Mass-Mediated Protest Music and Mobilization: Synthesizing the Civil Sphere’s EMM-Framing Theory

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Previous scholarship on protest music mostly focuses on its furthering activists’ mobilization and does not emphasize its effects on the public. There is also scant attention paid to its impact on people’s emotions, moral values, and memories. I propose the synthesized Civil Sphere’s EMM-Framing Theory (where EMM stands for Emotive, Moral, and Mnemonic) that focuses on mass-mediated protest music’s effects on the public, using research on anti-war music as a case study. Blending cultural sociology, social movements, political psychology, and contemporary ethics’ literatures, this theory highlights how protest music may sway public opinion and voting in support of movement goals, besides encouraging direct activism. Although applicable to other discourses representing social change-oriented mass-mediated popular culture, this theory is especially useful for protest music, because it emphasizes emotion, moral messaging, and memory, corroborating research on music effects. The theory also addresses ideology, collective identity, political socialization, and celebrity thought leaders. [Article copies available for a fee from The Transformative Studies Institute. E-mail address: journal@transformativestudies.org Website: http://www.transformativestudies.org ©2015 by The Transformative Studies Institute. All rights reserved.]

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INTRODUCTION

I remember when I was little, my Dad—who was not particularly anti-war—played this song for me depicting the night during World War I...Christmas Eve. And the soldiers...decided to have a truce. And they all have this...party and they’re showing pictures of their families. And they’re sharing drinks....And then the night ends and they go back to their trenches. And the next day they are all killing each other again. And my Dad was very, very moved by this song and played it for me and was crying. And I remember... thinking that it was an incredible song...but also being touched that it touched him. (Sarah-Activist, Focus Group Interview 9/26/09)

This focus group interview is part of a larger media study in which I explore a perceived decline in the U.S. collective discourse—the diminishing presence of anti-war music in the American mainstream media post 9/11. To examine this in more depth, I have thus far compiled and analyzed an original database of more than 3,600 anti-war songs that were commercially released in the United States from 1961-2011, tracking information such as the songs’ popularity or the popularity of the albums on which they appeared, the record companies that produced these recordings, the number of cover versions of the songs, etc. I also interviewed artists, DJs, media researchers, and music critics, as well as conducted focus groups with activists. The research surveyed changes in the media landscape over the last fifty years and I became immersed in political economy of the media, production of culture, and technological media innovations’ literatures. Yet, I also sought a theoretical and empirical framework that could answer the more weighty question about protest music’s real impact: How can the presence of mass-mediated protest music affect mobilization efforts for progressive social change overall? Sarah’s story illuminates three points about mass-mediated popular culture’s ability to promote social change which I believe are critically important in answering this question.

First, although an obvious point, it bears highlighting: Social change-oriented mass-mediated popular culture can reach broad publics. John McCutcheon’s “Christmas in the Trenches” from the 1984 album, Winter Solstice, never made it to the top of the Billboard charts, but it garnered radio play both domestically and internationally. And even decades after its release, it possesses cultural staying power in a variety of mass media formats. It has its own Wikipedia page, relating the song’s genesis and the true story of the Christmas Truce of 1914 that occurred
between British and German troops who were fighting along the Western Front. Also, many YouTube videos of the song can be found, totaling hundreds of thousands of hits. By Sarah’s own admission, we know that her father was “not particularly anti-war” and we can assume that he did not seek out protest music as a genre of interest. Instead, the song somehow found him, illustrating the dissemination power of mass-mediated popular culture.

Second, it can have powerful emotive, moral, and mnemonic framing effects on people. Sarah’s childhood experience demonstrates how deeply this song was engrained in her memory. Her recollection also emphasizes the emotive and moral impact that protest music can elicit. She remembers her father crying while taking in the song’s moral message and recalls “it was an incredible song.”

Third, it has the potential to mobilize the general public in support of movement goals. Relating back to Sarah’s story, we are not privy to impact that the song may have had on her father. Even though he was “not particularly anti-war,” it could be conjectured that the song prompted him (in tandem with numerous other cultural media inputs and personal experiences) into a deeper questioning of war—possibly leading to shifts in his opinion, his voting preferences, or even moving him to engage in some type of social movement action—like the simple act of signing a petition—that all leaned towards a less-hawkish position. We cannot claim a magic bullet scenario here (i.e., a simple cause and effect) such that $x$ (mass-mediated protest music) $\rightarrow y$ (social movement mobilization). Yet, we can assert theoretically that mass-mediated protest music does exhibit this potential, as a part of a dynamic field of competing societal discourses, to raise awareness about an issue and to gain public support for a movement.

Earlier studies about protest music have not adequately theorized these three points nor have they provided a creative roadmap for the methodological deployment of mass-mediated protest music. This paper proposes an integrated social theory that does both: the Civil Sphere’s EMM-Framing Theory (where EMM stands for Emotive, Moral, and Mnemonic). Even though this framework is born out of the “strong program” in cultural sociology, the constructionist turn in social movements, political psychology, and contemporary ethics, I cannot stand accused of putting old wine into new wineskins. Instead, this merged theory highlights the power of collective discourses in a democracy—through powerful emotive, moral and mnemonic effects that can shift public opinion and voting behavior in support of social movement goals—along with encouraging mobilization. The theory also
Jeneve Brooks considers ideology, collective identity, political socialization, and the role of celebrity thought leaders. Although the theory is generalizable to myriad social change-oriented mass-mediated popular culture products (e.g., documentary films, TV shows, newspapers, books, etc.), I demonstrate its particular applicability to protest music, given its emphasis on emotions, moral messaging, and memories, corroborating what researchers have noted about music’s effects.

The remainder of this article is organized into three sections. First, I review the classics in the sociological protest music literature, noting their strengths and weaknesses in terms of addressing the points mentioned above. Second, I survey the literatures used in synthesizing Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory, acknowledging their contributions and gaps in addressing the aforementioned points, while presenting an overall working outline of the theory. And third, I offer an empirical application of the theory, utilizing my anti-war music research as a case study. Here, I also incorporate music effects’ scholarship.

CLASSICS IN THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROTEST MUSIC LITERATURE

1. Eyerman and Jamison – *Music and Social Movements*

   Eyerman and Jamison’s *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the 20th Century* (1998) offers a theoretically rich account of protest music’s connections to American social movements, allocating attention to music of the civil rights movement, to other 1960s social movements, as well as analyzing how America’s sixties musical movements influenced Sweden’s musical scene in the 1990s. They propose the theory of cognitive praxis which underscores how protest music can impact broader publics and socialize activists. Cognitive praxis theory highlights the influence of celebrity movement artists as movement intellectuals who educate the public on movement issues and produce new forms of knowledge “integrating new cosmological, or worldview assumptions, with organizational innovations, and sometimes new approaches to science” (1998:21) that can be disseminated to future generations, given that recorded music lives on past the creators that made it.

   They also draw on Williams’ work (1961; 1977) on structures of feeling and collective memory and Melucci’s (1989) collective identity in linking the traditions of protest music in social movements. They note that even though “We Shall Overcome” evolved out of the U.S. Southern Labor Movement of the 1930s, it was eventually used in the U.S. Civil
Rights Movement and many other domestic and international movements. In this way, Eyerman and Jamison acknowledge protest music’s function in etching out a collective memory of progressive movements by serving as a bridge which links different generations and locales all over the world.

Eyerman and Jamison’s cognitive praxis theory focuses on the first and second points about mass-mediated popular culture promoting social change made earlier given that they emphasize the broad reach of protest music and its powerful framing effects. However, their work does not detail emotions or moral values in any depth nor do they address how the more tangible outcomes on the general public (like shifting public opinion or voting in support of movement goals) can be attained. These gaps are addressed in Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory.

2. Roscigno and Danaher – *The Voice of Southern Labor*

Similar in high quality to Eyerman and Jamison’s work but more empirically focused, Roscigno and Danaher’s, *The Voice of Southern Labor: Radio, Music, and Textile Strikes, 1929-1934* (2004), provides an in-depth media study of the Southern Labor Movement. The authors examine the ways in which broadcasts of live performances of labor music in the emerging format of radio strengthened workers’ collective identity and galvanized the strike of 1934, the largest protest of workers (i.e., 400,000) in American history. They track how local radio stations mushroomed during this time and were well-positioned to facilitate mobilization, given their proximity to textile manufacturing centers. In addition, they note that the labor songs that were played on the radio for the first time, fostered workers’ collective identity through rhetorical frames which portrayed the mill owners as merciless, selfish, and greedy.

In terms of addressing the three points about mass-mediated popular culture advancing social change, Roscigno and Danaher do highlight the labor songs’ moral messaging through rhetorical frames. They also demonstrate the songs’ memorability by recounting laborers’ memories. Yet, their work does not significantly address emotions. It also does not focus on the impacts on the general public (i.e., the third point). This is not a substantive critique; their focus was methodologically justifiable given that they examined activists within the U.S. Southern Labor Movement.² Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory seeks to address these areas.

Two more recent works have also further enhanced this study’s theoretical formulation. Roy’s 2010 book, *Reds, Whites and Blues: Social Movements, Folk Music, and Race in the United States*, details the importance of activists’ embodied engagement and collective participation with movement music to deepen their commitment. Roy compares the collective singing model of the 1950s and 1960s U.S. Civil Rights Movement to the more performer-driven focus of the U.S. Labor Movement in the 1930s and 1940s. Although Roy does not highlight emotions specifically, he does find that through participatory music-making, civil rights activists experienced a “submergence of self in the flow” (2010:16) that made them feel connected to the movement. Roy also builds on DeNora’s work about the role of music in everyday life.

Rosenthal and Flacks’ *Playing for Change: Music and Musicians in the Service of Social Movements* (2012) offers one of the most comprehensive treatments of protest music to date, using interviews, case studies, and lyrical and musical analysis. They also propose a particularly useful definition of protest music: “Political music…is music that first, engenders what C. Wright Mills called a ‘sociological imagination’: It helps musickers to see the social roots in what might otherwise be felt as individual stories or problems” (2011:20). I believe that drawing on Mills’ (1959) sociological imagination to see the connections between personal troubles and public issues is a more thorough way to capture protest music’s meanings. Furthermore, their use of Small’s musickers (1998) is helpful because all humans participate in musical experiences.

However, both of these recent works do not present an overarching framework to address the three points mentioned at the beginning of this article. In turn, this study will close this gap in synthesizing Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory.

**BLENDED LITERATURES OF CIVIL SPHERE EMM-FRAMING THEORY**

Besides engaging with these protest music classics, I also delved into key social science literatures that I blended to develop Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory.

1. The “Strong Program” in Cultural Sociology and Alexander’s *Civil Sphere*
Alexander and Smith (2003) assert that culture is vitally important in promoting progressive social change, and they have made an impassioned plea for a “strong program” in cultural sociology expressing concern with past “sociology of culture” approaches given their assumption that:

...explanatory power lies in...the “hard” variables of social structure, such that...meanings become superstructure and ideologies driven by these more “real” and tangible social forces...culture becomes defined as a “soft,” not really an independent variable (p.13).

Both Alexander and Smith have worked on hermeneutic projects that highlight the power of culture on deliberative democratic processes—mainly through analyzing discourses in open civil societies (e.g., Alexander and Smith 2003; 1993; Alexander 2006; Smith 2005). Using binary codes to analyze societal discourses, they argue that societal actors’ motives, social relationships, and social institutions can all be portrayed as either “good or bad” in furthering the project of democracy (Smith and Alexander 1993:162-163). They credit their use of binaries to Levi-Strauss who found that societies’ language systems are often structured in binary oppositions. Alexander and Smith also draw on Durkheim in highlighting the concepts of the sacred and profane as they occur in today’s more secularized context.

In the groundbreaking work, The Civil Sphere (2006), Alexander furthers the agenda of the “strong program” by asserting the possibilities of social renewal and progressive change through the power of civil society’s collective discourses or what he terms—the civil sphere. According to his conceptualization, the civil sphere is divided into two institutional realms. The first realm is that of communicative institutions made up of public opinion (e.g., polls), civil associations or issue driven groups (e.g., MADD and PETA), other social movements, and mass media (e.g., newspapers, magazines, the Internet, radio, television, best-selling books, movies, etc.) that work to persuade and influence the public’s interpretations about various aspects of political and social life. The second realm is made up of regulative institutions which represent the civil power of the people as exerted through voting, political parties, and the rule of law through the court system. Alexander explains that both institutional realms are necessary to keep the other spheres of society in check—that is communicative institutions are needed to
persuade the larger public discussion and regulative institutions are needed to sanction.

Throughout Alexander’s *The Civil Sphere*, he emphasizes that mass-mediated popular culture, as part of the realm of communicative institutions, uses the binary codes in popular genres to highlight civil (or democratizing) and anti-civil (or counterdemocratic) processes. He argues that this communication often expands the bounds of solidarity by creating sympathetic, “civil” portrayals of previously disenfranchised groups or by developing anti-civil portrayals of those who are seen as unworthy of public trust. This can ultimately lead to progressive changes in public opinion, voting, and actual engagement in social movements. For instance, Alexander states: “It was through Dickens’s extravagant and wildly popular novels that the English middle classes were not only informed about the crushing poverty of early capitalism but were taught to sympathize with the plight of the poor and to support sentimental social reform” (2006:76). He also notes the impact of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, selling 300,000 copies after its publication in 1852. This book, rivaled only by the Bible in terms of sales, gave life to the abolition movement against slavery.

The clear strength of building upon Alexander’s theory of the civil sphere and cultural sociology theorizing, more generally, is that they address the first and the third points outlined earlier as demonstrated in Figure 1. That is—this theorizing acknowledges how the civil sphere transmits social change-oriented mass-mediated popular culture that can reach broad publics (the first top sphere) and can generate support for movement goals amongst the general public via the personal sphere through shifts in individuals’ opinions, voting, and participation in movements (the bottom sphere to the left of Figure 1). It is important to realize that each individual within his or her personal sphere can be affected by mass-mediated popular culture discourses. And if enough individuals (i.e., a critical mass) shift their opinion, voting, or decisions to engage in social movements, this ultimately feeds back into the civil sphere—which—as detailed in Alexander’s conceptualization above—includes the aggregate forces of public opinion and social movements (part of communicative institutions) and voting (part of regulative institutions).
Yet, Alexander’s civil sphere theorizing (and the thrust of the “strong program” in cultural sociology overall) exhibit some weaknesses in specifying elements that address the second point (i.e., recognizing the power of emotive, moral, and framing effects). First, there is not enough engagement with emotions and how they may be implicated in the binary codes. In addition, the memorability of the codes is not considered; it
would be interesting to know what codes “stick”. Furthermore, there is no in-depth discussion about framing—regarding actors’ strategic presentation or people’s reception of the binary codes in societal discourses, especially considering people’s underlying moral beliefs, collective identity, and ideological persuasions. And although the binary coding scheme is a useful starting place to analyze moral discourses, it does seem to be too limiting a construct to capture the full multidimensionality of collective discourse (Gross 2005). Finally, there is little acknowledgment of how framing effects of societal discourses can be enhanced if communicated by celebrity thought leaders, a topic which is vital considering the omnipresence of celebrity in our mass-mediated popular culture.3 As the reader can see from Figure 1, there needs to be a greater emphasis on the second point, EMM-Framing Effects. For this, I now turn to the remaining literatures.

2. Constructionist Turn in Social Movements

Even the founding fathers of the influential resource mobilization and political process models within the study of social movements, who originally preferred “structure,” have recognized the need to blend with more social constructionist theorizing which focuses on individual and collective “agency” like framing, values/moral foundations and ideologies, emotions, and collective identity (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996). The concepts of framing and frames first started to gain ground with Goffman’s work, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (1974). However, this concept was later expanded to social movement studies by Snow and his colleagues who defined frames as “schemata of interpretation that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify, and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large” (1986:464). Frames are conceived as deeply internalized, cognitive schema that filter people’s perceptions and understandings of daily life. Ideally, the act of framing for social movements can foster identification with people’s core values or moral foundations, a process Snow and his colleagues refer to as “value amplification.” They explain: “Value amplification refers to the identification, idealization, and elevation of one or more values” (Snow et al. 1986:469). They describe how peace activists in the 1980s attempted to not only amplify values around the sanctity of human life (a value related to Durkheim’s notion of the sacred), justice and cooperation between all people, but also values associated with
democracy, particularly the values of liberty and equality which were assumed to appeal to most of the public.

Increasingly, more social movement scholars have also focused on the importance of emotions and moral values in motivating individual and collective transformation and mobilization (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2004; Jasper 1997; 2012). Jasper particularly argues that “our cognitive beliefs, emotional responses, and moral evaluations of the world—the three subcomponents of culture are inseparable, and together these motivate, rationalize, and channel political action” (1997:12). Furthermore, Jasper (2012) discusses how emotions can work in social movements by providing a rough typology of feelings that may be involved in mobilization efforts (i.e., urges, reflex emotions, moods, moral emotions, affective commitments or loyalties, and emotional energy). Of particular importance to Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory is his focus on reflex emotions, moral emotions and affective commitments. Jasper defines reflex emotions in social movements as those feelings that are quick and automatic reactions to events or information (e.g., anger, shock, disgust) and moral emotions are those that are based on moral intuitions or principles including them into their very meaning and can be externally as well as internally focused (e.g. outrage, compassion, pride, shame, etc.). Likewise, he notes that affective commitments—representing positive and/or negative feelings—towards others associated with a movement can affect mobilization efforts. For example, for both the public and for activists, positive emotions (i.e., trust, respect or admiration) associated with celebrity thought leaders who are linked to the movement can build support for the movement.4

Other social movement scholarship stresses that celebrity thought leaders can also aid the memorability of media framing and can foster feelings of collective identity—even for those who may not be political. Kurzman and his colleagues assert that celebrities are now taken as thought leaders on every subject from religion to politics and are a ubiquitous feature of our mass-mediated society, creating lasting impressions in the “memories of all who cross its path” (2007:347). Additionally, Meyer and Gamson note that celebrity thought leaders may foster collective identity with movements amongst people that otherwise would not have exposure to those views. They observe: “Rock fans may attend an antinuclear power demonstration to see Bruce Springsteen, yet wind up hearing numerous speakers talk about alternative means of generating energy, and spend the day mingling with a crowd…of the antinuclear power movement” (1995:185).
The recent social constructionist turn in social movements advances the second point that social change-oriented mass-mediated popular culture discourses can have powerful emotive, moral, mnemonic framing effects. As one can see from Figure 1, the plus sign represents EMM-Framing which symbolizes the amassed impact that these social change discourses can have on individuals within the general public, which can be strengthened if communicated by celebrity thought leaders. First, we see that Jasper’s conceptualizations of reflex and moral emotions, as well as affective commitments are used in Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory, as indicated by the box to the left. Secondly, we see that the moral framing effects can be examined in part by utilizing Snow et al.’s notion of value amplification in the middle box. In this way, we can analyze societal discourses to understand which values are being amplified to gain the broadest possible support.

However, value amplification does not tease out the nuances of differences in ideologies/moral frameworks of people across the ideological spectrum, a point which will be addressed under the literature on Moral Foundations Theory in political psychology. In addition, although many social movement scholars acknowledge the importance of memory effects in making social change messages resonate, there needs to be more rigor in determining mnemonic impact. Lastly, it should be noted that most social movement scholarship does not explicitly address the first and third points (i.e., they do not concentrate on the power of the general public in their theorizing—although it is implied in much of the scholarship). Instead, as noted by Manza and Brooks (2012), there is more focus placed on activists and their mobilizing repertoires than on average citizens who make up the general public and who could collectively shift public opinion in support of social movement goals. Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory seeks to close these gaps.

3. Political Psychology

Political psychologists John Jost, Christopher Federico, and Jaime Napier (2009) observed that media framing can resonate with people’s ideological orientations whether those underlying value systems are conscious or unconscious to them. Ideology here is defined as a “set of beliefs about the proper order of society and how it can be achieved” (Erickson and Tedin 2003:64). Jost et al. also found in conducting a thorough literature review on ideology that genetics account for a third to a half of all variability in people’s ideologies; yet, they maintained that ideologies can be influenced by a host of factors. They found that
ideologies are often shaped by individuals’ collective identity with key reference groups formed with political party, age, race, ethnicity, gender, social class, religious affiliation, etc. and their political socialization (i.e., repeated long-term exposure to political ideas from close-knit groups) and that celebrity thought leaders can influence and strengthen people’s ideologies and positions on issues, especially if they collectively identify with these elites. Celebrity thought leaders here represent a wide range of famous people in the mass media such as politicians, news anchors, journalists, media pundits, religious leaders, party leaders, artists, actors, and anyone else that has earned a certain level of renown, or as Boorstin describes ‘known for [one’s] well-knownness (1962:57).

Besides the impact of the aforementioned factors, Haidt examines moral values which affect people’s ideologies and one of his key assertions in The Righteous Mind: Why Good People Are Divided by Politics and Religion (2012) and in other research is that immediate gut-level emotional reactions guide people’s ethical decisions and reflect their underlying moral foundations or ideological orientations. He likens this to the metaphor of a rider on an elephant. The rider represents cognitive processes of which we are all aware but the elephant illustrates the vastness of emotive reactions which is not entirely conscious for us. Haidt, along with other colleagues, developed Moral Foundations Theory, asserting “moral intuitions” represent “the sudden appearance in consciousness of a moral judgment, including an affective valence (good-bad, like-dislike), without any conscious awareness of having gone through steps of searching, weighing evidence, or inferring a conclusion” (2001:818).

He proposes that there are six moral intuitions underlying ideological orientations (e.g., liberals, conservatives, libertarians, etc.): 1) Care/harm, 2) Fairness/cheating, 3) Loyalty/betrayal, 4) Authority/subversion, 5) Sanctity/degradation and 6) Liberty/oppression (2012). The first word of the dichotomized pair refers to a cherished moral value, while the second word refers to an evil that must be avoided. Haidt argues that liberals are most concerned with three intuitions (Care/harm, Fairness/cheating, and Liberty/oppression given that they are concerned with social justice issues and the care and protection of marginalized groups) whereas conservatives are more equally influenced by all six moral intuitions. Haidt and his colleagues also found through a content analysis study of sermons from both liberal and conservative churches that the sermons followed the presumed ideological patterns of moral emphasis (Graham, Haidt, and Nosek 2009) and in subsequent research Haidt and others also established validity for
five of the moral intuitions through an online Moral Foundations Questionnaire with a total of 34,476 respondents (Graham, Nosek, Haidt, Iyer, Koleva, and Ditto 2011).

Although Haidt recognizes that it is difficult to change someone’s ideological orientation, he acknowledges that a sea change of cultural persuasion has happened within a single generation regarding the recent growth of the movement against cruelty to animals and the gay rights movement. Haidt notes that much of this persuasion happens gradually through changing cultural discourses and that heated political arguments between individuals are rarely an effective means of influencing people politically. He describes that if affection and admiration are built up over time for the person delivering the “challenging” moral message, people’s elephants tend to move in to listen with a more open heart. This emphasizes the potential power of celebrity thought leaders as well as the importance of emotions. Haidt also asserts that emotional messaging is more memorable and is thus more effective in politics. He suggests: “The trick to changing people’s minds is to first get them leaning your way...Think about Martin Luther King’s ‘I Have a Dream’ Speech. It opens your heart first, and then the metaphors can get in, and then you see the logic of it.” (Wharton-University of Pennsylvania 2013:1). This “emotional-memorability” factor corroborates media research findings that political television ads that aroused emotional reactions were remembered better than those that were not as emotionally arousing (Lang et al. 1999).

Indeed, the political psychology literature contributes to our understanding of all three points highlighted in the Introduction, but it particularly adds empirical depth to the second point concerning the potential of social change-oriented mass-mediated popular culture’s emotive, moral and mnemonic framing effects on people. Referring back to Figure 1, we see how Jost et al.’s work on the importance of celebrity thought leaders is reflected in the EMM-Framing description. Furthermore, the work of Haidt et al. is utilized given that Moral Foundation Theory enables us to empirically delve deeper into discourses and their ideological leanings. Likewise, the emphasis on Haidt et al.’s quick-time emotions in moral issues correlates with Jasper’s reflex emotions.

However, there are two main weaknesses of political psychology approaches that Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory addresses. First, there are most likely other moral foundations besides those that are proposed. Secondly, there is actually too much emphasis placed on immediate emotional reactions—giving short shrift to the important
process of moral reasoning and deeper emotive processing after a precipitating event. These critiques will be explained more under Contemporary Ethics.

4. Contemporary Ethics

Recent work in applied ethics demonstrates that there may be additional moral foundations that need to be included in MFT. In particular, Fry and Souillac (2013) analyze ethnographic data on nomadic groups and find that their moral values emphasized equality, sharing, caring, and a paucity of war. Furthermore, they note fluidity amongst these groups, given that at “any point in time...relatives and friends living in neighboring groups, creating a series of ties that reflect and promote intergroup friendly relations and cooperation” (2013:350). They assert that these hunter-gatherer societies demonstrate what true human nature in the environment of evolutionary adaptation rewarded—cooperative prosociality and even liken it to the modern ethics of cosmopolitanism (Appiah 2007) which emphasizes: “...the borderless and inclusive nature of universal ethical norms within a globalized, fluid...community” (2013:353).

Similarly, Singer (2011[1981]), in his book *The Expanding Circle*, argues that although altruism may have started as more of a genetically driven response to nurture and protect one’s family and community, it has increasingly developed into a consciously chosen ethic with an expanding circle of moral concern outside of direct kin or community. He argues that this is possible due to human beings’ growing ability to reason as evolution continues. This is not to discount immediate emotional responses and more automatic gut level reactions as Haidt promotes; however, it acknowledges that moral reasoning plays a significant part in humans’ evolving moral capacities. Given this I propose another moral intuition to be tested, the ethic of Unity/disunity in Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory.

In addition, there is research that demonstrates that there is a deepening of emotional response – which reflects the moral value of compassion. Batson and his colleagues (1997) found that respondents who are instructed to “feel empathy” for a member of a stigmatized group (after hearing the person’s story and being instructed to imagine being in the person’s situation) is often generalized into improved attitudes towards the entire stigmatized group (i.e., people with AIDS and homeless people). Batson and his colleagues then sought to test the “limits of empathy” and later selected the highly stigmatized group of
convicted murderers. They conducted similar experiments having respondents listen to a person’s story and instructed them to imagine being in his or her position. Posing as a fictitious telephone survey on prison reform, their researchers followed up with a phone call in one to two weeks after the initial lab study was performed to test respondents’ feelings of empathy towards convicted criminals, in general. They found strong evidence of improved attitudes in this later time frame than even the previous lab results indicated. This work demonstrates that potentially deeper moral and emotional reasoning can aid in expanding empathetic attitudes and feelings. Batson et al.’s work lends support for the second and third points of this article—that social change-oriented mass mediated popular culture discourses may have powerful emotive, moral, and mnemonic framing effects that shifts opinions.

Looking at Figure 1, Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory draws upon these rich insights from contemporary ethics. We see that unity/disunity is added as an important moral intuition to complement the other six intuitions of Moral Foundations Theory, as a component of EMM-Framing. We also see a focus on deeper moral and emotional reasoning.

CIVIL SPHERE EMM-FRAMING THEORY AND ITS EMPIRICAL APPLICATION

This article began with the central question: How can the visibility of mass-mediated protest music affect mobilization efforts for progressive social change overall? I then posited three key points to answer this question which aided in the development of Civil Sphere EMM Framing Theory. I will now explain how the theory works using my research on anti-war music as an empirical case study. The reader should refer to Figure 1 for clarification of how the three points relate to different components of the theory. The reader should also note that most of the research suggested under points two and three have not been undertaken yet as this research is on-going.

1. Social change-oriented mass-mediated popular culture can reach broad publics.

The first component represents the civil sphere and the transmission of social change-oriented mass-mediated popular culture to the general public. In order to gauge the reach to the public, we must quantify the cultural products and qualify their appeal to the public. In this fifty year study of anti-war music, I first set out to quantify all anti-war songs that
were commercially released in the U.S. as either a single, or on an album, or CD from 1961-2011. I found these songs through Lexis-Nexus databases searches for all U.S. Newspapers and Wires as well as through other publicly available protest music databases. To qualify the reach of the anti-war songs, I determined the song’s popularity in the mainstream by using the industry standards of Billboard charts--whether or not the song became a top single (i.e, song charted on Billboard Hot 100) and whether or not it appeared on a top-selling album (i.e., album charted on Billboard 200). In the end, I amassed over 3,600 songs in my database as well as tracked the Billboard chart information for hundreds of songs and albums.

2. It can have powerful emotive, moral, and mnemonic framing effects on people.

The second component illustrates EMM-framing (Emotive, Moral, Mnemonic-framing). Before discussing the empirical application of this component in the anti-war music study, I briefly note here the relevant music effects literature which corroborates the emotive, moral and mnemonic aspects of music. Neuroscientist Levitin (2006) asserts that music elicits deep emotional reactions and has been proven to affect parts of the brain which are heavily engaged in emotional reactions such as the thalamus, hippocampus, amygdala, prefrontal cortex, and the midbrain and that these emotional effects of different pitches are also culturally determined. Furthermore, scholars in media research effects have found that lyrics can potentially affect behaviors and attitudes in ways that elicit more compassionate actions and egalitarian values, respectively (Greitemeyer, Hollingdale, and Mattausch 2012; Jacob, Guégen, and Boulbry 2010). Lastly, music has been repeatedly linked to memory - both long-term and short-term (Janata 2009; Levitin 2006; Sacks 2007). Using MRI mapping of the brain’s reactions, Janata (2009) found that music triggers autobiographical memories that were often deeply receded and Levitin (2006) and Sacks (2007) have discussed the ear worm concept – or stuck song syndrome, a condition that is particularly relevant when we cannot get that commercial jingle or pop song out of our heads.

Applying these insights methodologically to the study of anti-war music, I will first conduct a simple qualitative content analysis of a sample of 200 songs' lyrics from the top singles and the best-selling albums chart respectively (i.e., 130 songs from Billboard Hot 100 and 70 from the Billboard 200) to explore the basic lyrical content of emotions.
and morality. There are fewer Billboard 200 songs given that many of
the top singles were also on best-selling albums. The lyric texts will be
input into the qualitative software, NVivo, and songs will be tracked with
44 codes for emotions utilizing Gabriellson's (2001) work on
respondents' free-emotional associations with music. I will also code
NVivo to track moral intuitions to assess whether the songs are framed
towards a certain ideological orientation, using codes developed by
Graham, Haidt, and Nosek (2009), as well as codes to capture the ethic
of unity/disunity based on the research of Fry and Souillac (2013). This
content analysis will provide basic numerical counts to gauge explicit
references to emotions and moral values in the song's lyrics. These
numerical counts will also allow me to gauge which moral values are
stressed more than others in these songs--reflecting Snow et al.'s work on
value amplification (Snow et al. 1986).

Regarding examining the effects of celebrity thought leaders, the next
step will involve a more hands-on content analysis of the 200 songs by
ten coders (i.e., myself and another colleague, and eight student
researchers) to assess the celebrity of the artists who performed the song,
as well as to conduct further analysis of emotions and moral values. The
200 songs will be split up to 10 songs per coder so that no one researcher
will be overwhelmed by the data. All researchers will be provided with
audio files of the song and a questionnaire to fill out to: 1) provide an
objective determination of the artist/s' celebrity (using web analytics and
researching the artist/s' biography and achievements on the site
AllMusic.com); 2) rate the songs for emotion perception (what they
perceived the songwriter was trying to communicate) and emotion
induction (what the song made the coder feel regardless of perceived
songwriter's intent) based on Juslin and Laukka's work (2004). In
addition, coders will be given a questionnaire to answer more specific
questions about the moral values referred to in the songs based on the
Moral Foundations Questionnaire (Graham et al. 2011). To further assess
effects on emotions, morals, and particularly memory, well-known anti-
war songs by celebrity artists will be selected for an experimental study
using the research of Batson et al. (1997) as a guide.

3. They can also potentially mobilize the public in support of
movement goals.

The third component demonstrates the general public via personal
sphere which represents both micro and macro processes of social
change, whereby individuals transform their reception of mass-mediated
popular culture messages into collective mobilization efforts in support of movement's goals (i.e., either shifts in public opinion, voting, and/or actual engagement in social movements). Engagement in social movements could include a wide range of activities, representing varying levels of effort and risk such as signing a petition, boycotting, and writing letters to policy makers (on the lower end of effort and risk) -- to protesting, sitting-in, picketing, striking, and other forms of collective action (on the higher end of effort and risk). In terms of measuring this component, I will only be able to track that which is most reported on in the mainstream media. Therefore, I will utilize the percentages of the public that supported the anti-war movement from public opinion polls and voting for anti-war candidates, along with the number of anti-war mobilizations, and correlate these numbers with the amount of anti-war songs disseminated in the mass media for the fifty year period.

Finally, the third component also reflects the process of long -term political socialization. Given that mass-mediated protest music becomes a part of the historical record in the civil sphere (that now is largely digitized and easily accessible on the web forever), it can influence future generations for years to come. This draws on Tia DeNora's (2000) work on music in everyday life and Christopher Small's (1998) concept of musicking. As young people are exposed to songs that resonate with them, the songs can become part of the soundtrack of their lives, which they may seek out and play repeatedly, through active musicking. Young people may come to collectively identify with certain social movements over time and may even develop affections for artist celebrity thought leaders who are identified with the music and with the movement. Methodologically applying this to the anti-war music study, respondent interviews are coded for evidences of political socialization processes with music. Certainly, thinking back to Sarah's story with John McCutcheon's "Christmas in the Trenches," besides what effects the song may have on her father which this article has speculated about, there is the possibility that she was so emotionally moved and affected by that childhood experience, that this became a seed in her political socialization process that led to her identity as a social movement activist as a young adult. We can presume that if protest music became part of her daily soundtrack, then the long term effects of such exposure, may ultimately transform Sarah into a person who collectively identifies with progressive social movements over time.
CONCLUSION

Does culture matter? Can a cultural product like mass-mediated protest music truly affect progressive social change? Through presenting the new blended Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory, this paper has asserted that culture does, indeed, matter and presents a theoretical advancement to protest music studies and to studies of mass-mediated social change-oriented discourses, in general. It has argued that within such discourses, emotions are vitally significant, as well as moral values (influenced by ideological orientations) and whether or not those discourses are memorable. It has also considered the important role that celebrity thought leaders play in strengthening the communicative power of those discourses and in fostering collective identity.

In addition, this paper serves as a methodological contribution to other scholarship, given the focus placed on empirical application. It has proposed how one might go about measuring civil sphere impact and has recommended ways to examine the emotive, moral, and mnemonic framing effects of social change-oriented discourses, using the anti-war music research as a case study.

However, outside of its application to protest music, it should be kept in mind that Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory could be applied to a wide range of social change-oriented mass-mediated popular culture discourses possessing a range of political ramifications. Clearly, it is well known that the Third Reich actively used German radio and records as well as other popular culture products, most notably the films of Leni Riefenstal, to indoctrinate fascist ideas into the German people. However, like Alexander and Smith’s conceptualization of civil society discourses, the civil sphere is conceived of here as a means for civil repair and a forum which promotes progressive societal change over time. Therefore, my conceptualization of the civil sphere is theorized to apply to relatively open post-industrial democracies like the United States in the 21st century.

Furthermore, in the spirit of a "strong program" of cultural sociology, it should be remembered that the empirical methods for cultural projects should be wide-ranging in their breadth as we seek to capture a large enough sector of market saturation to demonstrate the true scope of the collective discourse. Obviously, the researcher cannot measure everything when studying the dynamic field of mass-media, but the point is to conduct high-quality social science research that seeks to capture enough of the media landscape that the study provides useful information for other researchers, activists, and lay people alike. In addition, when
considering the production and dissemination of mass-mediated cultural products, there should be ample discussions of the entire media landscape, in terms of mapping out opportunities and constraints relative to structural power relations (state and economic interests) and to ever-changing media technologies. These aspects were not delved into in this particular article, but the reader should bear in mind that they are addressed in other aspects of the anti-war music study (Brooks 2009) and should always be taken into consideration in any serious media study.

Finally, Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory presented here draws upon rich insights from the theories and research offered from two major subfields within sociology (cultural sociology and social movements) as well as from two social science disciplines (political psychology and contemporary ethics). It calls us as sociologists to break through the field-specific and disciplinary silos we have socially constructed for ourselves and have since become intellectually ensnared by. We need to remain open and curious about other theoretical pursuits, conceptualizations, and research designs across sub-fields and disciplines. In advancing this kind of cross-pollination, it is hoped that more analytical depth and empirical rigor can be applied to the study of mass-mediated popular culture and social change. Arguably, no one theory can or should fit all as that would be a disservice to the advancement of human knowledge. Instead, it is hoped that Civil Sphere EMM-Framing Theory welcomes more diverse voices to join us in this most important inquiry.

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1. Please see the YouTube video entitled “Christmas in the Trenches” - http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s9coPzDx6tA.
2. Earlier scholarship has also contributed to this study’s theoretical focus. Denisoff (1972) highlighted the potential appeal of protest music to broad publics through general grievances songs that were universal. Denisoff influenced my interest in framing for the public. Likewise, Garafalo (1992) recognized the importance of mass culture in social change efforts, albeit in an international context, and provided inspiration for this book.
3. It should be noted that the cultural sociologist Smith (2004) has delved into the topic of morality. Also McKernan (2011), a “strong program” cultural sociologist, has since explored celebrity in more depth.
5. Please visit http://moralfoundations.org/ to view the psychologists and researchers associated with the theory.