond noting that there is extensive (48 per cent) duplication between Hit Parader and Song Hits Magazine, and that Rhythm and Blues appears to be oriented toward a Negro market. Horton contends that the magazines share a common universe of discourse, even if they do belong in different musical subcultures and address different audiences (1957:569-70). The data bear out this contention. (1957:576)

In categorizing the data, Horton employs a dramatistic model, with the songs divided into various acts and scenes in "The Drama of Courtship." The drama begins, appropriately, with the "Prologue: Wishing and Dreaming." Here are voiced "...the anticipations of youngsters who have not yet begun to take part in love affairs" (1957:570). This section includes neophytes who have not yet participated in the drama of courtship, as well as more experienced veterans ready to re-enter the arena. In general, these songs extoll the virtues of love and encourage participation.

Act I of the drama is "Courtship," which Horton subdivides into five basic scenes. The overall thrust of this act is that the more aggressive of the two prospective lovers tries to win over the more reluctant. Approaches which are gleaned from the language of the surveyed songs include Scene 1, the direct approach, which is characterized by a simple and direct aggressiveness on the part of the wooer; Scene 2 "...in which the lover makes

some show of devotion and offers simple declarations of love in a variety of dialects" (1957:570), a scene which Horton sees as marked by a "sweet" dialogue; Scene 3, which employs heroic and desperate appeals when neither simple appeal or direct persuasion has been successful; Scene 4, which consists of pledges and counter-pledges, with each prospective lover attempting to provide the other with assurances of constancy, undying devotion, and intent of permanency. This is a scene of appeals, promises, reassurances, and final commitments, which may also include some of the struggle of loyalties to which the young lovers may be subject. If these conflicts are resolved, the scene is carried to its conclusion of pledge and counterpledge. Scene 5 has "...one of the lovers... becoming impatient. Mere acknowledgements, mere kisses, are not enough" (1957:572). The urgency of the importuning lover may be responded to with anxiety, timidity, or boldness.

Act II of the drama of courtship is "The Honeymoon." The lovers have successfully passed the test of pledge and counter-pledge, have transcended the anxiety and timidity, and are finally, euphorically happy with one another. This honeymoon period is one "...whose songs describe the exhilaration of mutual (and perhaps fulfilled) love" (1957:572).

The drama of courtship continues in Horton's schema with Act III: "The Downward Course of Love." The act is again broken up into various scenes, each with its distinctive presentation in popular song. The first problem which the new lovers have to contend with is separation, for whatever reason. It is provided for in Scene 1, which deals with simple loneliness without overtones

of interference from others. In Scene 2, forces which are hostile to the young lovers and their happiness appear: "...parents may intervene...jealousy, even jealousy over a past love, may arise... the lover may be unfaithful, or simply unkind...and, as one of the partners begins to 'cool' (for whatever reasons), the other instantly detects it" (1957:573). The response to the problems introduced in Scene 2 is provided by Scene 3: "The threat of leaving and the offending lover's remorse" (1957:573). It is in Scene 4 that the final parting occurs, with the popular music supplying the appropriately melancholy dialogue for the parting.

Act IV is the final act of the drama, "All Alone." The various approaches provided by the popular music of 1955 to finding love lost include Scene 1, wherein "...the forsaken lover still loves and dreams of persuading the other to come back" (1957:574). This may be done by appeal to the old lover's sense of pity, adding apologies for past behavior; or, an attempt may be made to shift the blame to the other partner, while forgiving the old lover's actions. Scene 2 of the fourth Act "...opens a prospect of hopeless love. The abandoned one no longer thinks of winning back the other" (1957:574). Some of the actors in this second scene will present a stoical face, some will be more given to tears, and for some a bitter dialogue of recriminations ensues. In Scene 3, "...the lover, having thrown off the old love, may face the future" (1957:574) with determination, or may celebrate the new freedom which the end of love has brought to him.

The scenes of the drama which Horton explicates are simply refinements on the basic themes which he finds in popular music, as exemplified by the Prologue and four Act sequence of the drama of courtship. Horton's analysis of popular music appears as collapsed into Four Acts as in Table 1 (1957:575).

Since Horton is primarily interested in songs of love which are in the "conversational" mode -- that is, songs which have the actor directly addressing a specific other, rather than a generalized other -- he excludes narrative and descriptive ballads on love themes from his drama of courtship: inclusion of these in his totals would yield a total dealing with love themes of 205 songs, or 87.2 per cent. Of the remaining songs, Horton explains "Dance songs" as being those "...whose subject matter is the dance, perhaps suggesting the mood of the dance, describing the steps and movements, and providing a chant to accentuate the rhythm," while "Tune songs" are those where "...the lyric concerns the music, either describing it, interpreting it, or providing nonsense syllables to accompany it" (1957:575). The category of "Religious songs" is self-explanatory, and Horton provides neither examples or explanations of the songs which fit into the categories of "Other ballads" and "Miscellaneous."

In examining whether the four magazines that he uses in his study do indeed constitute a single universe of discourse, Horton finds that the only statistically significant difference between the four occurs in Country Song Roundup, which includes a much greater concentration of songs in the "All Alone" Act. Country

**THIS BOOK
CONTAINS
NUMEROUS PAGES
WITH DIAGRAMS
THAT ARE CROOKED
COMPARED TO THE
REST OF THE
INFORMATION ON
THE PAGE.**

**THIS IS AS
RECEIVED FROM
CUSTOMER.**

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF SONG LYRICS BY CONTENT (1955)

Content	Number	Per Cent
Prologue: Wishing and Dreaming	9	3.8
Act I: Courtship	76	32.3
Act II: The Honeymoon	19	8.1
Act III: The Downward Course of Love	34	14.5
Act IV: All Alone	58	24.7
Total love songs in conversational mode	<u>196</u>	<u>83.4</u>
Narrative and descriptive ballads on love themes	9	3.8
Religious songs	6	2.6
Other ballads	8	3.4
Comic songs	4	1.7
Dance songs	6	2.5
Tune songs	3	1.3
Miscellaneous	3	1.3
Total other songs	<u>39</u>	<u>16.6</u>
Total all types	235	100.0

Source: Horton, 1957:575

songs are more generally absorbed with the theme of love going or gone, "...confirming the common impression that the hillbilly songs largely concentrate on the doleful condition of hopeless love" (1957:576). Horton also notes some difference, although not statistically significant, in the tendency of Rhythm and Blues to spend less time on the preliminaries of courtship, and more on the "Downward Course of Love."

I shall use Horton's scheme and results as the baseline to discover if change has occurred in popular music from 1955 to 1960, 1965, and 1969.

The Data

I will treat each time period selected for analysis independently, and then combine them for an overall analysis of change in popular music. The data were difficult to secure for the years 1960 and 1965. Past issues of the magazines are not available through regular library sources, so Xerox copies of back issues were procured from the publishers, Charlton Publications. As Horton found in 1955, Charlton Publications is the only house which publishes magazines of this nature, and without their cooperation the research would have been impossible.

The three time periods were chosen to provide more than a gross indication of change, such as that generated by Carey (1969). By using three additional periods it would be feasible to determine when that change took place. Additionally, examining change over time provides some indication of directionality which

could provide a basis for predicting future changes in the structure of popular music.

Horton (1957) directed only minimal attention to the contents of the magazines; he concentrated on the words of the popular songs for analysis. However, based on the sample from 1960, 1965, and 1969, contents of the magazines in addition to song lyrics have also changed. Each magazine developed a self-conscious attitude: both toward themselves as publications, and toward the audience which they serve. That recalls Etzioni's concept of consciousness or awareness: a growth of consciousness occurred in each magazine over the nine year period.

In 1960 the four magazines lavished praise on performers whom they featured in vignettes. Performers were referred to as being "on the way up," "destined for stardom," and other phrases indicating high promise and future success in popular music. Established performers were cited, without exception, as "beloved" or "fantastic stars." Beyond these vignettes of stars and newcomers, there is no content to the 1960 magazines except the song lyrics themselves.

By 1965, however, the magazines reconceptualized their function, and discovered that it is proper to criticize stars. For example, the lead paragraphs from an article entitled "The Party Gang" in Hit Parader:

Many years ago, a very clever man named Walt Disney created a group of remarkably realistic wind-up dolls called the Mouseketeers. They walked and talked and laughed and sang -- everyone said they were almost human. One of these

dolls, a sprightly lass named simply 'Annette', grew up and was transformed into another kind of wind-up doll called a starlet. She could roll her big brown eyes and wear bikinis and all the boys said 'va va voom.'

In another part of the country-- South Philadelphia to be exact -- another clever man put some dimples and curly hair and old Rudy Vallee records together and got a teen-aged singing-idol doll he called 'Frankie Avalon.'

All over the United States, numerous wind-up dolls with a variety of skills were being created and were performing their primary functions -- entertaining and making money. There was the 'Miss Dr. Pepper' doll called Donna Loren, who could sing and sell soft drinks. There were the Jody McCrea, John Ashley and Tommy Kirk dolls who were able to smile boyish smiles and occasionally ride a surfboard. There were the idealized female dolls from Playboy magazine who folded in three places and had staples in their navels. Playmates Donna Michelle, Teri Hope, Delores Wells and Joyce Nizzari put on some clothes and became movie starlets. There were many other types of dolls, and they all wound up in Hollywood.

This article, written about the series of "Beach Party" movies produced by American International Studios in the mid-1960's, represents an attitude toward popular music which the magazines now display: more information about music and performers than only the words to music were purveyed. By 1965, the magazines undertook some tasks of mediating an entire area or field to a specialized audience. Publishing criticism and assuming the position of critic are manifestations of this increasingly conscious stance the magazines took in 1965.

By the 1969 sample, the magazines extended their scope of criticism to include themselves. In Hit Parader, "Have We Misjudged the Monkees?" demonstrates this new maturity of

criticism in the review of the motion picture "Head," which starred the Monkees:

...I felt more and more a tinge of remorse at the way the rock and roll press establishment has repeatedly blasted the Monkees.

Davy Jones ran to the front of the room, anxiously asking some friends if they liked the film. Peter Tork, obscure behind a mangy new beard, looked a little uncertain, too. I tend to think, and not without some chagrin-by-association, that the press is responsible for a lot of unpleasant changes Dolenz, Nesmith, Jones and Tork have been through as individuals.

Pop lacks perspective, as anything this newly successful must at first. A quick check of the critical criteria for the other arts, literature, theatre, TV and film, shows these areas of creative expression far more understanding of the demands placed on its performing contingent. I say the Monkees have been misjudged, have been scored on the wrong scorecard.

Forgotten is the fact that they are actors playing rock and roll musicians, not the other way around. And if their music was at first prefabricated, well, that was where the TV show was at, and what of it...when it was revealed that the Monkees weren't making any of the music ascribed to them I remember the outrage and hostility that followed in the press. At this juncture...the whole riff seems kind of silly. Does anybody mind the instruments on Sgt. Pepper that the Beatles don't play?

Of course, the Monkees aren't the Beatles and they...will probably never even come close. But the Monkees aren't even barking up the same tree and to down-rate them for that is pure rock and roll snobbery, a brand of hip-contempt that has become a revealing manifestation of the life style of the beautiful people.

The change from a total lack of objectivity or discrimination in 1960, through the criticism of 1965, to the more mature critical stance of 1969, marks a major change in the content of the magazines surveyed in the course of the research. This applies equally to all the magazines surveyed.

Other examples of increased consciousness include the appearance of album rating sections that are not the unqualified praise of 1960, nor the criticism-to-demonstrate-that-we-can style of 1965, but which adjudge certain tracks of records as successful, certain as unsuccessful, and the overall impact of the album as a unity. Too, all profiled performers are not uniformly immediately successful: there is recognition that one can get waylaid on the path to success.

Another change displayed by the magazines between 1960 and 1969 is the staff turnover for the three magazines published continually for that period. Perhaps such turnover is no more than normal attrition in publishing, or this particular niche of publishing. However, the major staff changes occurred simultaneously with the attitude changes of the magazines. Apparently the period 1965 to 1969 represents one of maturation; fewer staff changes occurred then, particularly noted by stability of policy-makers -- editors and associate editors. This offers some evidence that changes in attitude which the magazines earlier underwent necessitated some change in staffing. When attitudes stabilized so did policy making staffs.

The growing awareness and self-consciousness of the magazines observing and reporting popular music parallels that of popular music itself. For example, the origins and success of Rolling Stone, which combines reportage and responsible criticism on the field of popular music and those involved in it, suggests a mature awareness of an industry of popular music. Not direct

competitors of Rolling Stone -- a weekly publication that does not include the words to songs -- the Charlton Publications reflect the same orientation toward popular music. This content change in magazines involved in popular music reflects a similar change in the content of popular music.

1960

The data used for the 1960 survey of popular music include the same four magazines that Horton employed: Hit Parader, Song Hits Magazine, Country Song Roundup and Rhythm and Blues. The first two are monthlies and the second two are quarterlies. The June issues of these four magazines contained a total of 301 popular songs (Hit Parader: 68; Song Hits Magazine: 88; Country Song Roundup: 82; and Rhythm and Blues: 63); if duplications are left aside, 264 different song lyrics were available for analysis.

For analyzing the data, I used Horton's (1957) original classifications, except this analysis did not distinguish between love songs in the conversational mode and narrative and descriptive ballads on love themes. The results are in Table 2.

The songs of 1960, with the exception of the two songs which are placed in the added category of "Social themes," correspond closely to Horton's data from his 1955 survey of popular music. There is little difference either in the values represented or the imagery used.

The magazines themselves include categories of songs such as "Favorite Foreign Songs" (Hit Parader and Song Hits Magazine);

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF SONG LYRICS BY CONTENT (1960)

Content	Number	Per Cent
Prologue: Wishing and Dreaming	18	7.8
Act I: Courtship	73	27.6
Act II: The Honeymoon	41	15.5
Act III: The Downward Course of Love	31	11.7
Act IV: All Alone	60	22.7
Total love songs	<u>223</u>	<u>85.3</u>
Religious songs	4	1.4
Other ballads	14	5.2
Comic songs	5	1.7
Dance songs	3	1.1
Tune songs	0	0.0
Miscellaneous	13	4.8
Social themes	2	0.6
Total other songs	<u>41</u>	<u>14.7</u>
Total all songs	264	100.0

χ^2 not significant at .05

"Cowboy and Western Songs" (Hit Parader: note the use of "cowboy" as a designation); "Songs That Will Live Forever" (Hit Parader, Song Hits Magazine, and Country Song Roundup). The latter is evidently a category popular with readers because three magazines devote space to it. Taking that feature in conjunction with a feature in Hit Parader entitled "Remember When" (one of the pictures in this section calls attention to the fact that Elvis Presley had sideburns in 1954, implying that they are very out-of-style) indicates both a sense of continuity with the past and the future of popular music. One obtains a feeling of continuity and growth in each 1960 magazine, with frequent references to previous songs, events, and the longevity of entertainers.

This feeling is reinforced by the representation of songwriters such as Sammy Cahn, Jimmy Van Heusen, Nacio Herb Brown, Jule Styne, Johnny Burke, and Johnny Mercer, all of whom were writing in World War II or earlier, among the songs presented. In addition, songs featured in 1960 included such oldsters as "Clementine," "The Old Lamplighter," "The Gang that Sang Heart of My Heart," "I'm Always Chasing Rainbows," "Chattanooga Shoe Shine Boy," "Too Fat Polka," and others. These songs do not appear in the "Songs That Will Live Forever" section, but are scattered among the popular hits of the day. The publishers and staff of the four magazines of 1960 saw popular music as a growth industry. That impression is reinforced by the data's agreement with Horton's survey of 1955.

Some reported songs, however, serve as a precursor, by virtue of hindsight, of the changes underway in the music of 1960. The new category of "Social themes" includes "The Ballad of Caryl Chessman: Let Him Live, Let Him Live, Let Him Live." The song pleads

Let him live, let him live

Caryl Chessman spent twelve years in San Quentin,
Waitin' for his execution day.
What they're saying may be true.
But what good would killin' him do?
Every where you go people say:

Let him live, let him live, let him live
I'm not sayin' forget or forgive.
If he's guilty of his crime,
Keep him in jail a long, long time,
But let him live, let him live, let him live.

Chessman, he was called the Red Light Bandit,
They convicted him and sentenced him to die.
He was going to his doom in the gas chamber room,
Suddenly the world heard a cry:

(Chorus)

(Did he) kidnap, did he rob, is he guilty?
Just like those two policemen say?
Killin' laws were made by man,
Not accordin' to God's plan;
Let his soul be judged on Judgement Day.

Caryl Chessman was a cause celebre among many show business personalities of the day, with demonstrations, vigils and picketing in his behalf (the predecessors of later involvement of this type in social action causes: again, clear hindsight). Recognizing social conditions in popular song is probably derived, at least in part, from the folk songs the Kingston Trio brought to popularity immediately preceding 1960; leaving aside the question

of origin, however, the song stands as an early indicator of a later trend in popular music.

In commenting on the changes taking place in the magazines, I noted an increasingly expanded consciousness. This same attitude characterizes some popular songs of 1960. In a group sense, the initial recognition of separation which has widened into the popularly-labeled "Generation Gap" and the concomitant emphasis on youth in contemporary American culture (Feuer, 1969), is found in "Too Pooped to Pop," a comic song ridiculing a man still pursuing youth too eagerly. A more specific indication of consciousness of group membership appears in Rhythm and Blues. The song, "Without Soul," considers events and personages who would not have accomplished what they did had they not had soul. That song's closing lyrics are:

You've got to have soul!
Without soul, pretty baby,
Two and two
Wouldn't even be four.

The component of "soul" is used to socially differentiate blacks from whites.

The popular music of 1960 differs little from the music Horton studied in 1955. Representation in the categories that he used to classify music is much the same; the differences lie in the distribution of numbers to categories, rather than in the appearance of the new or the different. Certain topics, however, begin to appear; topics to be more popular in later periods.

1965

For 1965, data are collected from Hit Parader, Song Hits Magazine, and Country Song Roundup; Rhythm and Blues was discontinued by Charlton Publications in 1963. Dropping that magazine was done because the specialized market formerly served was no longer considered a discrete part of popular music. It was felt that that market could be reached with other magazines with less duplication (Private correspondence received by Jon Flanagin).

Extensive duplication of songs from magazine to magazine characterized both 1955 and 1960, but by 1965 duplicate lyrics largely disappeared. Hit Parader contained 47 songs, Song Hits Magazine had 42 songs, with six appearing in both those magazines, and Country Song Roundup contained 45 songs, including one duplication. The last mentioned song, "The Race Is On," was an extremely popular song which spanned the music scene from popular (commercial) to country. There were also fewer songs printed in each magazine, as Table 3 indicates.

The decrease in the number of songs printed in each magazine is at least partially attributable to the demise of several of the categories which had occurred in the 1960 issues of the same magazines, including "Favorite Foreign Songs," "Songs That Will Live Forever," and "Cowboy and Western Songs." The focus of each magazine was narrowed. The comfortable sense of continuity with the past, noted in reference to the 1960 publications, is lacking in 1965.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF SONGS IN MAGAZINES

Publication	1960	1965	Net Change
Hit Parader	68	47	-21
Song Hits Magazine	88	42	-46
Country Song Roundup	82	45	-37
Rhythm and Blues	63	0	-63
Totals	301	134	-167

James Carey's (1969) survey of the lyrics of popular songs in 1966 found Horton's classification unsuited to his purposes. Carey revised Horton's dramatistic model to include courtship stages as Act I, the active search, Act II, the happy stage, Act III, the breakup, and Act IV, the isolation phase. This modification of Horton's "Drama of Courtship" is minimal, for Carey simply combined "Prologue: Wishing and Dreaming" with Act I: "Courtship" into a new first act, the happy stage; he then eliminated particular scenes from the four acts.

More useful for my purposes is the significant difference which Carey finds in the values which are portrayed within each of the acts. The principle change "...has not involved a shift in interest away from the boy-girl relationship but rather a shift in orientation toward this relationship" (1969:728). The

two major themes underlying this change for Carey are "choice" and "active participation." He finds that "...the value of existential choice is celebrated," and that "...the affair is created by the partners, and they can determine the outcome" (1969:730). To designate these changes in the lyrics of popular music, Carey discriminates between "old values" and "new values," a distinction which I adopt for analyzing popular music in 1965.

For classification, I retain the outline of Horton's original scheme (rather than present data in accordance with Carey) to provide continuity for comparison from 1955 to 1969. Since I find significant changes in the music of 1965, I have separated these songs having love content from those which do not. This is done so each can be explored independently. (Table 4)

The data in Table 4 show that Acts III and IV are similar in their distribution of songs to new and old values, with the Prologue, Act I and Act II showing a different distribution. New values are more likely to be expressed after the honeymoon, whereas the onset and early blossoming of the affair more pronouncedly hark back to old values.

The balance of the songs surveyed (23.5 per cent) do not deal directly with romantic love themes: this compares with 12.8 per cent in Horton's 1955 survey, and is significant beyond the .05 level. Additionally, these songs, representing nearly one-fourth of the total surveyed, do not fit easily the categories which Horton used in 1955. For example, only one of these songs (0.7 per cent) fits the category of "Religious," and by Carey's

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF SONG LYRICS WITH LOVE THEMES
BY CONTENT (1965)

Content	Number	Per Cent
Prologue: Wishing and Dreaming	2	1.6
Old values	1	50
New values	1	50
Act I: Courtship	13	10.1
Old values	10	77
New values	3	23
Act II: The Honeymoon	13	10.1
Old values	11	85
New values	2	15
Act III: The Downward Course of Love	37	28.9
Old values	24	65
New values	13	35
Act IV: All Alone	33	25.8
Old values	22	67
New values	11	33
Total love songs	<u>98</u>	<u>76.5</u>
Total old values	<u>68</u>	<u>69.3</u>
Total new values	<u>30</u>	<u>30.7</u>

distinctions this song would represent "new values." This contrasts to 3.8 per cent of Horton's original sample in the "Religious" category. Classifying songs in Horton's categories of "Miscellaneous" and "Other Ballads", while technically possible, would obscure change in popular music, a change which I seek to illuminate.

Developing consciousness or awareness, already noted in reference to magazine contents and noted in 1960's music, became even more apparent by 1965. The outside world is considered; the 1965 songs relate to the wider world. The world of love is not a shelter. Popular music puts individuals in a broader social perspective. Earlier, we saw particular illustrations of this awareness of relation to the exterior world manifest itself in a group consciousness -- either as young, black, or both -- or in terms of larger issues, such as capital punishment. By 1965, this awareness expanded so demonstrably as to require adding the category "Social themes" to Horton's original classification. This category includes songs which relate the individual to the social milieu. One manifestation of this change is in the broader range of available imagery, and new themes or values which this imagery represents. Themes such as death, alcohol, and sex, formerly taboo and not represented in the lyrics of 1960, have become, if not commonplace, at least well within the repertoire of the writers of 1965.

The changes in popular music are not only in themes treated but also in different approaches to these themes. Keeping this

in mind, the categories Horton used that did not deal with love themes may be employed here, with one modification: dance songs and tune songs are combined into a single category, to more nearly represent the music of 1965. The combined category -- "Dance tunes" in Table 5 -- contains songs primarily directed toward dancing or listening; there does not seem to be the distinction between songs primarily intended for dancing, and those intended as tunes, which Horton found in 1955.

Finally, one further modification involves songs not concerning love themes. Those which are classed as representing the older style are designated as "old" in the table below, and those exhibiting the new awareness which entered popular music since 1960 are designated "new" in the table. Table 5 presents these data.

The distribution of songs into "old" and "new" values in Table 5 differs markedly from that shown in Table 4, songs with love content. Love songs, compared with other songs, retain a greater anchorage in old values, but songs about subjects other than love emphasis almost wholly new values. These data represent distinct kinds of content for the two different types of songs, not only in their subject matter, but also in their manner of presentation.

By 1965, Billy Edd Wheeler can deliver an impassioned "Ode to the Little Brown Shack Out Back":

TABLE 5
DISTRIBUTION OF SONG LYRICS WITH OTHER
THAN LOVE THEMES BY CONTENT (1965)

Content	Number	Per cent Of "Other"	Of Total
Religious	1	3.4	0.7
Old	0		
New	1		
Other ballads	4	13.8	3.1
Old	1		
New	3		
Comic	5	17.2	3.9
Old	0		
New	5		
Dance tunes	6	20.6	4.7
Old	0		
New	6		
Miscellaneous	2	6.8	1.5
Old	1		
New	1		
Social themes	11	40.2	9.6
Old	0		
New	11		
Total other songs	<u>29</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>23.5</u>
Total old	<u>2</u>		
Total new	27		

χ^2 significant beyond .05

Ladies and gentlemen
 In this day of vital social issues
 We solicitate your help on the protest in question!
 Yes, the very source of a great mineral land
 Marked for destruction
 In the name of progress.

They passed an ordinance in the town
 They said we had to take it down
 That little old shack out back so dear to me.
 Though the health department said today
 It was over their heads
 It will stand forever in my memory.

He later noted that "It gave the same relief to rich and poor."
 The tone is humorous, but neither the subject matter nor the imagery of presentation was observed in the songs of 1955 or 1960. In the same vein, Roger Miller humorously treats the subject of alcohol in "Chug-a-lug." Alcohol does not simply relieve the pain of the end of an affair (e.g., Frank Sinatra singing "One More for My Baby") but is part of the world of experience, and has lost sufficient of its cachet to become a subject for humor.

The social themes of 1965 represent involvement in the wider world; that new theme of consciousness is the one I am tracing. Malvina Reynolds -- in a song strongly reminiscent of Bob Dylan's "A Hard Rain's Gonna Fall" -- writes of the dangers of nuclear fallout in "What Have They Done to the Rain?";

Just a little rain falling all around
 The grass lifts its head to the heavenly sound
 Just a little rain
 Just a little rain
 What have they done to the rain?

Just a little boy standin' in the rain
 The gentle rain that falls for years
 And the grass is gone
 The boy disappears
 And rain keeps falling like helpless tears
 And what have they done to the rain?

However, social themes not only protest the larger world, but also recognize the individual actor's relationship to that world, and the isolation which he must endure. "New York Is A Lonely Town" says

My folks moved to New York from California
 I should have listened when my buddy said
 I warn ya' no one even cares
 No where to go now
 New York's a lonely town.

With a song which he wrote, Gerrard Marsden of Gerry and the Pacemakers echoes the same theme of loneliness and isolation, this time even in familiar surroundings:

Life goes on day after day
 Heart's torn in every way
 So ferry across the Mersey
 'Cos this land's the place I love
 And here I'll stay

People, they rush everywhere
 Each with their own secret care
 People around every corner
 They seem to smile and say
 We don't care what your name is, boy
 So ferry across the Mersey
 'Cos this land's the place I love
 And here I'll stay.

Not only the contents of songs but the writers of songs changed by 1965. The familiar names of 1960 no longer appear as writers of the songs printed. The magazines -- reflecting the new importance of the performer -- added to their listing

of the song the name of the artist who performed the song on record; from this data, many of these performers are also authors (e.g., Lennon and McCartney of the Beatles, Robinson of the Miracles). Moreover, many songwriters are either identified with a particular record label or group (e.g., Holland, Dozier and Holland, with the Supremes and Motown), or recognized as a young songwriter (e.g., Carole King, Anthony Newley, Tony Hatch, Jim Webb, etc.). For Table 6, if the author listed for a song belonged in one of the three categories above then he was classified as "New;" if it was not possible to place him in one of these categories then he was classified as "Old."

TABLE 6

AUTHORSHIP OF POPULAR SONGS (1960 and 1965)

Year	New	Old
1960	32 (13%)	232 (87%)
1965	81 (65%)	46 (35%)

χ^2 significant beyond .05

The data presented in Table 6 can be related rather directly to that presented in Tables 4 and 5 on the content of popular music in 1965. The change in authorship demonstrated can be readily seen in the changing content of the songs surveyed.

Because lyrics of popular songs are written by people of the same general age group as the audience to which these lyrics are

directed does not yield the conclusion that there is a one-to-one relationship between the audience and the performer. However, it is reasonable to conclude that a performer/writer's personal statement about the world might more nearly correspond to that of the audience, if the audience and performer are the same age. Hence, authors might more readily reflect the interests of that audience, communicate its concerns, and address their talents toward issues and inter-personal situations which indeed occur to and concern that audience. If such is the case, the language for the expression of love, and a variety of social concerns, that is available to young people today by the vehicle of popular music possibly better corresponds to issues of growing up in society, and engaging in a range of interpersonal experiences. I shall return to this point in the conclusions.

The popular music of 1965 is not as easy to summarize as that of 1960, for Horton's (1957) dramatistic model of the progression of love through the various acts no longer adequately describes the state of popular music. To catch the spirit of music in 1965 it is necessary to add to Horton's original classificatory schema Carey's (1969) interpretation of the shift from "old values" to "new values" of choice and active involvement. The new values Carey posits as appearing in the popular music of 1966 complement the direction I noted in popular music that is addressed to other than love themes: change toward an increasing awareness of the social milieu, transcending the immediate

situation. This consciousness of the 1965 popular music marks a major transition.

1969

The data for popular music in 1969 comes from the June issues of Hit Parader, Song Hits Magazine, Country Song Roundup, and from Best Songs, a new Charlton Publications magazine added to increase the number of songs included for 1969. Even with the addition of Best Songs, only 98 different songs are available for analysis for 1969. This total includes 37 from Hit Parader, 35 from Song Hits Magazine, and 13 songs each from Best Songs and Country Song Roundup. The four magazines include 167 songs, but many are duplications.

Best Songs, which was added for 1969, returns to an earlier format for Charlton Publications. It is printed on a cheaper grade of paper, retails for 20-cents against 35-cents for the other three magazines, and publishes only the words to popular songs, plus short vignettes on established and rising performers, as did the 1960 magazines. It has neither the maturity nor the broadness of scope which characterize the other three magazines over the latter years of publication.

Even adding the fourth publication, an earlier trend toward fewer songs appearing in each magazine continues. (Table 7)

It is not possible to name only one reason for the decline in the number of songs reported in the magazines over the period. Two possible explanations are that the magazines have

TABLE 7
NUMBER OF SONGS IN MAGAZINES

Publication	1960	1965	1969	Net Change
Hit Parader	68	47	37	-31
Song Hits Magazine	88	42	66	-22
Country Song Roundup	82	45	31	-51
Rhythm and Blues	63	0	0	-63
Best Songs	0	0	33	+33
Totals	301	134	167	-134
Total non-duplicated	264	127	98	-166

been redefined by 1969, or that the four magazines of 1969 are all monthlies, rather than quarterlies as were Rhythm and Blues and Country Song Roundup in 1960, and Country Song Roundup in 1965. Because of the change in frequency of publication, and the change in the magazines, there is probably not a decrease in the number of songs being published or performed in 1969.

The data of Table 8 use the same classification as used in 1965. Data from those songs which deal with other than love themes for 1969 are presented in Table 9.

The data presented in Table 8 is quite different from that presented in Table 4 on the content of love songs in 1965. Except for the Honeymoon (Act II), new values predominate as was the case

TABLE 8
DISTRIBUTION OF SONG LYRICS WITH LOVE THEMES
BY CONTENT (1969)

Content	Number	Per Cent
Prologue: Wishing and Dreaming	1	1.0
Old values	0	0
New values	1	100
Act I: Courtship	13	13.2
Old values	5	38
New values	8	62
Act II: The Honeymoon	8	8.2
Old values	4	50
New values	4	50
Act III: The Downward Course of Love	16	16.3
Old values	6	37
New values	10	63
Act IV: All Alone	24	24.5
Old values	10	42
New values	14	58
Total love songs	62	63.2
Total old values	26	41.9
Total new values	37	58.1

χ^2 significant beyond .05

TABLE 9
DISTRIBUTION OF SONG LYRICS WITH OTHER
THAN LOVE THEMES BY CONTENT (1969)

Content	Number	Per cent Of "other"	Per cent Of total
Religious	2	5.5	2.0
Old	1		
New	1		
Other ballads	2	5.5	2.0
Old	0		
New	2		
Comic songs	0	.0	.0
Old	0		
New	0		
Dance tunes	4	11.1	4.0
Old	0		
New	4		
Miscellaneous	2	5.5	2.0
Old	0		
New	2		
Social themes	26	61.4	36.8
Old	0		
New	26		
Total other songs	<u>36</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>36.8</u>
Total old	<u>1</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u> </u>
Total new	35	97.2	

χ^2 significant beyond .05

in non-love songs in 1965. Table 9 represents the continuation of a trend which was noted in the 1965 data, presented in Table 5. The change in the relative distribution of values between "old" and "new", first noted in non-love songs in 1965, continues into the 1969 data, with songs concerned with love "catching-up" to songs primarily focused on non-love themes.

When compared to Horton's data, in 1955 87.4 per cent of the surveyed songs concerned "Love themes", the 1969 data show significant differences because 63.2 per cent could be so classified. And, of the total, only 26.5 per cent fit the scenes of Horton's original dramatistic model. The 1969 data differ substantially from 1965 when 77.8 per cent of the songs involved love themes, while 56.6 per cent suited Horton's original model.

I can illustrate the change which has taken place in popular music best by turning to the song lyrics. "To Susan on the West Coast Waiting," written and performed by Donovan, fits into the general category of Act II, the Honeymoon, in Horton's original classification. Some of the euphoric feeling that Horton describes as characteristic of the honeymoon period is missing, and it would not fit into any of the scenes which he delineates for Act II. However, the overall content of the song is of a love in which the courtship has been completed; a love which is not threatened by either of the partners, nor by competition from other people. Instead, the competition originates in the social world.

To Sunsan on the West Coast waiting
 Dear Susan I know you love me so
 But I want to hear it in my ear
 You know I'd be there working at my craft
 Had it not been for the draft
 Dry up your tears and have no fear
 You're here with me, like I'm there with you

To Susan on the West Coast waiting
 From Andy in Viet Nam fighting
 To Susan on the West Coast waiting
 From Andy in Viet Nam fighting

I'm writing a note beneath a tree
 The smell of the rain on the greenery
 Our father's have painfully lost their way
 That's why my love I'm here today
 Hear me what I say
 There will come a day
 When kings will know and love can grow

Nor is the third Act, "The Downward Course of Love,"
 approached in the same manner: "Take Care of Your Homework"
 definitely portrays a love on the way down, but not in the same
 manner which Horton perceived it as treated in the popular songs
 of 1955:

Got to tell you true
 I got to tell you true
 Oh brother Jack you goin' with sister Sadie
 When you ought to be home with your old lady.
 But your heart's divided in so many pieces
 Tryin' to please them both
 Never pleasing neither
 Oh Jack, take it on back

Before your good thing is gone
 Because the downfall of too many men
 Is the up-keep of too many women
 Take care of your homework, fella
 Because somebody will, oh yeah
 You better take care of your homework, fella
 If you don't somebody will

Now wait a minute here
 Oh brother Fred, how you can run
 Stayin' out all night, leavin' his homework undone.
 Now Fred's old lady took as much as she could stand
 Then one night the next door neighbor
 Taken her in hand
 Now fellas let me tell you
 These girls are gettin' hip
 You can only slide so long,
 Before you make a slip
 Take care of your homework, fella,
 If you don't somebody else will.

The social themes portrayed in the songs of 1969 comprise the largest single category of popular songs that year. Included in the general rubric of social themes are a variety of subjects and moods. They commonly share consciousness or awareness identified in delineating change in earlier periods. This expansion of awareness encompasses social problems, drugs, isolation, the impact of the world upon the individual, personal satisfaction, the celebration of life, and relationships (non-romantic) with other persons.

Across the fourteen year period, the change from the highly self-conscious, personalized vision of the world represented by 1955's songs, to the social consciousness of 1969 is a dramatic one. To provide examples of each of the social themes of 1969 would be excessively space-consuming, but representative of the concerns and moods which are expressed is the satiric "None of My Business."

Little kids sleepin' with rats in the bed,
 But it's none of my business.
 It's been a long time since they've been fed,
 But it's none of my business.
 Some more bad news from Viet Nam
 China's playin' with a great big bomb;
 Take a little pill to stay calm,
 'Cause it's none of my business.

People are afraid to walk their own streets,
 But it's none of my business.
 Cops can't even walk on their beat,
 But it's none of my business.
 I read about a girl, I forgot her name;
 She was screamin' for help, but nobody came;
 It seems like kind of a shame
 But it's none of my business.

Ten more billion on the national debt;
 Well, it's none of my business.
 The people in the slums are a little upset,
 That's none of my business.
 Kids dropping out of school, a-lookin' for thrills,
 Learning the laws, kill or be killed.
 Better take another pill
 'Cause it's none of my business.

The popular songs of 1969 changed both from the baseline of 1955 and from 1965. The changes from the baseline reflect both quantitative and qualitative changes in that different themes are treated in 1955 and 1969's popular music, and the imagery and approach have also changed. The pattern emerging in 1965 is furthered in 1969; the difference is one of degree rather than kind.

The dominant feature of the face of popular music in 1969 is the world as a social entity. The world impinges on the lives of young people, shaping and modifying them. No longer do popular songs treat only the closed world of lovers. Rather, music of 1969 concerns the interaction between individuals and their social milieu. This expansion of consciousness beyond the dyad represents a significant change in popular music.

Summary

Each time period was examined independently, was related to the immediately preceding period, and to Horton's work. To obtain an overall perspective on popular music the necessary data is aggregated in Table 10.

The initial objective advanced was that a change has taken place in the thematic content of popular music during the period 1955 to 1969. The data support this objective, with χ^2 significant beyond .05. The initial proposal is fulfilled.

The second objective proposed that changes in thematic content of popular music have tended toward a reduction in the personal love pattern in the lyrics of popular songs. The data also support this proposal, with χ^2 significant beyond .05. The second objective is also fulfilled.

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TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF SONG LYRICS BY CONTENT (1955 - 1969)

Content	1955	1960	1965	1969
Prologue: Wishing and Dreaming	9	18	2	1
Old values	9	18	1	0
New values	0	0	1	1
Act I: Courtship	76	73	13	13
Old values	76	73	10	5
New values	0	0	3	8
Act II: The Honeymoon	19	41	13	8
Old values	19	41	11	4
New values	0	0	2	4
Act III: The Downward Course of love	34	31	37	16
Old values	34	31	24	6
New values	0	0	13	10
Act IV: All Alone	58	60	33	24
Old values	58	60	22	10
New values	0	0	11	14
Narrative and descriptive ballads on love themes	9			
Total old values	205 (100%)	223 (100%)	68 (69%)	26 (42%)
Total new values	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	30 (31%)	37 (58%)
Total love songs	205 (87.6%)	223 (85.3%)	98 (76.5%)	62 (63.2%)

Religious songs

Old
New

6	4	1	2
6	4	0	1
0	0	1	1

Other ballads

Old
New

8	14	4	2
8	14	1	0
0	0	3	2

Comic songs

Old
New

4	5	5	0
4	5	0	
0	0	5	

Dance songs

Old
New

6	3	0	0
6	3		
0	0		

Tune songs

Old
New

3	0	0	0
3	0		
0	0		

Dance tunes

Old
New

0	0	6	4
0	0	0	0
0	0	6	4

Miscellaneous

Old
New

3	13	2	2
3	13	1	0
0	0	1	2

Social themes

Old
New

0	0	11	26
0	0	0	0
0	0	11	26

Total old

Total new

39 (100%)
0 (0%)

41 (100%)
0 (0%)

2 (7%)
27 (93%)

1 (3%)
35 (97%)

Total other songs

39 (12.4%)

41 (14.7%)

29 (23.5%)

36 (36.8%)

Chapter III

Conclusions

Bob Dylan said it best: "The times they are a-changing'....;" and, as demonstrated, this change is particularly striking in the content of popular music during the period from 1955 to 1969. How can we view this change sociologically? The theoretical perspective developed for viewing popular music in Chapter I has two major elements for relating art as symbol to society: (1) these symbols furnish access to roles outside the immediate experience of the individual, and (2) symbols function to order experience so that it can be communicated, creating the possibility of communal interaction. These two points may be summarized as (1) the socialization function, and (2) the organization function. Utilizing this theoretical approach, let us examine the changes in popular music which have taken place during the span from 1955 to 1969.

The socialization functions of symbols include a number of varied dimensions explored earlier. Among these, symbols allow learning and exploring roles outside of the range of experiential possibilities in the immediate environment of the individual. With art, he can learn to function in roles which are not, at the moment, a part of his repertoire, but which he may fulfill later. He can also "try on" roles to determine their fitness to his needs. Testing roles in one's imagination allows the testor to determine a role's potential for interaction. Derivative from this second

socialization function of art is that possible experimentation with societal forms may take place via art. It is possible to rearrange, to re-order social configurations through art forms without actually implementing changes in organizations or institutions. Much as tinker-toys can be rearranged into infinite variations of form, so artistic expression can propose a variety of social forms.

As Mead (1934) points out, this experimentation actually results in the creation of new configurations; these are not simply expansions of existing order, but are new ways of perceiving social reality.

The two elements of the theoretical framework which I am employing are not exclusive: one area of interpenetration is the way art as symbol aids in recognizing ordered or patterned social experience. Symbols call attention to those elements of social life which represent the whole, and an individual's biography comes to be understood by him in terms of the whole. He is no longer isolated, living apart from the social milieu, but he acts in a social framework. Art as symbol assists individuals to understand themselves and society. Art-induced recognition includes both organization and socialization inputs.

The organizational dimension of the theoretical perspective is concerned with the ways in which content is communicated: art forms enhance communication, and, hence, society. Organizationally, art orders symbols which can be transmitted. Transmitting symbols has both societal and individual consequences: at the societal

level, communication enhances integration of society; at the individual level, the forms supplied by symbols lessen individual isolation and provide references to common social experiences, giving insight into events and interaction which occur. Existentially, absurdity is lessened -- but not alleviated -- by recognition of commonality with other actors (Camus, 1955).

How well does the popular music of 1955 socialize and organize its listeners? Horton found that 83.4 per cent of the popular music was devoted to love songs involving a dyad in the conversational mode. Other situations, other events, other people, were severely limited in popular music of 1955. The socialization function of popular music as art was limited to the dialectic of courtship. The balance of the music Horton surveyed which was not concerned with the theme of love, either conversationally or in ballad form, comprised only 12.8 per cent of the total, and was mainly frivolous in content.

Essentially, then, popular music in 1955 served the first of the socialization functions specified above: it provided an opportunity to learn how to interact in roles which were not a part of role experience at the moment, but which the actor would be called on to perform at some later point in time. However, popular music socialized only within the specified situational context of romantic love. Five-sixths of the popular music did not provide alternative role possibilities which an individual might choose to express later, nor did it fulfill the experimentation function of symbols.

Nor did the popular music of 1955 provide the actor with the recognition of the ordered nature of social experience except in the most attenuated sense. (It might be argued that at a largely unconscious level the individual might perceive the progression of romantic love through the various stages portrayed in the love songs, but this information would have been of limited usefulness.) In the sense of relating the individual to community experience, the popular songs of 1955 were of little or no value. Their concentration on a highly personal involvement precluded generalization, and their involvement in a singular context limited application.

By these standards, popular music is a limited art form. The popular music of 1955 fulfilled only some functions delineated for art as symbol. At best, surveyed popular music is one dimensional.

The period from 1955 to 1969 can be sociologically viewed as the time when popular music emerged as a more social art form. During this time span popular music changed to satisfy all functions which symbols arranged as art fulfill. This emergence is attributed to the increased social awareness of the content of popular music: love themes decline to 63.2 per cent of the total surveyed by 1969, and the change within the values and the imagery which these employed is, as I have shown, significantly different from those found by Horton in 1955. So different that approximately one-fourth of the popular songs of 1969 can still

be classified by Horton's scheme. The expansion of consciousness and awareness mark popular music's transition to art form.

The socialization function of art is now more widely applicable than in 1955. The individual learns how to operate in a dyadic relationship of romantic love, but other role possibilities are also explored. Even within the context of romantic love, the situation is no longer as limited as it once was, for now many influences are acknowledged as impinging upon the lovers in addition to their individualized personality systems.

Experimentation is also a possibility in the popular music of 1969, with a variety of alternatives to existent situations being explored, and a variety of responses being elucidated. For example, the theme of brotherhood constitutes the ideal of "If I Can Dream" and "Everyday People."

The popular music of 1969 also provides more opportunities for taking the role of the other, an important part of socialization experience. In 1955's music, the role of the other was only available within the romantic context; one could see the stylized responses of the other to a situation (e.g., being left all alone) bounded by that context. By 1969, however, a variety of others are presented in a variety of contexts; one more consequence of the broadened awareness of popular music. For example, Curtis Mayfield gives insight into the Black experience in "This Is My Country:"

Some people think we don't have the right
 To say it's my country
 Before they give in they'd rather fuss and fight
 I paid three hundred years or more
 Of slave driving, sweat and welts on my back
 This is my country.

Too many have died in protecting my pride
 For me to go second class
 We've survived the hard blow and I want
 You to know:
 This is my country.

That you'll face us at last
 And I know you will give consideration
 Shall we perish un-just, or live equal as a nation?
 This is my country.

A song like "This Is My Country" also meets an organizational function of art: it helps recognize others similarly situated, and assists the individual to place his experience in a social context. By sensitizing the individual to elements of social life commonly held with others, the actor is enabled to recognize patterns of social experience. Patterns organize the world.

An individual who recognizes order, a similarity of experience with other members of that society, is aided to lessen the isolation which confronts many in a mass society. This pattern-recognition is an important part of being able to transcend the immediacy of situation. Broadening the scope of popular music increases the content of symbols transmitted which might be acted upon. The diversity of themes transmitted, the variety of situations and interactions depicted in popular music by 1969, represent alternatives for integration and consensus, as well as for dissensus and division.

Popular music matured as art between 1955 and 1969. From a limited fulfillment of the functions of symbol, popular music realized more of those functions in the latter 1960's so that the period is seen as one when popular music emerged as an art form.

Having traced the emergence of popular music as art form during the period, some general comments are in order. The dramatistic model which Horton used is out-dated in specific details of popular music in 1969. The general outline of the drama Horton constructed is still found in the popular music of 1969; scenes he depicted within the general outline no longer structure popular music. The content, mood, and approach of each Act has altered significantly. The increased awareness characterizing music that deals with other than love themes is also reflected in that music which is more directly concerned with love. I think this broader conceptualization of consciousness or awareness expresses the idea that Carey (1969) was detailing when he noted the new modes of greater activity and choice. Both activity and choice rest easily with awareness of situation and interaction, and the broader concept seems to me to better define the mood of music by 1969.

Undoubtedly, romantic love will be a staple of the popular music diet for some time to come. With the foregoing I have not intended to say that socialization into romantic love is not an important function for popular music; but simply that it is unnecessarily limited. Romantic love does represent an area of

much import for most young people, particularly in our culture, which stresses that sort of courtship conduct (Ellis, 1962). Popular music performs organization and socialization functions by giving people experience before they are called upon to engage in romantic roles, and provides them with a poetry of personal love accessible to various stages in the drama of courtship.

Discussion

It is interesting, however, to speculate on the consequences of the introduction of a variety of other themes in popular music. Anyone who has had experience with high school or college age youth can verify that they do indeed follow popular music avidly; most can repeat the words of a number of the currently-popular hits at any time. Popular music accounted for more than \$1.1 billion in sales in 1968 (Eisenman, 1969), and most radio stations feature some form of popular music throughout their broadcast day. In addition, television features popular music in a variety of formats, live popular music is no longer restricted to cabarets and nightclubs, but now includes concerts by popular groups on campuses and in other settings, and publications ranging from Best Songs to Rolling Stone are devoted to popular music. All this adds up to widespread dissemination of the lyrics of popular music, their symbolic content, and the values expressed by these symbols.

It is extremely difficult to assess the impact of this communication upon society. In an authoritative study of the

subject, Joseph T. Klapper contends in The Effects of Mass Communications that "Mass communication ordinarily (emphasis in the original) does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions among and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences" (1960:8). Among the mediating influences which he mentions are "(a) predispositions and the derived processes of selective exposure, selective perception, and selective retention; (b) the group, and the norms of groups, to which the audience member belongs; (c) Inter-personal dissemination of communication content; and (d) Opinion leadership" (1960:50-51). Further, Klapper contends "...these mediating factors are such that they typically render mass communication a contributory agent, but not the sole cause, in a process of reinforcing existing conditions" (1960:8). Finally, "On such occasions as mass communication does function in the service of change, one of two conditions is likely to exist. Either: (a) the mediating factors will be found to be inoperative and the effect of the media will be found to be direct; or (b) the mediating factors, which normally favor reinforcement, will be found to be themselves impelling toward change" (1960:8). It is clear that finding popular music a sufficient and necessary condition to impel social change is risky; further, given the current state of communications research and theory, tracing the relationship between medium, message and society is practically impossible.

With this in mind, let me examine Klapper's contentions about the impact of mass communications in terms of the majority audience for popular music, the youth. "The kids who grew up on rock music are adults with jobs now, and instead of just listening, they're also buying, probably to the tune of \$500 million a year in records alone" (Eisenman, 1969). These youth, the 17-to-24 year olds, "...accounted for 51 per cent of 1968 record sales, according to the Record Industry Fact Sheet, a trade publication" (Eisenman, 1969). As major consumers, these people receive the message which the new consciousness has infused into the lyrics of music.

Klapper says that mass communication serves to reinforce rather than to cause, and that the mediating influences for the media are such factors as the selective processes, groups and group norms, inter-personal communication of the content of communication, and opinion leadership. Reinforcement is easiest for the media to accomplish; then creation of opinion on new issues; and finally, conversion is most difficult. Let us examine each of these mediating influences in turn, as applied to youth, and then relate them to the various tasks which the media can perform.

Predispositions and the derived processes of selective exposure, selective perception and selective retention are the initial mediating influence which Klapper considers. Selective exposure operates in favor of popular music among the young; it is the music of choice for most young people. Selective

perception also favors popular music, and I earlier noted that the young often internalize the lyrics of currently-popular songs: selective retention.

"Individuals are affected by those with whom they have the closest contact" (Hollander, 1971:463), and for most young people in our society those in closest contact are those of roughly the same age group: this tendency to aggregate by age has been exacerbated by the contemporary emphasis upon the importance of age as a social indicator. This peer group represents one of the mediating influences that Klapper designates, and for the young "...the adolescent peer group...tends to incorporate subcultural influences at variance with the adult culture" (Hollander, 1971:455). Johnstone and Katz (1957) investigated the link between peer group membership and popular music and concluded that "...a peer group may influence and restrict preferences in disk jockeys and, consequently, in the music to which its members will listen" (1957:568). The synthesized evidence indicates that one of the mediating influences which Klapper designates tends to operate in favor of exposure to popular music.

The popular music that the young listen to is written by the young (Table 6) and performed by the young for a predominately young audience; group norms, insofar as the young can be conceived as a cohesive group, would tend to agree with the message transmitted via the lyrics of popular music.

Inter-personal communication of the content of communication and opinion leadership are tied together; both are also, at least partially, consequences of group membership. Empirical evidence that there is communication of the content of popular music songs and lyrics among young people, as well as opinion leadership positions in regard to popular music, is not readily available. However, personal experience and logic both tell me that with widespread interest in, and knowledge of, the content of popular music, it constitutes one of the primary topics for conversation among young people, and that opinion leaders (formally in the position of disc jockeys, and informally as well) do function in the area, with recommendations and information. Too, because both these mediating influences are tied to group membership, some of the evidence offered above is applicable in this area as well.

Adolescence has traditionally been regarded as a period of searching for self and values. The lyrics of contemporary popular songs concern searching. During this period, when values and self-concepts are not firmly established, young people are more susceptible to the reinforcement of the values of the group, or more available for the creation of new opinions, simply because they have formed fewer firm opinions by which they identify their essential reality. During this period conversion is likely to be weak, but reinforcement or opinion creation are strong possibilities. In addition, because adolescence is a period of some personal confusion, the impact of the mediating influences

may be lessened: "It has been suggested that for persons under cross-pressures, some of the mediating forces may function at reduced efficiency while others work in both directions at once, impelling both change and inconstancy. In role-playing...the same forces impel toward change" (Klapper, 1960:93).

The evidence and the argument are suggestive. Of all groups in society, the major consumers of popular music are available for influence via the mass media. The mediating influences which the media function within tend to reinforce rather than oppose the impact of popular music, and those things which the media do most easily--reinforcement and creation of new opinion--are possible with this group.

Among the lay public there is little doubt about the impact of the lyrics of popular music upon the young. The White House has sponsored broadcaster conferences on the subject of song lyrics, and "Vice-President Spiro Agnew made a campaign speech blistering these songs (songs whose lyrics dealt with drugs) as 'part of a wave of moral pollution.' Agnew cited such songs as the Beatles 'I Get High with a Little Help From My Friends' and a Jefferson Airplane number, 'White Rabbit,' as 'playing right into the hands of the drug culture'" (Polak, 1971:5). Agnew and Plato are kin. The Federal Communications Commission has issued a notice advising broadcasters that they will be held responsible for playing records that may "...promote or glorify the use of illegal drugs" (Des Moines Register, March 2, 1971:5), which prompted one newspaper to speculate that "Prohibition might

have succeeded if the FCC had been around to warn the citizens about singing 'Little Brown Jug' and 'There Is A Tavern In The Town'" (Des Moines Register, March 9, 1971:11).

The truth obviously lies somewhere between the caution of social science and the government's over-reaction to the impact of song lyrics which mention drugs. The new awareness contained in popular music lyrics does represent the potentiality for change.

During the period of the survey, popular music emerged as an art form, in the symbolic sense, and presented new values, ideas and alternatives, which new notions were derived from the consciousness manifested in lyrics. As a symbolic art form, popular music can fulfill all functions performed by an art form, including socialization functions and organization functions. It is difficult to assess the impact of this new popular-music-as-art-form, but it is reasonable to suggest that emergent new social forms and reactions are connected with the change in popular music lyrics. The nature of this connection is unclear, but it appears not to be unidirectional, but rather involves interaction between lyric and society. With the new strength which popular music possesses by virtue of its emergence as a symbolic art form, it becomes another important sociological source for assessing changes in society.

Suggestions for Future Research

I make two suggestions for future sociological effort; one theoretical and the other empirical. Theoretically, throughout this paper I had difficulty relating the changes which I found in popular music back to the larger society. This is a consequence of the lack of a theoretical framework which consistently relates the media to society. Most of the studies in the area are concerned with specific instances and specific circumstances, not generalizing beyond these. The balance of the work in the area consists of grandiose general statements about the impact of the mass media upon society and culture, without the provision of a specific theoretical perspective which allows the relation of one to the other. Because of this difficulty I have been forced to work with the content of the media at an extremely abstract level of symbols, and have not been able to make comments nor draw conclusions which have suggested themselves from the evidence. A concept or theory which provides some explication of the link between the media and audience is sadly lacking in contemporary sociology.

Empirically, I think that the subject of popular music deserves continuing sociological attention. With the maturation of popular music and the broadening of the themes which it treats, it has the potentiality of becoming a heuristic paradigm of social change. This potentiality is enhanced by the rapidity of change which is built into popular music by the very nature of

the structure which contains it: if songs do not reflect the consensus of a significant segment of society, they are not purchased, requested nor played. I did not control for popularity in the current study, because of the nature of the data, but the dimension of popularity would be an interesting one with which to work. I suggest that work in this area should attempt to identify the themes and values reflected by the most popular of contemporary songs, and then via the theoretical perspective which I advocated above, relate them back to changes in society. In this way, it seems to me that it might be possible to develop a predictive device for changes in societal integration. This predictor would not be sufficient in and of itself, but in conjunction with other indicators of social change might give us some insight into the future.

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CHANGING PATTERNS IN POPULAR MUSIC:
A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

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This work builds upon Duncan (1968), Etzioni (1968), Mills (1951), Hayakawa (1955) and Mead (1934) for theoretical reference. The theoretical perspective developed for viewing popular music relates art as symbol to society in two ways: (1) symbols furnish access to roles outside the immediate experience of the individual, and (2) symbols function to order experience so that it can be communicated, creating the possibility of communal interaction. These two points may be summarized as (1) the socialization function, and (2) the organization function.

For empirical reference, the work builds on Horton (1957) and Carey (1969). Horton's development of a dramatistic model of the "Drama of Courtship" in the popular music of 1955 furnishes the baseline for comparison of later popular music. Carey's Modifications of Horton's original survey for the popular music of 1966 are incorporated into the study.

The technique used here to analyze data is content analysis, which Berelson defines as being "...a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (1952:489). For this research I used initially the categories employed by Horton (1957), and then added those employed by Carey (1969) for analyzing later published songs. In dealing with material which neither Horton nor Carey analyzed, I extracted categories suited to themes discerned from popular music. To test the differences between earlier and later published songs I used the chi square test with the .05 level being accepted as significant value.

The data used for the survey of popular music included the same four magazines for 1960 that Horton had employed in 1955: Hit Parader, Song Hits Magazine, Country Song Roundup, and Rhythm and Blues. For 1965, data are collected from Hit Parader, Song Hits Magazine, and Country Song Roundup; Rhythm and Blues was discontinued in 1963. The data for popular music in 1969 come from the June issues of Hit Parader, Song Hits Magazine, Country Song Roundup, and from Best Songs, a new magazine added to increase the number of songs included for 1969. The three time periods were chosen to provide more than a gross indication of change, such as that generated by Carey (1969). Each time period was examined independently, was related to the immediately preceding period, and to Horton's work.

As a replication of Horton's (1957) work, this study had two main objectives: (1) to demonstrate that a change had taken place in the thematic content of popular music during the period 1955 to 1969, and (2) to demonstrate that these changes in thematic content of popular music had tended toward a reduction in the personal love pattern in the lyrics of popular songs. The data support both objectives, with x^2 significant beyond .05. The results of the study are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1
CONTENT OF POPULAR SONGS 1955 - 1969

Category	1955	1960	1965	1969
Love themes	87.4%	85.3%	77.8%	63.2%
Other themes	12.6%	14.7%	22.2%	36.8%

Popular music in 1955 served only a single socialization function: it provided an opportunity to learn how to interact in roles which were not a part of role experience at the moment, but which the actor would be called on to perform at some later point in time. However, popular music socialized only within the specified situational context of romantic love. Five-sixths of the popular music did not provide alternative role possibilities which an individual might choose to express later, nor did it fulfill the experimentation function of symbols.

Nor did the popular music of 1955 provide the actor with the recognition of the ordered nature of social experience except in the most attenuated sense. In the sense of relating the individual to community experience, the popular songs of 1955 were of little or no value. Their concentration on a highly personal involvement precluded generalization, and their involvement in a singular context limited application.

By these standards, popular music was a limited art form. The popular music of 1955 fulfilled only some functions delineated for art as symbol. At best, surveyed popular music was one dimensional.

The period from 1955 to 1969 can be viewed as the time when popular music emerged as an art form. During this time span popular music changed to satisfy all functions which symbols arranged as art fulfill. The expansion of consciousness and awareness (Etzioni, 1968) marks popular music's transition to art form. Essentially, popular music matured as art between 1955 and 1969.